

# JINNAH PAPERS

MUSLIM LEAGUE: STRIVING FOR CONSOLIDATION  
1 September 1940—31 July 1941



THIRD SERIES  
Volume XVI

*Editor-in-Chief*  
**Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.**  
M. A., LL. B. (Alig.), Ph. D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS WING  
MINISTRY OF CULTURE  
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN



**QUAID-I-AZAM  
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH  
PAPERS**

**Muslim League: Striving for Consolidation  
1 September 1940 — 31 July 1941**



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Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah



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Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Jinnah with his sister Fatima

Jinnah with his daughter Dina

Jinnah with a group of students of Muslim University, Aligarh, 1941

Jinnah with Women National Guards, 1943

Jinnah with Members of Punjab Legislative Assembly

Jinnah, Fatima and Liaquat Ali Khan with students of Islamia College, Lahore

## Foreword

The present volume of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *Muslim League: Striving for Consolidation*, covers the period from September 1940 to July 1941, and is second in the third series and sixteenth in the overall sequence.

In the aftermath of the fall of France to Nazi Germany during the summer of 1940, Britain was left alone to wage war against the aggressor. Having to depend heavily on India's human and material resources for prosecution of the war, she desperately needed support of the major Indian political parties—Congress and Muslim League. The Congress had had no qualms about putting a price-tag on their co-operation in the war effort. They demanded a declaration of full independence for India and the immediate formation of a provisional National Government at the Centre. The League, responsive to the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Muslims, had demanded sovereign Muslim states in the North-West and East zones of India.

Finding their own survival gravely threatened, the British had come up with their 'August Offer'. The offer signalled their unwillingness to transfer power and responsibility to any government in India whose authority was challenged by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The offer sought the representation of political parties in an expanded Governor-General's Council and to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the conduct of War by the Government of India. This volume of the *Jinnah Papers* reflects the evolution of mainstream politics in India and related issues of the period covered by it.

The terminal phase of British *raj* from 20 February to 14 August 1947, which led to the emergence of a Muslim state in the subcontinent under Jinnah's leadership, has already been covered by the first four volumes of the *Jinnah Papers*. Volumes V to VII encompass his short stint as Governor-General of Pakistan, during which the foundations of the nascent State were firmly laid. Volumes VIII and IX deal with issues relating to the future of the princely states. Volumes I to IX together constitute the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*.

The next five volumes, X to XIV, in the second series, cover the period from 1 October 1943 to 19 February 1947. These relate to contemporary issues such as Jinnah-Gandhi talks (September 1944), the first and second Simla Conferences (June-July 1945 & May 1946), the Cabinet Mission Plan (March-June 1946), the Interim Government (July-November 1946), the League boycott of the Constituent Assembly (November 1946) and the London Conference (December 1946).



The third series begins with Volume XV, which covers the period from 1 January to 31 August 1940, during which the historic Lahore Resolution demanding sovereign independence and separate statehood for the Muslims of India was adopted by the Muslim League in March 1940. Jinnah's public speeches and press statements during the period have, generally, not been included. References to the published speeches and statements have, however, been given in footnotes.

Primary documents as well as the appendix have been arranged chronologically. These have been identified by quoting the source or repository notation, followed by relevant file or volume, and where available, the page number(s). The documents have generally been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (QAP) (e.g. F. 197/38); the *Archives of Freedom Movement* (e.g. AFM 263/69-70); the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. SHC, Hyderabad II/151) etc.

Where expedient, material has been garnered from contemporary newspapers and publications. Documents from earlier volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume number and page number(s) (e.g. No. 545, Vol. XV, 743-4), while references to the present volume mentioned only by document number. Material of repetitive nature, requests for employment or pecuniary assistance, messages, and similar routine matters have generally been excluded as before.

The volumes already published continue to evoke interest among scholars, academics, and the intelligentsia. We are extremely grateful to Quaid's daughter Madam Dina for her continuing interest in the *Jinnah Papers*, an enduring memento of the epic political career of her illustrious father—the Father of our Nation.

The devotion of our staff who worked diligently and conscientiously on this volume is gratefully acknowledged.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing  
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26 June 2008



## *Introduction*

The summer of 1940 was a critical time for embattled Britain. Left to go it alone after the fall of France to Nazi Germany, she was having to fight for her very survival. The historic Battle of Britain between the German Luftwaffe, with its state-of-the-art bombers and fighters, and the defending British Royal Air Force, with its ageing aircraft, was to rage for three months before the aggressor was beaten back with heavy losses. To the gallant RAF pilots, Churchill paid this unique tribute: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few".<sup>1</sup>

Battling against heavy odds, Britain had to lean rather heavily for human and material resources on her overseas possessions, particularly India. In India, however, the major political parties chose to put a price tag on their co-operation for war effort. The Muslim League demanded an undertaking that no constitution, provisional or final, would be adopted "without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India". In case of any wartime reorganisation, the League insisted on an equal share in power, both at the centre and in the provinces.<sup>2</sup>

The Congress, on the other hand, demanded a declaration of complete independence and sovereignty for India. As an interim measure, it desired a provisional National Government at the Centre, commanding the confidence of all elected elements in the Central Legislature and having close co-operation of responsible governments in the provinces.<sup>3</sup>

The 'August Offer', made by Viceroy Linlithgow on 8 August 1940,<sup>4</sup> signified British Government's unwillingness to transfer their responsibilities to any government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The offer provided for representatives of the political parties serving on the expanded Governor General's Executive Council as well as for associating Indian public opinion more closely with the conduct of war by the Central Government.

Clinging to Nehru's strident claim that there were "only two parties in the country, namely the Congress and the Government,"<sup>5</sup> and that all others had to line up, the Congress spurned Jinnah's articulation of the Two-Nation-Theory espoused by the Muslim League.<sup>6</sup>

Obsessively claiming that it was "the sole custodian of the interests of the masses,"<sup>7</sup> the Congress reacted to the 'August Offer' in its characteristically deprecatory and dismissive mould. Meeting within



a fortnight of the Offer, the Congress Working Committee accused the British Government of having blown up "the issue of minorities... into an insuperable barrier to India's progress".<sup>8</sup> The Congress, which met on 15 & 16 September, apprehending that the British Government "will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion," sought Gandhi's guidance regarding the action required for "vindication of India's freedom" and "preservation of the liberties of the people".<sup>9</sup> Gandhi launched a Civil Disobedience Movement in October 1940.

Jinnah was sceptical of the real motive of the movement, doubting if indeed it was aimed at advancing the struggle for independence of India. Believing that the aim was rather to coerce the British Government into recognising the Congress as the sole representative body of the people of India, he advised Muslims to stand aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement.<sup>10</sup> The All India Muslim League Council, meeting in February 1941, saw Gandhi's passive resistance, or *satyagraha*, as an attempt at pressurising the British Government into resiling from their agreement on a Muslim veto over any future constitutional dispensation.<sup>11</sup> The League Council later interpreted Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign as an attempt to relegate the Muslim nation and Indian minorities to the "status of mere subjects of Hindu *raj*".<sup>12</sup> Jinnah urged the Congress to "drop its pistol of non-cooperation and civil disobedience" and instead enter into political dialogue and negotiate with the League on the basis of the Pakistan proposal.<sup>13</sup> He believed that the demand of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference for reconstitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council with non-official Indian members was aimed really at letting Gandhi back out of *satyagraha* and scuttling the League demand for Pakistan.<sup>14</sup>

The movement had peaked by May 1941, when some 14,000 *satyagrahis* were in prison, but over the next five months it would taper off to a perfunctory ritual.<sup>15</sup> By January 1942, with Gandhi realising that the movement was irreversibly losing momentum, the *satyagraha* would virtually be over, for the time being at any rate.<sup>16</sup>

Contrary to Congress reaction to the August Offer, which was dogmatic, the League's response was pragmatic and positive. The League Working Committee noted with satisfaction that its demand that no constitution would be adopted for India without their approval had, practically, been met.<sup>17</sup> They examined as well the offer of participation in the Governor General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis. As this decision had been made without



consulting the League at the appropriate stage, the League Council authorised Jinnah to seek further information and clarification.<sup>18</sup> The Viceroy in his reply<sup>19</sup> clarified that the selection of Executive Councillors was to be made by the Governor General himself after consultation with the leaders of political parties. He did not give a decision about the strength of the enlarged Executive Council or its portfolios.

In his meeting with the Viceroy on 24 September, Jinnah raised the question of League's consent to any other party joining the Executive Council after the League had decided on joining it. The Viceroy was unable to concede the point.<sup>20</sup> Disappointed, Jinnah issued a statement to the representative of London's *News Chronicle* regretting that the British Government cared little for the League's "co-operation on honourable terms with a real share in the authority of the Government."<sup>21</sup> Taking note of the League's willingness to "co-operate fully in the prosecution of war" and the Congress refusal to play ball, Patrick Gardiner, a British Member of Parliament then on war service in India, proposed to Reginald Parker, Member of the Indian Council of State, that pending co-operation by the Congress, the League be offered seven out of the twelve portfolios,<sup>22</sup> the other five, including one Christian and one Sikh, being nominated by the Viceroy. Three of the seven portfolios were to be surrendered by the League in favour of the Congress in case the latter came in subsequently.

In a speech on 12 December 1940, the Secretary of State for India, Leopold Amery, raised the slogan of "India first". He defined India "as she is today and as we wish her in the years to come".<sup>23</sup> Blaming Amery for making "dubious speeches," Jinnah considered it "highly undesirable" for the Secretary of State "to play the role of a propaganda secretary".<sup>24</sup> The League Working Committee also disapproved of Amery's pronouncements which it thought were contrary to his own previous statements.<sup>25</sup> Posting a copy of the Patrick Gardiner report to both Amery and Churchill, Jinnah requested them to earnestly consider the League's point of view, given that the British attached "undue importance [to] Congress influence and representation".<sup>26</sup> Replying on Churchill's behalf as well as his own, Amery promised to give close attention to the Gardiner report in conjunction with the Viceroy.<sup>27</sup> Writing later, Amery suggested that Jinnah seek any further clarifications of the Statement of 8 August 1940<sup>28</sup> from Linlithgow, who he said "was fully aware of the mind of the British Government."<sup>29</sup>

When the Viceroy's Secretary requested Jinnah to nominate Muslim League members of the Central Legislature for a tour of



military installations, Jinnah did not see fit to oblige. He reiterated the demand that, in order to secure full and willing support of the Muslim League, the British Government must associate the League representatives with the Government of India "as equal partners."<sup>30</sup>

The Viceroy, faced with conflicting demands, found it difficult to secure the support of the two principal political parties. With the progressively growing burden of the conduct of war, as well as for administrative reasons, he was forced to create, with the British Government's approval, five new portfolios in his Executive Council, besides setting up a National Defence Council.<sup>31</sup> The new appointees to the expanded Executive Council were Sir Homi Mody—Supply; Sir Akbar Hydari—Information; Raghavendra Rau—Civil Defence; M. S. Aney—Indians Overseas; and Sir Firoz Khan Noon—Labour. Sir Sultan Ahmed was earmarked for the Law portfolio when it fell vacant.

The National Defence Council was to comprise some 30 members, including nine from the Indian States. Those from British India included four Muslim Premiers: Saadulla of Assam; Fazlul Huq of Bengal; Sikander Hyat Khan of the Punjab, and Allah Baksh Soomro of Sind. Other Muslim members were: Nawab of Chhatari, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz and Sir Muhammad Usman.<sup>32</sup>

Jinnah's reaction to the Viceroy's decision was one of dismay. The decision had seemed to confirm the impression, gained in many political quarters, that Muslims were divided.<sup>33</sup> He thought it was improper of the Viceroy to have approached the Muslim League Premiers, or other Muslim Leaguers, direct and not through the League President or its Working Committee.<sup>34</sup> Jinnah declared that the Viceroy's move would fail to secure the whole-hearted and genuine support of Muslim India because the persons nominated by the Viceroy were not the real representatives, nor would they command the confidence and trust, of Muslim India.<sup>35</sup>

The League Secretary, Liaquat Ali Khan, then took up with Jinnah the question of disciplinary action against those Leaguers who had joined the Viceroy's Council, or the National Defence Council, in violation of party's decision and general policy.<sup>36</sup> It was decided that the matter be handled by the Working Committee and that the modalities for that purpose be worked out between the two leaders.<sup>37</sup> In the meantime, the hope expressed by Moulana Akrum Khan that Fazlul Huq would resign from the Defence Council, if given an honourable opportunity by Jinnah, turned out to be illusory.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, Moulana Akrum Khan would eat humble pie, expressing



an "overwhelming sense of shame and sorrow" in relying "on the words of a notoriously unreliable man".<sup>39</sup>

Notices to the Working Committee members,<sup>40</sup> requesting them to meet on 24 August, as well as to the maverick Leaguers, namely Sikander Hyat Khan, Fazlul Huq, Muhammad Saadulla, Nawab of Chhatari, Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz, were issued by the League Secretary on 4 August.<sup>41</sup>

In a press statement,<sup>42</sup> Sikander Hyat Khan claimed that he had agreed to serve on the National Defence Council ex-officio as Premier of the Punjab. When he learned that the Viceroy had appointed him to the Council as a representative of the Muslim community, he decided to resign.<sup>43</sup>

On 2 December 1940, the Muslim League Working Committee reviewed its earlier decision not to let Leaguers serve on the War Committees<sup>44</sup> pending the outcome of Jinnah's negotiations with the Viceroy. The Working Committee, noting the acceptance of the principle of "cooperation with authority and power" in the central and provincial governments, allowed those Muslims who believed that they could serve a useful purpose by merely associating themselves with War Committees to do so. The Committee also called on the Government to take the League leadership into confidence and associate them as equal partners with the governments at the Centre and in the provinces.<sup>45</sup>

\*       \*       \*       \*

With the Congress wedded to its doctrinaire ideal of "complete independence of India"<sup>46</sup> through immediate "constitution of a Provisional National Government,"<sup>47</sup> there appeared to be no meeting ground between that party and the Muslim League. However, a number of smaller political parties looked up to the League for guidance and support. In the wake of police firing on the Khaksars, just a few days before the League's session in Lahore in March 1940, the party unanimously demanded an independent inquiry and repeal of the Punjab Government order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful.<sup>48</sup> Later, when the Khaksars, under Jinnah's moderating influence, undertook to abide by law, the Provincial Government withdrew the ban.<sup>49</sup> When Jinnah visited Cawnpore later, the Ittihad-i-Millat and the Khaksars joined the City Muslim League in giving him a rousing reception.<sup>50</sup>

\*       \*       \*       \*



In October 1940, M. N. Roy, who had broken away from the Congress<sup>51</sup> and was to establish the Radical Democratic Party,<sup>52</sup> suggested the formation of National Democratic Bloc in the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces with the help of the Muslim League, the Scheduled Castes, the projected Radical Party, and the Independents.<sup>53</sup> Later, a report emanating from Patna that Jinnah had stipulated certain conditions for the formation of a coalition ministry in Bihar, pursuant to talks between M. N. Roy and the Bihar League President S. M. Ismail, was repudiated by the All India League President.<sup>54</sup> Roy, nevertheless, went ahead with the inauguration of the National Democratic Union in December 1940<sup>55</sup> and then reverted to his request for the League to co-operate in an anti-Congress alliance. However, Jinnah declined the suggestion.<sup>56</sup>

\* \* \* \*

Towards the end of 1940, the Muslim Premiers who had earlier strongly backed the Lahore Resolution were uneasy over Congress policies at the central and provincial levels. In December, Fazlul Huq in a press statement suggested that the League Working Committee consider making "an offer to Congress to open negotiations for a settlement".<sup>57</sup> In view of the Working Committee's resolution<sup>58</sup> which required members of the Committee not to negotiate or discuss Hindu-Muslim settlement with the Congress, without Jinnah's permission, Fazlul Huq requested Jinnah to call a meeting of the Working Committee or the Council.<sup>59</sup> Jinnah thought Huq's statement was tantamount to an insinuation that he (Jinnah) was not willing "to come to a settlement for this unfortunate deadlock," for which Congress alone was to blame. He chided Fazlul Huq for the latter's move which might convey the impression that the Muslims were divided.<sup>60</sup> However, Huq regretted that "owing to prevailing facts and circumstances," his move had "been misunderstood". He had felt "so strongly that there should be one more peace effort" that he had been tempted to make the suggestion.<sup>61</sup> Replying that Huq's move had been "very unwise," Jinnah slammed civil disobedience as a ploy for forcing the British Government into conceding Congress demands at the expense of the Muslims.<sup>62</sup> Huq did admit that the unity move was bound to fail since the non-Muslim communities did "not show the slightest inclination to be friendly".<sup>63</sup>

When invited to the 28th annual session of the League at Madras, Fazlul Huq, who had moved the Lahore Resolution at the



1940 session, regretted that he was unable to participate. He pleaded that "I had better look after poor Bengali Muslims than waste my time in empty speeches in the League [session] which generally lead to nothing".<sup>64</sup> This would, in retrospect, be seen as an attempt to bolster his sagging fortunes in the Bengal Assembly at the expense of the League's all-India concerns. However, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad, a member of the League Working Committee, was inclined to condone Fazlul Huq's "temporary and superficial" aberrations. He thought Huq was a committed Leaguer and as long as he was a member of the Working Committee, "he would always come for shelter to the League".<sup>65</sup> Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman too was of the view that the League should "not go out of our way to give a fight to Mr. Fazlul Huq but should wait for the time when he himself chooses to go out of the League".<sup>66</sup> Hassan Ispahani had already suggested to Jinnah that it was best to give Fazlul Huq "a long rope. He is bound to hang himself sooner or later".<sup>67</sup> Maverick Fazlul Huq's stance would eventually lead to his expulsion from the League.<sup>68</sup> The ban would not be lifted until five years later when he would pledge unstinting support and unswerving allegiance to the League.<sup>69</sup>

\* \* \* \*

Sikander Hyat Khan, Unionist Premier of the Punjab, who had joined the Muslim League<sup>70</sup> in terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact of October 1937,<sup>71</sup> played an active part in the party's affairs. In March 1939, Jinnah appointed a committee of nine members, including himself and Sikander Hyat, to examine constitutional schemes in India and other countries "to explore the possibilities of a suitable alternative" to be incorporated in the Government of India Act 1935.<sup>72</sup> In July the same year, Sikander Hyat suggested a scheme for an all-India two-tier Federation comprising seven zones.<sup>73</sup> The meeting of the Foreign Committee of the All India Muslim League defined the fundamental rights of Indian Muslims which were to be incorporated in a draft constitutional scheme.<sup>74</sup> A sub-committee of nine persons including Sikander Hyat was appointed for that purpose. Sikander Hyat later claimed that the draft resolution prepared by him had been "radically amended" by the Working Committee and that there was "wide divergence" between that draft and the resolution that was passed.<sup>75</sup>

After adoption of the Lahore Resolution,<sup>76</sup> the League leaders were occasionally called upon to defend or elaborate the goal of a Muslim



national homeland in the sub-continent. Whereas Jinnah addressed the issue in a forthright manner and with conviction, provincial Leaguers, particularly Sikander Hyat and Fazlul Huq, issued unconscionable statements. This in a way was understandable, given how those leaders had been elected to their respective offices. Jinnah was elected League President by the League Council on a year-to-year basis. While appreciative of the implicit confidence reposed in his leadership, he was opposed to being elected president for life.<sup>77</sup> The Muslim Premiers, on the other hand, had been elected as such by provincial legislatures where communal minorities (Hindus and Sikhs) enjoyed the constitutional benefit of weightage.<sup>78</sup> They had, of necessity, to coalesce with or appease non-Muslim parties in the legislatures.

In June 1940, Sikander Hyat, Dr. Khan Sahib, Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur, and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi met the Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad, for informal talks on Hindu-Muslim problem.<sup>79</sup> Taking note of the so-called Muslim Premiers' Conference, the League Working Committee forbade its members to enter into any talks with Congress leaders without the permission of the League President.<sup>80</sup>

A week later, the *Tribune*, a Hindu newspaper of Lahore, published a story about the "Terms of Sikander-Jinnah Pact"<sup>81</sup> in an attempt to sow discord between the two leaders. The report, apparently based on Sikander's views on the subject, would "highly disappoint" Jinnah.<sup>82</sup>

During the next month Sikander sought Jinnah's approval for seeing Hindu Mahasabha's Savarkar with a view to contacting Congress leaders regarding arrest of students in Punjab.<sup>83</sup> Jinnah was not agreeable to Sikander meeting Savarkar, though he saw no objection to Sikander, as Punjab Premier, meeting Congress leaders, at his discretion, provided he adhered to the Working Committee Resolution.<sup>84</sup> Jinnah also issued a press statement to the effect that, while meeting with Moulana Azad earlier, the Punjab and Bengal Premiers had no *locus standi* to discuss any Hindu-Muslim settlement without the permission of the Working Committee.<sup>85</sup> Jinnah's statement discomfited Sikander who remonstrated over the release of correspondence to the press without his permission. He was adamant that so long as the Working Committee resolution was not contravened, neither the Committee nor the President could "dictate to me."<sup>86</sup>

Jinnah's agreeing to Sikander negotiating with the Congress President in regard to the Punjab affairs was regarded as pitiable by Hassan



Ispahani. He suspected Sikander of bidding for the leadership of the League and a split in the party.<sup>87</sup> Abul Kalam Azad had asserted that his talks with Sikander had been in connection with the Hindu-Muslim question. This had not been contradicted by Sikander. Jinnah advised that if Sikander were to use his own independent judgement, he would realise that his protest and accusations were unwarranted and unjustifiable.<sup>88</sup> Replying to the naive observation that the word Pakistan did not exist in the Lahore Resolution, Jinnah said that the resolution unmistakably embodied the principle that underpinned the demand for Pakistan. Indeed, the Hindu press itself lost no time in calling the Lahore resolution as the Pakistan Resolution.<sup>89</sup>

In February 1941, Jinnah drew Sikander's attention to a press report which gave "the impression that the latter was against the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution".<sup>90</sup> In case the report was not correct, Jinnah insisted on its contradiction. Sikander replied that the report was incorrect and had been contradicted by the *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore. He also promised to make inquiries from the Associated Press of India, the country's premier news agency, which had originated the report.<sup>91</sup> He implored Jinnah to eschew the word 'Pakistan' which he thought had done "a great deal of harm" and which had been "exploited by everyone to make trouble and create mischief." Jinnah's response was meant to clear such confusion as still existed with regard to the use of the word "Pakistan".<sup>92</sup> He declared that Pakistan had "become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution" in that it had turned out to be "a convenient and compendious" gloss on that resolution. He further declared that the "Muslim League had no room for waverers regarding the Pakistan Resolution... Let them make up their mind one way or the other".<sup>93</sup>

At the meeting of the League Working Committee called to consider action against those party members who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council or the National Defence Council, Sikander pledged his loyalty to the League saying, "I have nothing to say in my defence and I am willing to abide by the orders of our President... and follow his instructions whatever he decides, right or wrong".<sup>94</sup> Later, he would also unreservedly subscribe to the Lahore Resolution, his earlier differences with Jinnah over matters of detail notwithstanding. He admitted that since his doubts and misgivings had been dispelled, he would, as always, abide by the verdict of the majority.<sup>95</sup>



In February 1940, the Allahbux Ministry in Sind had introduced a bill in the Provincial Assembly for extension of the Sind Frontier Regulations to Sukkur District. This legislative measure was seen by Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, the League Assembly Party leader, as an attempt to stay in office by appeasing the Hindus and the Congress.<sup>96</sup> He favoured "a reasonable compromise with Congress" to facilitate the formation of a stable ministry to help ameliorate the condition of the Muslims in the province.<sup>97</sup> A 21-point agreement<sup>98</sup> including, *inter alia*, a clause on the introduction of Joint Electorates was hammered out between Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, leader of the Hindu Independent Party, and the Muslim League Assembly members Ayub Khuhro, G. M. Sayed and Sheikh Abdul Majid. The concerted effort of Muslim Leaguers and Hindu members led to the toppling of Allahbux Ministry in early March 1940.<sup>99</sup> The successor coalition government was sworn in on 18 March with Mir Bunde Ali Khan as Premier. It was clear that the Government would not be a coalition of the existing parties but would rather be a National Party government. The Muslim League party in the Assembly was disbanded. However, members of the new Government retained their old party membership as well as becoming members of the new National Party.<sup>100</sup> The Council of the Sind Muslim League, at a meeting in April, was of the view that three or four items of the 21-point agreement, unless suitably modified, would be hard to achieve.<sup>101</sup> The new ministry would turn out to be "short lived due mainly to the changeability of the Muslim members, and the unrealistic idealism of G. M. Sayed as well as the intolerance of the Congress leaders.... That it could not work for long was in great part due to the Congress insistence on not only having a share in the government but in wanting to dominate it. In a majority Muslim province this proved impossible"....<sup>102</sup> Alarmed at the unsatisfactory situation, the Sind League President, Abdoola Haroon, called for a meeting of their Working Committee "to decide whether the present League Ministers should continue or resign" and requested Jinnah to attend the meeting and give guidance at that critical hour.<sup>103</sup> Given that even the 35 members of the Assembly were "hopelessly divided," Jinnah doubted if any useful purpose would be served by his visit to Karachi.<sup>104</sup> In November 1940, Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, visited Sind and brokered a settlement whereby G. M. Sayed, a Muslim Leaguer, was to resign and make room for Allahbux of the Azad Muslim Party.<sup>105</sup>

Accordingly, Nihchaldas Vazirani, who had been privy to



the arrangement, secured a written undertaking from Khuhro and Sayed providing for the induction of Allahbux or Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah into the Cabinet, replacing Sheikh Abdul Majid who had volunteered to resign.<sup>106</sup> The undertaking also stipulated that Mir Bunde Ali Khan had consented to give up the post of Premier to make room for Allahbux or Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. However, if Mir Bunde Ali chose to stay as a minister, then one of the signatories had to quit the Cabinet.

Sind Governor Graham was not overly impressed by Azad's performance as Allahbux's return to the Cabinet had been suggested by the Premier and two Muslim League ministers even before Azad's arrival on the scene.<sup>107</sup> President Abdoola Haroon, though not in the know of the "Azad Agreement," was critical of the negotiations. Muslim League had not mandated any individual to represent it at the parleys. The Sind League accordingly did not commit itself unless a specific decision was obtained from its Council.<sup>108</sup> Though Jinnah had reservations about the new ministry, he accepted it on condition that the League would have an effective voice in the ministry. Seeing this as a chance of saving his premiership, Mir Bunde Ali Khan joined the Muslim League.<sup>109</sup>

Jinnah's success in having brought Mir Bunde Ali Khan into the League fold was regarded as "upsetting the apple cart of Abul Kalam Azad."<sup>110</sup> The Sind League Council, which had endorsed the 21-point agreement, reviewed it in consequence of the Hindu MLAs having violated it. The Council advised the Muslim MLAs not to enforce joint electorates in borough municipalities, much less extend them to other local bodies.<sup>111</sup> The Council also decided that immediate steps be taken by Premier Bunde Ali Khan and Ministers Khuhro and Sheikh Abdul Majid to form a League party in the Legislative Assembly.<sup>112</sup> However, the "Congress with the support of a small clique behind it" remained opposed to the League organising itself as a party in the legislature.<sup>113</sup>

In January 1941, the Sind League once again flayed joint electorates as "bound to cause grievous injury" to the political rights of the Muslims and make their "representation in the public most ineffective". It demanded that the Government withhold introduction of joint electorates in borough municipalities and drop altogether the Bill for joint electorates in city municipalities and local boards.<sup>114</sup>

In the meantime, Vazirani had offered to let Mir Bunde Ali continue as Premier provided Khuhro resigned to make room for Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.<sup>115</sup> When Jinnah enquired of Bunde



Ali about the "mysterious agreement,"<sup>116</sup> the latter stated that the League Ministers as well as he (being then a non-Leaguer) had agreed to Azad's proposal to bring Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah into the Cabinet at a later stage.<sup>117</sup> Bunde Ali, however, declined to resign the Premiership saying he might do so at some stage without anybody's asking. However, this version would later be supplanted by Khuhro's.<sup>118</sup>

Since the situation had changed as a sequel to Bunde Ali having joined the League, he subsequently requested Jinnah's guidance in the matter. Jinnah advised him not to resign the premiership but to work with others for the party unity and solidarity.<sup>119</sup> However, the Hindu Independent Party of Nihchaldas Vazirani, standing by the so-called Azad Agreement, would insist on Bunde Ali's resignation and his replacement as Premier by Allahbux or Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.<sup>120</sup> Alluding to the Azad Agreement, Vazirani clarified that the question of his and his Hindu colleague Gokaldas's standing by their "solemn promise" to Azad would arise only when "our Muslim friends" had failed to agree between themselves as to which of the four ministers should remain in the cabinet and who would be the Premier.<sup>121</sup>

In a statement on Sind affairs,<sup>122</sup> Jinnah criticized the Azad Agreement which was said to be a secret one. The Working Committee or the Council of the Sind Muslim League knew scarcely anything about it, nor had they been consulted by anyone. On top of it all, Mir Bunde Ali was not a party to the agreement; neither was he under any obligation to resign.

By that time Jinnah was convinced that the whole business was a ploy or manoeuvre for securing domination of the Sind Assembly by the Hindus and creating disruption among the Muslims.<sup>123</sup> He urged Bunde Ali, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Khuhro, G. M. Sayed and Abdoola Haroon to stand united and work as a team to retrieve the prestige and reputation of the Muslim League.<sup>124</sup>

Having felt that the full implications of the "understanding" had not been conveyed to Jinnah, Khuhro now informed him that "a verbal understanding" had indeed been given voluntarily by Bunde Ali to Abul Kalam Azad. Khuhro also sent Jinnah a copy of the agreement signed by himself and G. M. Sayed.<sup>125</sup>

Jinnah, not knowing, "in the maze of contradiction and conflicting views, what to believe and what not to believe," informed Vazirani that the conclusion he had come to had already been released in a statement to the press.<sup>126</sup> He urged Vazirani not to engineer a crisis



merely for the purpose of finding a place in the cabinet for Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and installing Allahbux as Premier. Jinnah also advised Bunde Ali Khan, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Ayub Khuhro and Abdoola Haroon to neither deviate from the lines indicated in his statement nor accept any other proposal without first consulting him.<sup>127</sup> When Bunde Ali informed Jinnah that neither the League Assembly Party nor the Provincial League wanted to go into opposition and embarrass the Government,<sup>128</sup> Jinnah's response to the obvious prevarication was characteristically forthright as well as peremptory. He stated:

"It is argued that you should not embarrass the Government. But in the event of your Government being defeated and if you have to sit in the opposition, why is it assumed that the main business of the opposition would be to embarrass any other government that may be formed? Why should any government be embarrassed if the opposition attacks and criticises the government in power when it is the constitutional and legitimate function of the opposition?

You are asking for the moon that a parliamentary government should be run with complete unanimity in the Assembly. In the very nature of the constitution under which you are working, it is contemplated that the government can only be run on healthy lines by a majority plus a constitutional opposition."<sup>129</sup>

On 19 February 1941, Jinnah in a statement on the Sind ministerial crisis<sup>130</sup> reiterated his advice to Bunde Ali not to resign. After perusal of the so-called clandestine agreement between Khuhro, G. M. Sayed and Vazirani, he concluded that the said document was "a pure myth". As Bunde Ali Khan was not a party to it, it was absurd to style it as an agreement between various groups and parties.

Early in March, during the budget session of the Sind Assembly, the Congress party tabled a cut motion on which Allahbux and the two Hindu ministers, Vazirani and Gokaldas, quit the treasury benches.<sup>131</sup> Seeing that he had lost his majority, Premier Bunde Ali Khan was compelled to resign. He had held office for nearly a year. According to the Governor, Bunde Ali Khan had assumed office as Premier "deeply stained with treachery to the late premier," meaning Allahbux.<sup>132</sup> Not to be outdone, Allahbux had within a year avenged himself on Bunde Ali.

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Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, an energetic Frontier Muslim Leaguer and member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, kept a watchful eye on the political situation



in NWFP. He felt that British Government should have a "heart-to-heart confidence in Muslim leadership and in Muslim India" as British interests and those of Muslims were identical.<sup>133</sup> On the basis of poor attendance at the meetings addressed by Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali at Peshawar, Aurangzeb Khan thought that the Congress in NWFP was "dead and gone".<sup>134</sup> Nor did the efforts of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at wooing the non-Congress Muslim leaders escape Aurangzeb's notice.<sup>135</sup> He considered Ghaffar Khan's move as an attempt to bolster up his waning influence or as a device to claim a higher monetary subvention from the Congress high command.

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The exit of Congress ministries in Hindu majority provinces in effect brought little relief to Muslims. The Hindu majority, inured to ill-treating the Muslims, did not mend its ways.

In February 1941, a peaceful *Moharram* procession at Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces was fired at by the police without justifiable cause or warning.<sup>136</sup> Four Muslims were killed and several others grievously wounded. Burhanul Huq, President of the Provincial Muslim League, in a telegram to the Governor demanded a judicial inquiry. The incident was strongly condemned by the Council of the All India Muslim League.<sup>137</sup> The Council also accused the local administration and the provincial government of partiality in investigating the case. Later, in another incident, Muslim residents of Gotegaon village in Narsingpur town of Jubbulpore Division were attacked by local Hindus, and their lives and properties gravely endangered.<sup>138</sup> The local Muslim League demanded that the miscreants be prosecuted.

In April 1941, the district authorities of Budaun in the United Provinces had surreptitiously allowed Hindus of village Ujhani to take out the *Sanatan Dharm Keertan* procession. When the local Muslims protested at the procession being taken out, they were fired on by the police. All police officers present on the spot were Hindus. As a result of the firing, eight Muslims were killed and four wounded.<sup>139</sup> The incident was condemned by the Muslim League, which demanded that the Provincial Government order an independent judicial inquiry.<sup>140</sup>

Later in the month, the Hindus of Bihar Sharif observed anti-Pakistan day by taking out a procession. After dispersing, the procession split up into large batches which went on the rampage, "looting Muslim houses and killing Muslims including small children and old



women".<sup>141</sup> This outrage and the swelling intensity of communal violence were seen as a deliberate attempt by Caste-Hindus to wipe out the Pakistan creed.<sup>142</sup> Hossain Imam, touring the affected areas with an enquiry committee of the Bihar Muslim League, observed that the ordinary law was "quite ineffective both in checking and in punishing the culprits".<sup>143</sup>

Agreeing that Bihar Sharif had been a painful tragedy, Jinnah called for further details<sup>144</sup> from Hossain Imam, which were provided to him.<sup>145</sup> In the meantime, Syed Badruddin Ahmad, the Bihar League Secretary, informed Jinnah that the demand for a special tribunal to try those who had perpetrated savage communal violence in Bihar Sharif had been side-tracked by the Provincial Government, which had instead appointed two Special Magistrates to do the needful in ordinary courts.<sup>146</sup> Hossain Imam rightly regarded the decision as a hostile act.<sup>147</sup>

The Bihar League's request to the All India Muslim League Working Committee to let the Muslims defy the restrictions imposed on them by the Provincial Government in connection with the Bihar Sharif disturbances was, however, deferred by the Working Committee pending availability of further information.<sup>148</sup> The Working Committee also protested to the Provincial Government at the decisions to ban the publication of the Inquiry Committee's report and refuse the appointment of a special tribunal to secure a fair trial for the Muslims.<sup>149</sup>

Deeply concerned over the surging wave of communal disturbances, the Muslim League Working Committee believed that Hindus were engaged in an organised campaign to terrorize and demoralise the Muslim minority.<sup>150</sup> The Committee saw the spiralling violence as a systematic attempt to oppose and deny the just demands of Muslims. Observing the generally unsympathetic attitude of Government officials, the Committee urged the administration to adopt adequate effective measures for protection of Muslim lives and property.

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The princely states in India owed their existence to the treaties and agreements that they had entered into with the British Government. Their relations with British India as well as inter-state matters were conducted by the Political Department which was directly under the Viceroy in his capacity as the Crown Representative. While the Government of India Act, 1935, had introduced a number of political reforms in British India, these had not been extended to the Indian



States. Though the States continued to enjoy autonomy in internal affairs, the responsibility for their defence, foreign relations and communications vested in the Crown Representative on behalf of the Paramount Power.

Adopting a legalistic, rather than pragmatic, approach to the States' affairs, the All India Muslim League had focussed its concerns on the Muslims of British India, leaving the Muslims of Princely India largely to fend for themselves under the local leadership. However, when the situation so demanded, the AIML did extend support to the cause of the States' Muslims.

The most populous and the second largest princely state in India was Hyderabad. It was a Hindu majority State ruled by the Muslim Nizam. The Muslim leadership in the State was, principally, in the hands of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, an organisation founded by Mahmud Nawaz Khan in 1926. He was succeeded by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. The Hindu majority was led by the State Congress founded in 1938.

Muslim League was sympathetic to the aspirations of the people of the states for constitutional advancement. However, the party's constitution did not allow of it interfering directly in the affairs of the Indian States.<sup>151</sup> In 1938, when Congress and some other Hindu organisations started meddling directly in the affairs of some Hindu majority states (Hyderabad included), the League took notice of such activities. Jinnah was sceptical of the real motive of the Congress in championing the rights of the people of Hyderabad while remaining indifferent to, and unconcerned over, the sorry plight of Muslims of Kashmir. The reason obviously lay in the fact that the State ruler was a Hindu while the overwhelming majority of its subjects were Muslims. Jinnah had warned that if Congress pursued its subversive activities in States, actuated by ulterior motives, the League would be obliged to review its policy of non-interference. The party could not possibly leave Muslims in the Hindu States "at the tender mercies of their oppressors."<sup>152</sup> Arya Samajists and Hindu Mahasabhaitees, who were all radicals, joined their Congress friends in British India in an onslaught against the Nizam ostensibly to defend Hindu religion and Hindu civil liberties. The League Council blamed the Paramount Power for failure to stop the subversive movement in British India against the Nizam. The Council advised the State Government against recognising any outside agency and urged the British Government to stop such mischievous and dangerous activities.<sup>153</sup>



By March 1940, the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen had grown into a powerful organisation of Hyderabad Muslims. The Majlis's firebrand leader, Bahadur Yar Jung, had by then become Chairman of the Organising Committee of the All India States Muslim League. He claimed that "in respect of political consciousness and general awakening," Hyderabad did not lag behind any of the provinces of British India.<sup>154</sup> He would soon become President of the All India States Muslim League and was to hold that position for the next two years.<sup>155</sup> As for the Majlis, radicalisation of its political demands brought it into burgeoning conflict with the Nizam, its erstwhile supporter. Upon receipt of a confidential note from the Nizam, Jinnah promised to help the former and his family, as well as the State Muslims, in case any harm to them was likely.<sup>156</sup> Bahadur Yar also sought Jinnah's backing for three drafts setting forth his party's demands.<sup>157</sup> However, Jinnah was not then well enough to devote his attention to addressing the "subject of that importance" which those drafts covered.

When Jinnah fixed 1 November 1940 as the "day for expressing deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India with Muslim countries,"<sup>158</sup> Bahadur Yar Jung was presumptuous enough to call for that day to be observed as Hyderabad Day.<sup>159</sup> He, later, accused the Nizam of planning drastic measures against him, given that his popularity among the public was growing fast.<sup>160</sup> The Nizam requested Jinnah to intercede with Bahadur Yar Jung and urge him to hold aloof from political activity at least during the war.<sup>161</sup> In case he failed to mend his ways, drastic action was to be taken. Jinnah urged caution and suggested that neither party do anything that might precipitate a crisis.<sup>162</sup> In the meantime, the State Government promulgated rules to curb political activities in the State.<sup>163</sup> The Nizam justified the harsh measure on the ground that the political situation in the State had become very grave because of Bahadur Yar's "pernicious activities".<sup>164</sup> A political analyst blamed the Political Department for sitting on the fence and leaving the Nizam to crack down on his Muslim subjects. The change in Nizam's attitude was also attributed by the analyst to the Political Department.<sup>165</sup> Jinnah once again advised both parties to maintain the status quo<sup>166</sup> and requested a meeting with the Nizam to help work out a solution acceptable to the latter.<sup>167</sup> However, the Nizam, getting impatient and fed up, was wary of advice given by a third party and determined to decide the case on merits.<sup>168</sup> In the meantime, Jinnah had advised Bahadur Yar Jung to tender an



apology to the Nizam for having participated in a meeting of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen.<sup>169</sup> When Jinnah offered to advise the Nizam about the reconstitution of his Executive Council, the latter stated that he had already decided that Nawab Chhatari would replace Sir Akbar Hydari as Council President.<sup>170</sup> As for Bahadur Yar Jung, he would tender apology<sup>171</sup> to the Nizam in August and renounce Jamadari honours in October 1941, thus resolving a bitter controversy.<sup>172</sup>

In December 1940, the Foreign Committee of All India Muslim League had proposed that upon restoration of their sovereignty as a sequel to the lapse of paramountcy, the Princely States should, of their own volition, enter into a pact to provide for a common agency to administer certain specified subjects delegated to it.<sup>173</sup> The subjects to be assigned to the agency were: external relations, defence, communications, customs, etc.

Following a discussion in March 1941 with Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, Jinnah offered not to interfere in the affairs of princely states in Muslim majority zones.<sup>174</sup> If any state volunteered to join the Federation of a Muslim zone, it was to be welcomed on such terms as might be mutually agreed upon. In a press interview in May, he reiterated that the Pakistan scheme had nothing to do with the States and that there was no question of any State Muslim League being affiliated with the All India Muslim League.<sup>175</sup>

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The League fully empathised with the concerns of Muslims abroad. The Quaid extolled Turkey's Kemal Ataturk for "the remarkable way in which he rescued and built up his people against all odds" and regarded him as "the greatest Muslim in the modern Islamic world".<sup>176</sup> In the wake of the catastrophic earthquake in Anatolia, a Turkish Relief Fund had been instituted by the League and the money collected sent to the Viceroy or the Governors of provinces for remittance to Turkish Red Crescent.<sup>177</sup> In December 1940, the League leadership acquainted the visiting Turkish Military Mission with the problems faced by Indian Muslims. The Mission leader said that the Turkish Muslims were deeply interested in the welfare of Indian Muslims.<sup>178</sup>

The League had been a steadfast supporter of the Arab national demands in Palestine. At its 27th annual session, the League had voiced its "grave concern" over the inordinate and unconscionable delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a



settlement with the Arabs in Palestine.<sup>179</sup> The Quaid was in touch with the exiled Mufti Amin el-Husseini of Palestine and apprised the Viceroy of the tribulations of the Arabs.<sup>180</sup> The Viceroy expressed the hope that circumstances would permit "further gradual relaxation of the measures imposed during the disturbances".<sup>181</sup> Jinnah forwarded copies of the correspondence to the leaders of Palestine Arabs.<sup>182</sup> The money raised by the All India Muslim League for relief of the Arab sufferers was also remitted to the Mufti.<sup>183</sup>

In September 1940, the League was disconcerted by the prospect of the war spilling over from Europe into the Middle East and the independence of Muslim countries being thereby threatened. The League Council passed a resolution requesting the League President to fix a day for Muslim India to express its deep sympathy and concern.<sup>184</sup> Jinnah accordingly fixed 1 November, the last Friday of the month of *Ramazan*, for holding public meetings across the country to express sympathy for the aspirations of Muslims of the Middle East. He hoped also that special prayers would be offered in mosques.<sup>185</sup> His appeal evoked support also from Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Vice Chancellor of the Lucknow University and a representative of the Indian Christian community. In an interview with the representative of the *London News Chronicle*, Jinnah expressed Indian Muslims' dissatisfaction with the British policy on Palestine and hoped that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy would refrain from disturbing the solidarity of the Muslim world.<sup>186</sup> The interview was, however, suppressed by official censors "in India nor was it allowed to reach London".<sup>187</sup>

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The Muslim League was mindful also of the interests of overseas Indians. In July 1939, the Working Committee had urged the Government of India to take prompt steps to protect the rights of Indians in Ceylon (renamed Sri Lanka in 1972) and ensure fair treatment to Indian nationals in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire).<sup>188</sup> The Indians abroad, particularly the Muslims, had closely watched the League's struggle for freedom. An Indian Christian in Ceylon, admiring Jinnah and the great work he was doing, had urged him to work for the welfare of all Indians rather than only a segment of the Indian expatriate community.<sup>189</sup> M. A. C. M. Saleh, a Ceylonese Muslim who had sent Jinnah a clipping of an editorial in a local paper, invited him to visit the island, assuring him of a very warm welcome.<sup>190</sup> M. C. A. Hassim of the fledgling Demetagoda Muslim League in Colombo district paid Jinnah the glowing tribute of being a



“beacon of light amongst the Muslims in India, and in fact the whole Muslim world”.<sup>191</sup> Jinnah was appreciative of the Ceylonese Muslims’ efforts to organise themselves in order to be able to articulate their point of view through their representative body.<sup>192</sup>

Before the commencement of the Madras session of the League, Jinnah had received a number of telegrams from Muslims in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma (now Myanmar) and Singapore expressing support to the League demand for Pakistan.<sup>193</sup> During the same session, the League took notice of the discriminatory treatment of Indians in Ceylon by the Ceylonese Government. The Party urged the Government of India to take prompt remedial action.<sup>194</sup>

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The demand for partition of the subcontinent was “getting a repudiation” from the leading Congress papers, “which were spreading poison against the Muslim League”.<sup>195</sup> The Karachi office of the Associated Press of India, manned wholly by Hindus, had been reported to be dabbling in communal matters and sending out incorrect, one-sided and mutilated reports.<sup>196</sup> Given such an environment, Jinnah’s immediate need was “an efficient Muslim press and selfless and sincere workers and, above all, money”. In all these very important requirements, the League almost were “paupers” as compared to their opponents and rivals. The League had to build<sup>197</sup> from scratch as it were, and it would be nearly a year before an English weekly, the *Dawn*, made its appearance. It would be an independent venture, in no way financed by the All India Muslim League.<sup>198</sup> The Congress had also been carrying on “one-sided and insidious propaganda” against the League in America.<sup>199</sup> The India League of America, organised by a number of Hindus, had unleashed a virulent campaign against the League through the columns of *India Today*, its monthly bulletin.<sup>200</sup> One of the “brains behind the scenes” was identified as Hardit Singh Malik, I. C. S., Indian Trade Commissioner in New York, who liaised with J. J. Singh of the India League there.<sup>201</sup> Malik had been known for his anti-Muslim activities earlier as a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab. His anti-Muslim activities in America were serious enough for Abdoola Haroon to demand his recall to India at the end of his three-year term as Trade Commissioner in June 1941.<sup>202</sup> Jinnah had the issue brought to the notice of the Viceroy for his consideration.<sup>203</sup> That was about all he could do in the matter.<sup>204</sup> But he laid greater emphasis on being vigilant and getting the American press and public to understand the Muslim League point of

view. As regards Malik, he would remain Trade Commissioner till 1943 and be appointed on return to India as Prime Minister of Patiala State in the Punjab.

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In the wake of the historic Lahore Resolution,<sup>205</sup> the Muslim League, not yet fully organised or adequately funded, had to contend with two powerful players in the political arena—the British Government and the Congress. The Viceroy, having acquiesced in a Muslim veto over a future constitution, was determined to enlist Muslim support for the British war effort despite the League's reservations. The Congress, obsessed with their notion of representing the whole of India, continued attempting to dragoon the British Government into making a declaration of full independence for India.<sup>206</sup> The Congress Civil Disobedience Movement was a ploy to force the British to resile from their acquiescence in a Muslim veto over the future constitution.<sup>207</sup> The Sapru Conference brought pressure to bear on the British for the same objective. The acceptance of its proposals "would have meant cancelling completely the declaration of August 8<sup>208</sup> which would be the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and other minorities."<sup>209</sup> Another disturbing factor was a host of waverers in the League camp all too ready to reap the benefits accruing from participation in the British war effort. All these factors together led to a severe strain on Quaid's health and sorely tested the party's solidarity.

Jinnah was to face these formidable challenges with courage and fortitude. He refused to fall for the Viceroy's blandishments and denounced the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement. Muslim Premiers and other Leaguers who supported the British war effort in defiance of the party's decision had to face the rigours of party discipline.

The pathway to Pakistan would by no means be easy. Many a pot-hole would impede progress. There would be frustrating moments as well. It would be through quintessential leadership, a dedicated following, and untold sacrifices that an independent Muslim state in South Asia would eventually be won.



# Notes

- <sup>1</sup>*Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (1940-1943), 4614.
- <sup>2</sup>M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Laithwaite, 1 July 1940, Enclosure to No. 377, Vol. XV, 519.
- <sup>3</sup>Proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, 3-7 July 1940, A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress* (1939-1946), Vol. 12, New Delhi, 1981, 429.
- <sup>4</sup>Statement by the Viceroy, 8 August 1940, Enclosure to No. 506, Vol. XV, 687-9.
- <sup>5</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 4 January 1937, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1992, 108.
- <sup>6</sup>Article by M. A. Jinnah titled *Two Nations in India*, *ibid.*, 473-9.
- <sup>7</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 22 January 1937, *ibid.*, 116-20.
- <sup>8</sup>A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, 434-5.
- <sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 375-6.
- <sup>10</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 30 November 1940, No. 202.
- <sup>11</sup>Resolution No. 6 by All India Muslim League Council, 23 February 1941, AFM 263/69. Not printed.
- <sup>12</sup>Resolution No. 4 by All India Muslim League 28th Session, 12-5 April 1941, AFM 239/106-7. Not printed.
- <sup>13</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 17 April 1941, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 229.
- <sup>14</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 5 May 1941, *ibid.*, 240-1.
- <sup>15</sup>H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 88.
- <sup>16</sup>Henry Twynam to Marquess of Linlithgow, 22 January 1942, No. 29, TP, I, 55-7.
- <sup>17</sup>Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, Enclosure to No. 7.
- <sup>18</sup>Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, *ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup>Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 25 September 1940, Enclosure to No. 40.
- <sup>20</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 26 September 1940, No. 44.
- <sup>21</sup>Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to a London newspaper, 1 November 1940, Enclosure to No. 98.
- <sup>22</sup>W. H. P. Gardiner to Reginald Heber Parker, 28 December 1940, No. 141.
- <sup>23</sup>Statement by L. S. Amery, 12 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, II, 18.
- <sup>24</sup>Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to a London newspaper, 30 December 1940, *ibid.*, 118-9.
- <sup>25</sup>Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 22 February 1941, AFM 133/31. Not printed.
- <sup>26</sup>M. A. Jinnah to L. S. Amery & Winston S. Churchill, 31 December 1940, No. 147.
- <sup>27</sup>L. S. Amery to M. A. Jinnah, 14 January 1941, No. 174.
- <sup>28</sup>See note 4 *supra*.
- <sup>29</sup>L. S. Amery to M. A. Jinnah, 20 March 1941, No. 307.
- <sup>30</sup>M. A. Jinnah to C. M. G. Ogilvie, 27 March 1941, No. 325.
- <sup>31</sup>Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah, 20 July 1941, No. 519.
- <sup>32</sup>Communique by Viceroy's Office, 21 July 1941, Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, II, note 2, 270-2.
- <sup>33</sup>M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq, 11 December 1940, No. 127.
- <sup>34</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Roger Lumley, 21 July 1941, No. 520.
- <sup>35</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 21 July 1941, Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, II, 270-2.
- <sup>36</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 28 July 1941, No. 542.
- <sup>37</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan, 30 July 1941, No. 548.
- <sup>38</sup>Muhammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 31 July 1941, No. 551 & M. A. Jinnah to Muhammad Akrum Khan, 1 August 1941, Telegram, F. 337/1, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>39</sup>Muhammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 7 August 1941, F. 337/3, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>40</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan to Members, All India Muslim League Working Committee, 4 August 1941, F. 1092/97, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>41</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan to Sikander Hyat Khan & Others, 4 August 1941, F. 1092/98, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>42</sup>Statement by Sikander Hyat Khan, 26 August 1941, F. 1092/124-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>43</sup>See note 31 supra.

<sup>44</sup>Resolution No. 2 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 15-17 June 1940, No. 323, Vol. XV, 443.

<sup>45</sup>Resolution No. 5 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, AFM 129/104. Not printed.

<sup>46</sup>See note 3 supra.

<sup>47</sup>A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, op. cit., Vol. 12, 435.

<sup>48</sup>Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 24 March 1940, No. 156, Vol. XV, 231.

<sup>49</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 6 September 1940, F. 1022/253, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>50</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 29 March 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 192.

<sup>51</sup>A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, op. cit., Vol. 12, 447.

<sup>52</sup>O. P. Ralhan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties: India-Pakistan-Bangladesh*, Vol. 32, New Delhi, 1997, 816.

<sup>53</sup>Draft Resolution by Kunwar Anand Singh, 12 October 1940, Enclosure 2 to No. 94.

<sup>54</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 23 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 103.

<sup>55</sup>M. N. Roy to M. A. Jinnah, 14 February 1941, No. 263.

<sup>56</sup>M. A. Jinnah to M. N. Roy, 14 February 1941, F. 187/28, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>57</sup>Statement by A. K. Fazlul Huq, 5 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, note 1, 136.

<sup>58</sup>Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 15-7 June 1940, No. 323, Vol. XV, 444.

<sup>59</sup>A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah, 8 December 1940, No. 116.

<sup>60</sup>M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq, 11 December 1940, No. 127.

<sup>61</sup>A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah, 14 December 1940, No. 132.

<sup>62</sup>M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq, 4 January 1941, No. 155.

<sup>63</sup>A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah, 23 January 1941, No. 205.

<sup>64</sup>A. K. Fazlul Huq to Abdul Hameed Khan, 30 March 1941, No. 326.

<sup>65</sup>Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 12 June 1941, No. 445.

<sup>66</sup>Ch. Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah, 24 June 1941, No. 467.

<sup>67</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 12 June 1941, No. 446.

<sup>68</sup>Resolution No. 6 by All India Muslim League 29th Session, 3-6 April 1942, AFM 255/87. Not printed.

<sup>69</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 4 September 1941, Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 491. Also see Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Deadlock, Frustration and Riots*, Vol. V, Karachi, 2001, V, 266-7.

<sup>70</sup>Z. H. Zaidi, op. cit., 103.

<sup>71</sup>Terms of Sikander-Jinnah Pact, Vol. X, Enclosure to No. 538, 545-6.

<sup>72</sup>Resolution No. 4 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 26 March 1939, AFM 128/23.

<sup>73</sup>S. A. I. Tirmizi, ed., *The Paradoxes of Partition (1937-39)*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1998, 717-21.

<sup>74</sup>Press Interview by M. A. Jinnah, 2 February 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 449-50.

<sup>75</sup>*Punjab Assembly Legislative Debates*, 11 March 1941, cited in Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, Karachi, 1998, 113.

<sup>76</sup>Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 23-4, March 1940, No. 156, Vol. XV, 229-30.

<sup>77</sup>Report on All India Muslim League Council Session, 24 February 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 150.

<sup>78</sup>See East India (Constitutional Reforms), *Communal Decision*, Cmd. 4147, 4 August 1932 in Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 534-8.

<sup>79</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan, 1 August 1940, No. 491, note 4, Vol. XV, 668.

<sup>80</sup>Resolution 3 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 15-17, June 1940, No. 323, Vol. XV, 444.

<sup>81</sup>See note 71 supra.

<sup>82</sup>Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 22 June 1940, No. 343, Vol. XV, 468.

<sup>83</sup>Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 6 July 1940, Telegram, F. 353/30, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>84</sup>Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 8 July 1940, No. 404, Vol. XV, 559-61.



- <sup>85</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 8 July 1940, F. 1022/9, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>86</sup>See note 84 supra.
- <sup>87</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 20 July 1940, No. 453, Vol. XV, 618-20.
- <sup>88</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan, 1 August 1940, No. 491, Vol. XV, 666-8.
- <sup>89</sup>Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 23 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 101-2.
- <sup>90</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan, 3 February 1941, No. 229.
- <sup>91</sup>Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 7 February 1941, F. 353/44-5, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>92</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 18 February 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 145-6.
- <sup>93</sup>Report on M. A. Jinnah's visit to Jinnah Islamia College, Lahore, 3 March 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 178.
- <sup>94</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan, 29 August 1941, F. 353/38, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>95</sup>Report on Punjab Muslim League Conference Session, 18 November 1942, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., III, 114-20.
- <sup>96</sup>M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 3 February 1940, No. 73, Vol. XV, 110-1.
- <sup>97</sup>M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 3 February 1940, No. 74, Ibid., 111.
- <sup>98</sup>Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, Lahore, 1998, 537-8.
- <sup>99</sup>Ibid., 191.
- <sup>100</sup>Ibid., 191.
- <sup>101</sup>Resolution No. 1 by Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, 21 April 1940, No. 193, Vol. XV, 280.
- <sup>102</sup>Hamida Khuhro, op. cit., 192.
- <sup>103</sup>H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah, 19 October 1940, No. 78.
- <sup>104</sup>M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon, 24 October 1940, No. 86.
- <sup>105</sup>Lancelot Graham to Conran Smith, 5 December 1940, see Khadim Hussain Soomro, *The Path Not Taken: G. M. Sayed: Vision and Valour in Politics*, Sehwan Sharif, 2004, 91-2.
- <sup>106</sup>G. M. Sayed & M. A. Khuhro to Nihchaldas Vazirani, 20 November 1940, F. 365/8, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>107</sup>Lancelot Graham to Conran Smith, 12 December 1940, see Khadim Husain Soomro, op. cit., 92-3.
- <sup>108</sup>Statement by Abdoola Haroon, 21 November 1940, Enclosure to No. 106.
- <sup>109</sup>Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro: Apostle of Secular Harmony*, Sehwan Sharif, 2004, 106.
- <sup>110</sup>M. A. Hassan Ispahani & Khwaja Nooruddin to M. A. Jinnah, 24 December 1940, No. 137.
- <sup>111</sup>Resolution by Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference, 22 December 1940, Annexure to Enclosure to No. 157.
- <sup>112</sup>Report on Sind Provincial Muslim League Proceedings, 22 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 106-7.
- <sup>113</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1940, ibid., 107.
- <sup>114</sup>Resolution No. 1 by Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, 26 January 1941, Enclosure to No. 210.
- <sup>115</sup>Sheikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah, 24 January 1941, No. 207.
- <sup>116</sup>See M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Abdul Majid, 29 January 1941, No. 213.
- <sup>117</sup>Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur to M. A. Jinnah, 3 February 1941, No. 228.
- <sup>118</sup>M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 8 February 1941, No. 249.
- <sup>119</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur, 5 February 1941, Telegram, F. 218/4, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>120</sup>Sheikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah, 4 February 1941, No. 230.
- <sup>121</sup>Nichaldas Vazirani to M. A. Jinnah, 4 February 1941, No. 234.
- <sup>122</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 7 February 1941, F. 1009/111-4, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>123</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Abdul Majid, 8 February 1941, No. 248.
- <sup>124</sup>M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon, 8 February 1941, No. 246.
- <sup>125</sup>M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 8 February 1941, No. 249.
- <sup>126</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nichaldas Vazirani, 9 February 1941, No. 252.
- <sup>127</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur & Others, 14 February 1941, No. 258.
- <sup>128</sup>Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur to M. A. Jinnah, 15 February 1941, No. 265.
- <sup>129</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur, 19 February 1941, No. 267.

- <sup>130</sup>Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 19 February 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 147-8. Also see F. 365/8, QAP. Not printed.
- <sup>131</sup>Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allahbux*, op. cit., 107.
- <sup>132</sup>Khadim Hussain Soomro, *The Path Not Taken*, op. cit., 75.
- <sup>133</sup>Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 21 September 1940, No. 38.
- <sup>134</sup>Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 8 October 1940, No. 54.
- <sup>135</sup>Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 1 April 1941, No. 329.
- <sup>136</sup>Burhanulhaq to Marquess of Linlithgow & Others, 10 February 1941, No. 255.
- <sup>137</sup>Resolution No. 8 by All India Muslim League Council, 23 February 1941, AFM 263/76. Not printed.
- <sup>138</sup>Resolution by Narsingpur Muslim League, 17 May 1941, No. 402.
- <sup>139</sup>M. I. Hassan to M. A. Jinnah, 13 June 1941, No. 448.
- <sup>140</sup>Resolution No. 11 by All India Muslim League 28th Session, 12-15 April 1941, AFM 239/110-1. Not printed.
- <sup>141</sup>S. M. Latifur Rehman to M. A. Jinnah & Others, 12 May 1941, No. 380.
- <sup>142</sup>Resolution by Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, 18 May 1941, Enclosure to No. 408.
- <sup>143</sup>Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah, 7 June 1941, No. 441.
- <sup>144</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam, 14 June 1941, No. 452.
- <sup>145</sup>Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah, 19 June 1941, No. 460.
- <sup>146</sup>Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 8 July 1941, No. 493.
- <sup>147</sup>Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah, 19 July 1941, No. 516.
- <sup>148</sup>Resolution No. 12 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 24-26 August 1941, AFM 133/73-4. Not printed.
- <sup>149</sup>Resolution No. 10 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 24-26 August 1941, AFM 133/71-2. Not printed.
- <sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>151</sup>Presidential Address by M. A. Jinnah at the 26th Session of All India Muslim League, 26-29 December 1938, AFM 191/46-7. Not printed.
- <sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>153</sup>Resolution No. 11 by All India Muslim League Council, 8 April 1939, AFM 252/57-8. Not printed.
- <sup>154</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 7 March 1940, No. 154, Vol. XV, 197-8.
- <sup>155</sup>Nareish Kumar Jain, ed., *Muslims in India: A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1970, 116.
- <sup>156</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 30 May 1940, No. 266, Vol. XV, 383-4.
- <sup>157</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 20 July 1940, No. 454, Vol. XV, 620-1.
- <sup>158</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Presidents & Secretaries of Provincial Muslim Leagues, 11 October 1940, No. 60.
- <sup>159</sup>S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah, 20 October 1940, No. 79.
- <sup>160</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 29 April 1941, No. 356.
- <sup>161</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 14 May 1941, No. 389.
- <sup>162</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 22 May 1941, No. 415.
- <sup>163</sup>Message from Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 23 May 1941, Enclosure to No. 419. Also see Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 24 May 1941, No. 420.
- <sup>164</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 29 May 1941, No. 426.
- <sup>165</sup>Note by Abdur Rehman Rais, 8 June 1941, Enclosure to No. 443.
- <sup>166</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 14 June 1941, No. 449.
- <sup>167</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 27 June 1941, No. 469.
- <sup>168</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 30 June 1941, No. 474.
- <sup>169</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 2 July 1941, No. 483.
- <sup>170</sup>Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah, 24 July 1941, No. 529.
- <sup>171</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 28 September 1941, SHC, Hyderabad II/30. Not printed.
- <sup>172</sup>Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah, 20 October 1941, SHC, Hyderabad II/32. Not printed.
- <sup>173</sup>H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah, 23 December 1940, Appendix I. 1.
- <sup>174</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, 21 March 1941, No. 315.



- <sup>175</sup>Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to the Mysore State Muslim League Officials, 19 May 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 249.
- <sup>176</sup>Press Interview by M. A. Jinnah, 10 November 1938, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 306.
- <sup>177</sup>Walter Christie to M. A. Jinnah, 2 March 1940, No. 128, Vol. XV, 184.
- <sup>178</sup>H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah, 28 December 1940, No. 143.
- <sup>179</sup>Resolution No. 2 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 24 March 1940, No. 156, Vol. XV, 230-1.
- <sup>180</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Marquiss of Linlithgow, 29 May 1940, No. 251, Vol. XV, 364-5.
- <sup>181</sup>Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 27 June 1940, No. 367, Vol. XV, 505.
- <sup>182</sup>M. A. Jinnah to the Consul of Iraq, Bombay, 11 September 1940, No. 22.
- <sup>183</sup>Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M. A. Jinnah, 21 November 1940, No. 105.
- <sup>184</sup>Resolution No. 7 by All India Muslim League Council, 29 September 1940, AFM 262/78. Not printed.
- <sup>185</sup>See note 158 supra.
- <sup>186</sup>See note 21 supra.
- <sup>187</sup>Statment by M. A. Jinnah, 13 November 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 81-3.
- <sup>188</sup>Resolutions Nos. 4 & 5 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2-3 July 1939, AFM 128/61-2. Not printed.
- <sup>189</sup>Joseph John to M. A. Jinnah, 25 March 1940, No. 157, Vol. XV, 232-3.
- <sup>190</sup>M. A. Jinnah to M.A.C.M. Saleh, 17 October 1940, No. 72.
- <sup>191</sup>M. C. A. Hassim to M. A. Jinnah, 6 January 1941, No. 159.
- <sup>192</sup>M. A. Jinnah to M. C. A. Hassim, 20 January 1941, Vol. 197.
- <sup>193</sup>Report on All India Muslim League 28th Session, 13 April 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 209.
- <sup>194</sup>Resolution No. 13 by All India Muslim League 28th Session, 12 April 1941, AFM 239/111. Not printed.
- <sup>195</sup>S. A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah, 20 April 1940, No. 191, Vol. XV, 275-6.
- <sup>196</sup>H. Abdoola Haroon to John Turner, 5 October 1940, Enclosure to No. 52.
- <sup>197</sup>See note 190 supra.
- <sup>198</sup>Appeal by M. A. Jinnah, 23 October 1941, Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1455-6.
- <sup>199</sup>M. A. Jinnah to Philip Henry Kerr Lothian, 29 May 1940, No. 252, Vol. XV, 365.
- <sup>200</sup>S. M. Ahmad to H. Abdoola Haroon, 28 November 1940, Enclosure 1 to No. 190.
- <sup>201</sup>S. M. Ahmad to H. Abdoola Haroon, 29 January 1941, No. 215.
- <sup>202</sup>S. M. Ahmad to H. Abdoola Haroon, 1 March 1941, Enclosure 1 to No. 359.
- <sup>203</sup>M. H. Saiyid to J. G. Laithwaite, 14 May 1941, No. 387.
- <sup>204</sup>M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ahmad, 14 July 1941, No. 502.
- <sup>205</sup>See note 75 supra.
- <sup>206</sup>See note 3 supra.
- <sup>207</sup>See Resolution No. 6 by All India Muslim League Council, 23 February 1941, AFM 133/71. Not printed.
- <sup>208</sup>See note 4 supra.
- <sup>209</sup>Statment by M. A. Jinnah, 23 May 1941, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 251.

# *Abbreviations*

AIML	All India Muslim League
AP	Associated Press
API	Associated Press of India
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
DC	Defence Council
DLB	District Local Board
EC	Executive Council
GIPR	Great Indian Peninsular Railway
INC	Indian National Congress
IG	Inspector General
IPC	Indian Penal Code
KB	Khan Bahadur
ML	Muslim League
MLC	Member Legislative Council
NDC	National Defence Council
PMSF	Punjab Muslim Students Federation
PS	Police Station
PVC	Pro-Vice Chancellor
QAD	<i>Quaid-i-Azam Documents</i>
QAP	<i>Quaid-i-Azam Papers</i>
RTC	Round Table Conference
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
SHC	<i>Shamsul Hasan Collection</i>
TP	<i>Transfer of Power</i>
WAC	War Advisory Council



*All India Muslim League Working Committee September  
1940—July 1941*

*President* Mohammad Ali Jinnah

*Secretary* Liaquat Ali Khan

*Members*

*Assam* Abdul Matin Chaudhury

*Baluchistan* Qazi Mohammad Isa

*Bengal* A. K. Fazlul Huq  
Khwaja Nazimuddin  
Mohammad Akrum Khan

*Bihar* Hossain Imam  
S. M. Shareef  
S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman

*Bombay* Currimbhoy Ebrahim

*C. P. & Berar* Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

*Delhi* Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali

*Madras* Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait

*N.W.F.P.* Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan  
Khan Sadullah Khan  
Bakht Jamal Khan

*Punjab* Sardar Sikander Hyat Khan  
Malik Barkat Ali  
Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot

*Sind* H. Abdoola Haroon  
G. M. Sayed

*United Provinces* Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan  
(Raja of Mahmudabad)  
Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan  
Ch. Khaliquzzaman

## Chronology of Important Events 1940-41

September  
1940

- 2 AIML Working Committee regards Linlithgow's August offer and its amplification by Amery as having virtually met their demand that no constitution for India be adopted without the League's approval. The committee asserts that Muslims, being themselves a nation, will exercise their right to self-determination. While insisting that the government give Muslims equal share of power at both central and provincial levels, it appoints a body to consider disciplinary action against those members who had defied the ban on joining War Committees.
- 7 Jinnah welcomes settlement of the dispute between Khaksars and the Punjab Government.
- 11 Jinnah sends to the Consul for Iraq copies of correspondence regarding representation made by AIML in support of Palestine Arab national demands; encloses a bank draft, in the name of Foreign Minister of Iraq, as League's donation for the sufferers.
- 16 The All India Congress Committee, considering their resolution on *satyagraha*, seek Gandhi's guidance as to the non-violent action to be taken for "vindication of India's freedom" and "preservation of the liberties of the people".
- 17 Latifur Rahman, Muslim League Working Committee member from Bihar, accuses Congress, rather Gandhi, of inability to acquiesce in power-sharing with the Muslims.
- 25 Linlithgow informs Jinnah that selection of Members for his enlarged Executive Council must rest with him and the Secretary of State for India, and be predicated on confidential discussion between the leader of the political party concerned and the Viceroy.
- 28 AIML Working Committee considers Viceroy's stipulation in respect of the Executive Council, and for all their desire to help in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, find it unacceptable for various reasons.



- 29 Muslim League Council ratifies Working Committee's resolution on non-acceptance of the Viceroy's offer of an expanded Executive Council. The Council also authorizes Jinnah and the League Party in Central Legislature to move the Government for the release of Abdul Sattar Kheiri, a party member, under detention without trial.
- October
- 11 Pursuant to a League Council resolution Jinnah fixes 1 November 1940 as the day for expression of sympathy of Muslim India for Muslim countries against any aggressive designs on their sovereignty and independence.
- 12 M.N. Roy, founder of the Radical Democratic Party, proposes reconstitution of the Congress ministries as coalitions with the Muslim League.
- November
- 1 Commenting on the Day of Observance for Safety of Islamic Countries, Jinnah slams the British for failure to share power at the central and provincial levels with the Muslims so essential for prosecution of the war.
- 3 Jinnah reaffirms that the Indian Muslims are a nation and *ipso facto* entitled to an independent state of their own; urges unity among the Muslims and exhorts them to extend all possible help to the Muslim countries, should their territorial integrity or security be endangered.
- 21 Mufti Amin el-Husseini of the Committee for Assistance to Palestinian Affectees acknowledges the remittance sent to him by Jinnah through Noori Pasha Saeed, Iraqi Foreign Minister.
- 30 Jinnah charges the Congress with launching a Civil Disobedience Movement in order to extort recognition from the British Government of their claim that the Congress is the sole representative body of the Indian people; asks Muslim students to refrain from participating in any activity that might help the Movement.

## December

- 22 Sind Provincial Muslim League vehemently opposes introduction of joint electorates in borough municipalities and other local bodies.
- 24 A. B. Tribhuwan, an Indian Christian from Ahmadnagar, dissatisfied at his leadership leaning towards the Congress seeks Jinnah's views with regard to what his community should be doing in the political situation obtaining in India.
- 25 Jinnah impugns the right of the Sind Legislative Assembly as well as the Provincial Government to enforce the Joint Electorates Act and urges them not to force that issue.
- 28 Pat Gradiner, a Labour Member of Parliament on active service in India, proposes that, given the Congress refusal to join Viceroy's Executive Council, some of the portfolios be allocated to Muslim League nominees.
- 31 Complaining that the British cabinet attaches undue importance to the political clout of the Congress, Jinnah telegraphs Churchill and Amery to study Pat Gardiner's report and give earnest consideration to the League's point of view to allow close cooperation between England and Muslim India.

## January

1941

- 14 Replying to A.B. Tribhuwan, Jinnah says that the Muslim League policy aims at safeguarding and protecting the interest of the minorities.
- 14 Churchill and Amery share Jinnah's ardent desire for a political settlement in India and promise close and earnest consideration of Pat Gardiner's report in consultation with the Viceroy.

## February

- 7 Jinnah accuses the Congress Party as well as the Hindu Independent Party in the Sind Assembly of attempting to destabilize Mir Bande Ali Khan's ministry, and also of thwarting the formation of a Muslim League Party in the Assembly.



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- 10 In response to a suggestion that he meet Gandhi, Jinnah says he had always been willing to meet Gandhi or any other Hindu leader to find a solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem.
- 14 M.N. Roy disputes the Congress claim to represent the entire nation and invites the Muslim League to join the National Democratic Union at its ensuing all India convention.
- 19 Jinnah advises Sind Premier Bunde Ali Khan to stand firm against threats by Allah Bakhsh and to not resign or reconstitute the Ministry.
- 22 AIML Working Committee deplore Amery's recent speeches visualizing a constitution predicated on economic and political unity of India and reaffirm adherence to the Pakistan Resolution as well as deciding on annual observance of 23rd March for expounding the principles underpinning that Resolution.
- 23 The AIML Council, believing the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement to be aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the British Government, decide to resist any concessions by the latter that might impinge on or militate against the rights and interests of Muslims. The Council urges the Sind Government to take steps to repeal the law introducing joint electorates in borough municipalities, it also condemns police firing on Jubbulpore Muslims and advises them to place their case properly before the enquiry commission.
- 27 Muslim of Burhanpur thank Jinnah for his support in their complaint against the military authorities having desecrated a mosque.
- March  
2 In his presidential address to the Punjab Muslim Students Federation Jinnah reiterates that the Muslims, being a nation, must have a territory of their own; defines education, commerce, trade, industry and defence as the underpinnings for a nation's claim to territory of its own.

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- 10 Jinnah regards the establishment of Muslim states in the subcontinent as a pre-requisite to the maintenance of friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims, and as the surest guarantee for fair treatment of the minorities.
- 19 Acting on Jinnah's advice against any compromise with either Allah Bakhsh or the Congress party in the Sind Assembly, the Muslim League ministry of Mir Bunde Ali Khan resigns.
- 21 In clarifying the Pakistan Resolution to Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Jinnah says he has no desire to interfere with the Indian States as far as the Muslim zones are concerned but that any state will be welcome to accede to Pakistan on terms that may be mutually agreed upon.
- 24 As the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly and as the President of the AIML, Jinnah sends a memorandum to the Viceroy on inadequate representation of Muslims in the railway services.
- 27 Muslim League declines to bear responsibility for, or, to be associated with, the war effort without sharing power and authority in the central and provincial governments.
- April  
15 AIML incorporates the Pakistan Resolution into the party constitution; warns against any deviation from the Viceroy's August offer to appease the Congress; appoints a committee to draw up a plan for the uplift of Muslims; protests against unfair treatment of Muslims in government departments, particularly the railways; condemns police firing on Muslims in Badaun district, and deplores the discriminatory attitude of the Ceylonese Government towards the resident Indians.
- 17 Jinnah calls upon the Congress to eschew non-cooperation and civil disobedience and negotiate a peaceful settlement with the League on basis of the Pakistan proposal.



- May  
5 Jinnah believes the demand of Non-Party Leaders' Conference for reconstitution of Viceroy's Executive Council with non-official Indian members to be aimed at letting Gandhi back out of *satyagraha* and torpedoing the League demand for Pakistan.
- June  
15 Jinnah announces the new Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for the current year retaining most of the outgoing members.
- July  
7 Sympathizing with the affectees of cyclone havoc in Bengal, Jinnah appeals for donations to the relief fund instituted by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League; also calls for government aid to those who have lost property or been rendered homeless.
- 21 Government of India announce expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and appointment of five new Indian members; a National Defence Council is set up as well.  
Jinnah does not approve of the Muslim League premiers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam, or any other Leaguer, being approached direct by the Viceroy for appointment to the National Defence Council.
- 22 Jinnah denounces the Muslims appointed direct to the Governor-General's Executive Council and the National Defence Council as being neither genuine representatives of the Muslims nor deserving of their confidence and trust.
- 27 The Non-Party Leaders' Conference, presided at by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, demands complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council as well as a British declaration specifying a time limit after the war within which a new constitution for India will be framed and promulgated.
- 28 Jinnah believes that the demand of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference aims at seeking retraction for the Viceroy's

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August offer by the British Government and getting them to spurn the League demand for Pakistan.

- 30 Jinnah considered taking disciplinary action against those members of the AIML Council who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council or the National Defence Council in violation of the party's decision.



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## APPENDIX I

FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF ALL INDIA  
MUSLIM LEAGUE

December 1940

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## 1

*Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah**F. 220/24-5*

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

HOTEL CECIL,  
SIMLA,  
2 September 1940

Dear Jinnah,

Very many thanks for your letter of August 26.<sup>1</sup> The Delhi Radio has just announced a summary of the resolutions<sup>2</sup> passed by the Working Committee. I am so happy that our enemies' predictions of a split in the League have been falsified. Please accept my most sincere congratulations. You are a wonderful shepherd to keep together your flock, with wolves wandering [*sic* for prowling] about on all sides. I especially welcome the resolution permitting Muslim Leaguers to join War Committees, if they so desire. This would remove the difficulty we have experienced from our land-owning Muslim friends during the last two and a half months. Indeed last night I drafted a telegram to be sent to you. But looking to your worries, I decided not to send it. I enclose the draft.<sup>3</sup> As you will put yourself in touch with the Viceroy without delay, would you allow me to call attention to two points. The first is that the number of representatives of the League to be appointed to the Executive [Council] should be three and not two. Secondly, the question of portfolios is very important indeed. If Muslim Members are put in charge of Defence (to which the Viceroy may not agree) and, in any case, of Communications (Posts and Telegraphs, Harbours, including Port Trusts, Civil Aviation and Wireless) and, if possible, of Railways, it would give them large opportunities of serving the country. The importance attaching to these Departments—which have been the preserves of English Members—would also give their holders a status generally denied to Indians. Home Department is not worth having and the Viceroy may not agree to making over Finance to an Indian.

There is censorship in Simla and I am sending down a messenger to post this letter.

With all good wishes and very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
RAZA ALI

<sup>1&3</sup>See F. 220/22-3, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 7 and Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 495-500.



## 2

*A. A. Gheewala to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 568/103-4*

BOMBAY,  
2 September 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I thank you for yours of 9th August 1940.<sup>1</sup> I enclose herewith copies of resolutions<sup>2</sup> sent by Mr. Amjad, MLA, Punjab, to Mr. Ahmed of Poona. These copies accompanied a letter to Mr. Ahmed from the said gentleman, in which it was stated that he (Mr. Ahmed) should canvass votes in favour of these resolutions and try his best to collect as many signatures as possible. I have read that letter personally and I would have arranged to send a photographed copy of it but unfortunately Ahmed says that it has been returned to Mr. Amjad on his request.

Another letter was received by Mr. Ahmed from the same gentleman subsequently concerning the matter above referred to and I tried to send the same to you but when I found that I would not succeed in that, I arranged to take a photographed copy of it which I send you herewith.<sup>3</sup>

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
A. A. GHEEWALA  
MLA

<sup>1&3</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosures 1 to 3.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 2*

*F. 568/105*

Dear Sir,

I beg to communicate to you herewith that as a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League under Rule 22 of the Constitution of All India Muslim League, I support the following resolution and desire that this expression of opinion may be counted as my vote at the meeting of the Council to be held on....

That the Council of the All India Muslim League considers it necessary, in the best interest of the Musalmans as well as of

India, that instructions should forthwith be issued to the Muslim Leagues all over the country that they should participate fully in the Provincial and District War Boards and Committees and in their various activities.

Yours truly,  
SIGNATURE  
ADDRESS

The Secretary,  
All India Muslim League,  
Delhi

*Enclosure 2 to No. 2*

*F. 568/106*

Dear Sir,

I beg to communicate to you herewith that as a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League under Rule 22 of the Constitution of All India Muslim League, I support the following resolution and desire that this expression of opinion may be counted as my vote at the meeting of the Council to be held on....

That this Council of the All India Muslim League resolves that five representatives should be selected by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to confer with the representatives of other political parties in the country if they evince a desire to negotiate with the All India Muslim League for the settlement of outstanding political and communal issues.

Yours truly,  
SIGNATURE  
ADDRESS

The Secretary,  
All India Muslim League,  
Delhi

*Enclosure 3 to No. 2*

*F. 568/107*

Dear Sir,

I beg to communicate to you herewith that as a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League under Rule 22 of the Constitution of All India Muslim League, I support the following



resolution and desire that this expression of opinion may be counted as my vote at the meeting of the Council to be held on....

That the Council of the All India Muslim League considers it essential at this juncture that if the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government, for the effective protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the Muslim League in the future constitution of India and with regard to other matters suggested by the Working Committee, provides a satisfactory basis for the participation of Muslim League in the Central Government and in the Provincial Governments where there has been a breakdown of the constitution, the Working Committee should not break negotiations merely on the question of details so long as the appointments are made from amongst the members of the Muslim League.

Yours truly,  
SIGNATURE  
ADDRESS

The Secretary,  
All India Muslim League,  
Delhi

### 3

*Syed Ishaq to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 917/43*

BOMBAY,  
2 September 1940

Sir,

I beg to forward herewith an authorized true copy of the resolution passed unanimously by the Musalmans of Chanda in a huge and mammoth public meeting held on 1-9-40 at the Mohamedali Ground, Chanda.

SYED ISHAQ  
*President of the public meeting*

*Enclosure to No. 3*

*F. 917/44*

*[Original in Urdu]*

#### RESOLUTION

That a public meeting of Hindus was held in the Town Hall of Chanda on 22 August 1940 under the presidentship of Dr. Shankar Rao for delivering a speech by Mr. Verma of Nagpur. During his speech, Verma used highly derogatory and abusive language against the Muslims and Islam. He also alleged that Muslims abduct Hindu women [and], therefore, Hindus should do likewise. Further, Muslims in this country are spread like bugs and should be killed like them.

Dr. Shankar Rao reiterated what Verma had said. A number of fiery speeches were made to provoke Hindus against Muslims. Consequently, Hindus attacked Muslims' houses including the house of one Dada Mian whose wife was taken away forcibly. Even the graves of Muslim venerables were dug out.

That the life and property of Muslims is in great danger. Therefore, this public meeting of Chanda Muslims passes a resolution that the whole matter should be looked into with a view to taking legal action against the miscreants.

SYED ISHAQ

*President, Chanda Muslim public meeting*

#### 4

*Abdulrehman Usman Sakhi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 873/566*

BOMBAY,

*3 September 1940*

My Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to congratulate you and, through you, the Working Committee of the AIML for the unique and opportune decision regarding participation in War Committees. Although this cautiously slight [*sic*] move of the Muslim League does not alter in the slightest the settled programme of the League, it carries in reality a great weight of solidarity influencing thereby the total collapse of the weakened discipline of the Congress rank and file as well as strengthening the



much more needed characterizing stamp for M.L. to carry the day on the [sub-]continent.

I am mad with joy that the Almighty has, at long last, heard my prayer and caused you and your colleagues to agree to the desired object in the most excited manner. Believe me that this insignificant move is in reality the death warrant of the Congress high command who have awfully blundered time after time and I assure you that in a very short while they will numerically [*sic*] be hounded out of their appropriate abode from where they shall never trouble the League again.

With this fervent prayer on my lips, long live my Quaid-i-Azam, to enjoy his due health and guide the destiny of the Muslim League passing through stormy water. I conclude my letter of compliment[s].

Your sincere devotee,

A. U. SAKHI

*Government Contractor*

## 5

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/119-22*

DELHI,

*3 September 1940*

Dear Sir,

Please permit me to write this personal letter once in my life to you.

On 2nd September, your kind talk, in the morning before the meeting, has given me heart to submit this letter to you. You were pleased to remark that it is human to have ambitions and to like wealth, honour and position, but it should not be at the cost of community or one should not be a traitor in the camp and allow the influence of the organization to be undermined. As such, thank God, I can legitimately apply to you as high command of our organisation. I submit the following facts for kind consideration:

During the last winter when you and Messrs Gandhi and Co. were to interview H. E. [the] Viceroy, you were pleased to invite me to lunch at your Delhi house. Miss Jinnah, yourself and myself were the only three at the lunch. You kindly told me how once Sir Abdul Qayyum wanted you to support the Frontier reforms and you tried

to leg-pull the old chap and then he wept and you told me that it was all a joke and [that] I must support NWFP reforms. Then you were further pleased [to tell me] how you got Syed A. Aziz of Patna in Hyderabad, and again how you intervened and secured definite terms for him and some other concessions through the Viceroy, and lastly you were kind enough to give me the gladdest tidings that you would be kind enough to "give [*sic*] me outside my province beyond my wildest dreams." I thanked *Allah* that my boss is satisfied with my work and naturally he will make me Syed A. Aziz's successor, and there were some other kind observations made by you which I cannot recollect properly, [such as] "I do not want you to rot in your dirty province and I want you here." I replied it will be gracious of you and I further added that I was unfortunate enough having served Sir A[bdul] Qayyum for 20 years for nothing and you were graciously pleased to say that it is a bad policy and you further buoyed [up] my soul by suggesting in, more or less, clear terms a job in the expanded Council as it was then under consideration. Part of this kindly talk happened at the table and the rest in the drawing-room where your beautiful radio set was on, and that day you gave me the honour of putting your overcoat on you and also gave me a seat in your cream-coloured car.

May I here repeat my usual prayer for your good spirits, robust health and success all round.

Dear Sir, I think the other day I gathered correctly that in your kind estimation it is no sin for a loyal worker to covet honour, position and situation, [and] as such I submit as under:

- a. Your kind discretion of selection in this respect is absolute and unfettered, but as I know you, you kindly do these things on certain fixed principles. If these two seats or three threats [*sic* for seats] you kindly propose to give to two sets of units, i.e. Muslim majority and Muslim minority ones, then I beg that out of the majority provinces, i.e. the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sindh are already associated with the Govt. and administration through their respective ministries and NWFP and Baluchistan are not. It will be an act of grace if these two border Provinces get a representative [each] at the Centre and the Punjab is additionally represented by Sir Zafrulla Khan.
- b. For any minister of the Punjab or any other majority province to aspire for these two seats is meaningless inasmuch as there is not much gain. There may be a gain of Rs.1000 to him, but the costly house costs Rs.1000 a month (I mean a house at Simla or Delhi) and then one employed is simply re-employed but in



the case of a new entrant, the community and the Leaguer is gainer by the entire pay and one unemployed is usefully employed.

- c. This appointment, if approved by you, will galvanise NWFP and Baluchistan inasmuch [as] people there will say that if Congress raised Abdul Ghaf[f]ar Khan, Muslim League by the grace of God can raise a fellow Leaguer much higher. The dramatic effect will be tremendous.
- d. You are the father of the Muslim India and you have to kindly see also to the wishes of your children in the remotest corner. The more remote and neglected should get your greater solicitude.
- e. Big guns of present ministers ( or their proteges) should and must be put on the War Advisory Council and they will get their present pay plus the emoluments of the membership of WAC which will come [add] up to the emoluments of the new member of EC of Viceroy and as WAC is going to be the nucleus of the future RTC, their talents can be better utilized for the future constitution. Besides, they have reputation and standing and when Sir Zafrulla retires, they can assert their claims and will be admitted at once because of their record but what claims can greenhorns like N[awabzada] Liaq[u]at Ali Khan or myself have then?
- f. I cannot think of any claim except the little bit I have done now and then but there is one claim which I can assert, *Insha Allah*, without fear of contradiction and that is that in the service of my community I can claim sincerity which to my mind is the one bright jewel which shines in a world of hypocrisy.
- g. In this connection I can offer a solemn pledge that I shall at once vacate office when called upon by you—before God Almighty and man. That is the only thing I can say so far confidently.
- h. I am in the neighbourhood of 50 years and I think I have got energy and life in me to shoulder any war responsibilities under your command and if you, by the grace of *Allah*, succeed in securing the Defence portfolio, as a member of martial race, I beg to submit I will be most qualified for it.
- i. Under your order I have twice presided over the All India Muslim League States Conferences, once at Patna and then at Lahore this time, and Nawab Mir Bahadur Yar Jung Khan can testify to it, if asked.
- j. At Patna, the delegates of the All India Muslim League selected

me their President, of course, with your kind permission.

k. You once told me at Delhi that now you have started to take real genuine interest in M[uslim] U[niversity] Aligarh—I am ex-President of their Union and winner of Meston Speaking Prize and as such I will be at your beck and call to run to Aligarh under your command.

I know nothing in the world can influence your judgement, and it was merely by way of mere reminder of item (1) regarding Delhi lunch talks that I write this letter. It is human frailty that has compelled [me] to write this humble reminder, otherwise ever since you had given the above indications I have been positive that your decision, once arrived at, cannot be altered and if I have reminded you now, you will pardon me that after all I am human and cannot talk this to you in your presence.

As this letter does not admit of any reply—I will beg of you not to send me any reply now. With sincerest apologies for this lengthy note and fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah and prayers for your robust health, good spirits and affectionate regards.

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN  
MLA

## 6

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/38*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
4 September 1940

My dear leader,

I went to Bombay for the Pakistan meeting, which I could not attend on account of indisposition. I am indeed very sorry for missing the opportunity of participating in that meeting.

The resolutions of the Committee<sup>1</sup> are indeed splendid inasmuch as they have covered the whole field of the present situation in India and abroad.

I see that the ban has been raised regarding the War Committees. Will you kindly advise me as to whether persons in my position can also join such Committees. I personally feel that it will be better if



co-operation is withheld till the League's demands are fully met.

Can the Provincial Muslim League deal with the cases of members of the All India [ML] Council, when the Committee constituted has to deal with them? Persons like Khalifullah in Madras, who are in the All India Council, perhaps cannot be dealt with by us.

I am proposing to arrange meetings in the Province in support of Pakistan Resolution of the Lahore Session.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

<sup>1</sup>AIML Working Committee meeting held in Bombay from 31 August to 2 September 1940.

## 7

*M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow*

*F. 95/122*

BOMBAY,  
5 September 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

In continuation of my letter of the 24th of August 1940,<sup>1</sup> I beg to enclose herewith the resolutions of the Working Committee of 2nd September in reply to your letter of the 14th of August 1940.<sup>2</sup>

Hoping that it will receive Your Excellency's most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow,  
Viceregal Lodge,  
Simla

<sup>1</sup>See note 1 to No. 545, Vol. XV, 744.

<sup>2</sup>No. 545, Vol. XV, 743-4.

*Enclosure to No. 7**Resolutions of the AIML Working Committee**F. 95/123-5*

[BOMBAY,]

*2 September 1940*

## RESOLUTION NO. 1

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the statement issued by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 8th of August 1940 and the authoritative amplification and clarification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the course of the India debate in the House of Commons on the 14th of August 1940. The Committee consider that these pronouncements constitute a considerable progressive advance towards the approach, the point of view, and the position taken up by the All India Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India regarding the problem of the future constitution of India, and the Committee also note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Govt. have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Muslim League for a clear assurance to the effect that no future constitution, interim or final, should be adopted by the British Govt. without their approval and consent.

## RESOLUTION NO. 2

The Working Committee place on record that some of the observations, made in the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the theory of unity of national life, which does not exist, are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Musalmans of India and, therefore, the Committee deem it necessary to reaffirm and make the position clear once more that the Committee stand by the Lahore Resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent states in the North-West and Eastern Zones of India where the Muslims are in a majority, and the Committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's future constitution and are glad to note that the vital importance and the true aspect of this question are being fully realized by the British Parliament; and



that His Majesty's Govt. are now fully apprised and seized of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

The Working Committee appreciate that His Majesty's Govt. have conceded the principle urged upon them by the Muslim League that in order to secure genuine and full support of Muslim India and such other parties as are and have been ready and willing to undertake the responsibility and are prepared to make every contribution to the intensification of the war efforts and for the defence of India with a view to meeting any external danger or aggression and maintaining internal security and peace, they should forthwith associate the representatives of the Muslim League with authority and power as partners in the Central and Provincial Govts. and establish a War Council which will include the Indian Princes and thus secure their co-operation also.

The Committee therefore are glad that His Majesty's Government, provisionally and during the prosecution of the War, have decided upon the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the establishment of a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, although they regret that His Majesty's Govt. have declared that they at this stage do not contemplate non-official advisors in the provinces which are at present administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Govt. of India Act. The Committee, however, find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 14th of August 1940, purporting to give effect to and implement the principle of co-operation with authority in the Govt. as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this Committee of the 16th of June 1940, which was communicated by the President to His Excellency the Viceroy by his letter of the 17th of June 1940, nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to His Excellency by the President on the 1st of July 1940.

In these circumstances the Committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons:

- i. Neither the President nor the Committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of the additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

- ii. The Committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted.
- iii. The Committee have no information as to which are the other parties with whom the Muslim League will be called upon to work.
- iv. The Committee understand that the President has not been informed as to what portfolios will be assigned to everyone of these additional members. The Committee are merely asked without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of 11, to send a panel of four out of which two will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council.
- v. The Committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them.
- vi. As regards the proposed "War Advisory Council", the Committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions beyond the information that it will probably consist of about 20 members and the Committee are asked to submit a panel out of which five will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy.

In these circumstances the Committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request His Excellency the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorize the President to seek further information and clarification.

## 8

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/33-5*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
5 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please allow me to offer you my heartiest congratulations on the most statesmanlike decisions which the Working Committee has taken with regard to the present situation.

I am also very glad to learn from the papers that you have decided to hold the meetings of the Working Committee and the



Council on September 28 at Aligarh. I am very grateful that our request has been granted. There is, however, one difficulty. The University is closing for autumn holidays from September 23 to October 4. The date fixed for the meeting occurs during the holidays. There will not be as many students as we have when the University is open. But then the month of *Ramazan* commences on the 4th October; it will not be possible to hold any meetings there in the evenings. Moreover, members of the Council too may find it difficult to attend during *Ramazan*. Therefore, if you cannot alter the date, we will accept September 28.

In this connection may I draw your attention to two things. Firstly, I hope you will accept the position that the Committee and the Council are meeting here at the invitation of the Muslim League and the primary responsibility for all preparations for the meeting and the accommodation of guests will be that of the local Muslim League. This is essential; as you know that the University authorities (Pro-Vice-Chancellor specially) are not at all in sympathy with the Muslim League. If the local League is allowed to play the host it will enhance its prestige and put heart in our workers. Secondly, please ask the Secretary while issuing notices to ask the members to inform me or Dr. Abid Ahmad Ali, President of the University Muslim League, about arrival and whether they would like us to arrange for their accommodation. We will make adequate arrangements for the accommodation of both members of the Working Committee and the Council. I am awaiting your instructions and in the meanwhile I am proceeding with the formation of a Reception Committee.

As for my article, I will be sending you 200 copies of it next week. Please let me know if this number would suffice.

With respects,

Yours very sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

## 9

*Mohamed Husein to M. M. S. Ispahani  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 568/110-11*

SHOLAPUR,  
*5 September 1940*

Sir,

The Working Committee of the District Muslim League notes with satisfaction the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League lifting the ban on members of the Muslim League organization serving on the War Committees and thus giving once more the right lead to the Muslim India, and in view of the adoption of the said resolution it thinks that the need of asking for exemption from the operation of the All India Working Committee's resolution of the 17th June 1940, requesting the members of the Muslim League Organization not to serve on the War Committees, as was prayed for in the letter of the District Muslim League, does not now exist. The District Muslim League Committee never defied the parent authority; it had only prayed for the exemption on account of exceptional local circumstances as detailed in our last letter.

The Sholapur District Muslim League Working Committee views with concern the letter of the Secretary, Provincial Muslim League Working Committee dated 28-8-1940, asking [for] explanation from Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, MLA, the President of the District Muslim League, and requests the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee to consider his case in the light of the resolution of the Sholapur District Muslim League Working Committee and further prays that the whole subject [*sic*] be dropped.

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Yours faithfully,  
MOHAMED HUSEIN  
*Secretary,*

*Sholapur District Muslim League*

M. M. S. Ispahani, Esq.,  
Honorary Secretary,  
Bombay Provincial Muslim League,  
Bombay 3



## 10

*Abdul Latif Hazrat Khan to M. M. S. Ispahani  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 568/112-5*

SHOLAPUR,  
5 September 1940

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 28th August 1940, and thank the Committee for granting me time to put up my case till 6th September 1940. I therefore beg to avail of the opportunity thus given to me and submit as under:

- i. That I joined the Sholapur District War Committee as desired by members of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League, and the said District Muslim League by its resolution requested the provincial body to exempt the Sholapur District League from operation of the resolution of the All India Muslim League dated 17th June 1940. A copy of the said resolution of the District Muslim League has been attached herewith for ready reference.<sup>1</sup>
- ii. That the District Muslim League has been awaiting the decision of the Provincial Working Committee with regard to exemption asked for from the operation of the resolution of the 17th June 1940 of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.
- iii. That in anticipation of the sanction of the Provincial Working Committee for the exemption, as prayed for by the District Committee, and in terms of the resolution of the said District Muslim League Working Committee, if I was a member of any War Committee, I beg to submit that I have not violated any decision of the provincial or all-India body.
- iv. That neither the District Muslim League nor myself had any intention to attack the policy of the League.
- v. That on the contrary when the District Committee prayed for exemption, it is obvious that it has accepted the principle embodied in the resolution of the 17th June of the All India Muslim League Working Committee.
- vi. That the circumstances on the strength of which the District Committee had prayed for the exemption are exceptional in their nature which could be very scarcely found except in two or three cities in the whole of India.

- vii. That the facts as detailed in the last letter of the District League are, I humbly submit, incontrovertible.
- viii. That neither the District League nor myself had any intention to defy any authority, far less than [*sic* for the] parent body.
- ix. That in view of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee [meeting] held in Bombay, of the All India Muslim League, lifting the ban on the members of the Muslim League organization, I hereby submit that my joining the District War Committee, in anticipation of the sanction of the parent body and in face of the resolution of the District Muslim League, do[es] not, I believe, amount to violating or acting in contravention of any rule, or defiance of any authority.
- x. That on the contrary my conduct as a Leaguer in the Legislative Assembly and outside, has been in full consonance with the spirit of all the rules and regulations of the Muslim League.
- xi. That if the above said explanation does not appeal to you then my action in joining the War Committee, if at all, can be taken as nothing more than merely inconsistent with the direction as embodied in the resolution of the All India Muslim League of the 17th June 1940.
- xii. That it is prayed that in the light of what has been stated above and the District Muslim League Working Committee's request in this behalf, the whole correspondence be favourably considered.

You are hereby requested to place this before the proper authorities.

Yours faithfully,  
ABDUL LATIF HAZRAT KHAN  
*Khan Bahadur, MLA*

Honorary Secretary,  
Bombay Provincial Muslim League,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



## 11

*Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 447/37-8*

SIMLA,  
8 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is two days since I am here. From what I could gather from those who are in touch with viceregal circles (including Sir Yamin Khan, who had an interview with the Viceroy yesterday), the Viceroy appears to be very anxiously awaiting your letter. That the letter did not come even yesterday is known all over the Mall. The general impression appears to be that the Viceroy is prepared to go to any length to satisfy you with regard to numbers. The indiscreet statement of Malik Barkat Ali, which makes a reference to your memorandum submitted to the Viceroy and the demand therein for 50 per cent seats, has created an impression that that alone is the big question at issue between H.E. and yourself; and it is held that H.E. is prepared to give the League 50 per cent representation. It is said that he will not hand over "Defence" and that he will not change the method of the working of the Executive Council, i.e. agree to have joint discussions or decisions by majority vote.

The Private Secretary seems to be very free in his talks. Another thing that the Private Secretary seems to have told these people is that the Viceroy is not going to wait long to satisfy the League or any other organization and that he wishes to proceed forthwith with the expansion of the Executive Council. Sir Raza Ali is very much perturbed over this. It is pathetic to see the anxiety of some of these old people to reassure the Government about the attitude of the Muslim League.

However, the sensational item of discussion all over Simla is the absence of any letter from you to the Viceroy. An impression has been created that we are anxious to get in and, therefore, the delay in your letter seems inexplicable to outsiders.

The weather is pleasant even though we are having rains occasionally. I shall leave Simla on the 12th.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. S. H. ESSAK SAIT  
MLA (Central)  
Member, AIML Working Committee

12

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/145-8*

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,  
MUSSOORIE,  
8 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I must thank you and Miss Jinnah very much for your very kind hospitality. I hope Miss Jinnah has fully recovered from her indisposition. My wife sends her best wishes and love to her.

On my arrival here, I got a couple of letters from Aligarh informing me that the Muslim University will be closed from the 23rd of September to 4th of October for the autumn holidays and consequently a number of students will be away from Aligarh when we hold our meetings of the Working Committee and the Council there on the 28th and 29th instant. Don't you think, under these circumstances, the purpose for which we were holding the meetings at Aligarh will not be achieved? If you approve of it, my suggestion is that we hold the meetings at Delhi instead of Aligarh and the next meeting of the Council, which will be convened sometime in November, could be held at Aligarh. The meeting of the Working Committee could be fixed for the 28th and that of the Council for the 29th.

Kindly let me know by wire if you agree to the change of the place for the meeting from Aligarh to Delhi.

We are leaving Mussoorie tomorrow. Kindly send the reply to my New Delhi address.



With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

## 13

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 199/36

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
8 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have now received information from the Nawabzada himself that he has called meetings of the Council and the Working Committee on the 28th and 29th instant at Aligarh. He has also asked me to see him at Delhi to discuss details and I am going to see him on Friday next. There is enthusiasm among students at the prospect of so many leaders assembling at Aligarh and many of them are not going home for the holidays. You may rest assured that our guests will be received and entertained with the hospitality characteristic of Aligarh.

The final proofs of my article have been corrected and the pamphlet will be ready this week. I will send you copies as soon as they are ready.

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

## 14

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 383/58

QAISER BAGH,  
LUCKNOW,  
8 September 1940

My dear uncle,

I received Mr. Rajagopalacharia's letter dated 26th August 1940,

last evening on my return from Bombay. I am herewith sending a copy of it.<sup>1</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised him not to bother to deal with Rajagopalacharia any more. See F. 383/62, QAP. Not printed.

*Enclosure to No. 14*  
*Rajagopalacharia to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan*

*F. 383/59-61*

48 BAZLULLAH ROAD,  
THYAGARAYANAGAR,  
MADRAS,  
26 August 1940

Dear Raja Sahib,

You have been good enough to describe my offer that—if the British Government are deterred only by the opposition of the Muslim League and would otherwise be willing to set up a provisional national government for India, I would persuade the Congress to agree that the Muslim League should nominate the Premier and that he should form the government in such manner as he chooses—as an attempt to cloud the fundamental issues and to mislead the British public. I am sorry that you have failed to see that the yearning behind this offer is for the immediate substitution of Indian national policies, for policies laid down by Britain and for initiating at once the rule of India by the will of her own people, be it a Hindu or a Muslim, instead of by the will of Britain.

You state, as your main objection to my proposal, that the Muslim League Premier and his cabinet will have to be responsible to the legislature in which there is a permanent Hindu majority. This objection is tantamount to an objection to the Hindu majority in the population of India. Self-rule by united India means, according to you, rule by [the] Hindus. It is unfortunate that you and your friends imagine that the will of the various minorities does not enter into the texture of the will of the people. I beg of you to revise this notion. Are questions likely to go before the Central Government for decision such as will be decided only on the basis of Hindu and Muslim? It is a misfortune that such notions should prevent you



from supporting a suggestion which Britain cannot honestly resist if you also support it, and which will result in our motherland attaining freedom.

Your objection leads you to the logical conclusion that the only form of Indian self-rule you can pass without prejudice to the Muslim minority of India, is the Pakistan solution of dividing India. Now, assuming that the fifteen million Muslims of the Punjab demand or agree to this vivisection, do the fourteen million Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab agree to it or would you ignore their wishes? If the twenty-eight million Muslims of Bengal support the partition of India, do the twenty-two and a half million Hindus of Bengal, who do not want it and oppose it, count for nothing, and can their opposition be ignored? If we assume that the minorities in the Punjab and Bengal, coming up to nearly half the population, may be ignored in this matter, would it not be contradictory to demand the fulfilment of the supposed wishes of Muslims of India who are only twenty-two per cent of the total population?

Lastly, may I call your attention to the patent fact, [that] my sporting offer is for the transitional stage and it is not that you should surrender any of your claims in the ultimate solution of the constitutional problems of India. Do you expect that you will have Pakistan even during the War? It is hardly possible that you can believe this. Pakistan is, therefore, not an answer to my suggestion for a provisional national government to be formed by a Muslim League Premier.

Yours sincerely,  
RAJAGOPALACHARIA

## 15

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 617/1*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
9 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to offer you an apology for writing this letter, once again troubling you. I am anxious to know, only if convenient and if [there is] no objection, whether my letter dated 22nd August<sup>1</sup> with enclosure and my letter dated 27th July,<sup>2</sup> and my express letter

dated [*not indicated*] and my registered letter dated 3rd August,<sup>3</sup> have reached you. I realize you are so overworked and that I have no desire to put any further strain, but it is as by way of enquiry so as to be sure of their reaching that I, after considerable hesitation, decided to write to you once again. We in Bihar are extremely thankful to *Allah* for your triumph over the might of His Excellency and His Majesty's Government. Really our prestige has been enhanced in world's estimation. I am further thankful to you and your Working Committee for passing resolutions, suitably worded, on Bihar riot and our grievances against local Government. I hope it will produce solitary [*sic* for salutary] effect. May I express one surprise and it is this that the Working Committee has expressed no opinion on a recent serious development in Persia. However, you are the best judge and would do only what is right in Islamic countries' interest.

Please excuse troubling. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1-3</sup>Not traceable.

## 16

*M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad*

*F. 199/37*

BOMBAY,  
9 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of September 1940.<sup>1</sup>

We considered all these difficulties and came to the conclusion that 28th was the most suitable date to meet at Aligarh. I hope that the students will muster up a few days in advance; as you yourself pointed out that we shall be running into the month of *Ramazan*. I, therefore, find it difficult to change the date.

With regard to your article, please send me 200 copies and if I need more, I will let you know.

I am very pleased indeed to hear your views on our decision of the 2nd of September because I consider that your approval represents



a thoughtful school among the Musalmans and, therefore, I value it.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,  
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,  
Aligarh

<sup>1</sup>No. 8.

## 17

*Message from M. A. Jinnah to Urdu daily Hamdard, Madras*

*F. 1009/95*

*9 September 1940*

I am glad to note that the *Hamdard*, Urdu daily published at Madras, is rendering very useful service to the Muslim cause. The Musalmans and the Muslim League are in great need of press and publicity. At such a time, the service that is being rendered by the *Hamdard* in support of the Muslim League policy is useful. It is a matter of satisfaction that Syed Sultan Mohiddeen Bahmany, under whose direction this paper is published, is now working whole-heartedly for the Muslim League. I trust that the paper will meet with success under his direction and receive the support of the Muslim community.

M. A. JINNAH

## 18

*Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 95/126-7*

SIMLA,

*10 September 1940*

Many thanks for your letter of 5th September.<sup>1</sup> Matter is now one of urgency and I should be much obliged if you would come and see me to discuss it. I suggest any time convenient to you on either

Saturday, 14th September or Monday, 16th September.<sup>2</sup>

[LINLITHGOW]

Viceroy

<sup>1</sup>No. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah suggested the 24th of September instead. See F. 95/128, QAP. Not printed.

## 19

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 97/82

MOST URGENT

BUTLER PALACE,  
LUCKNOW,  
10 September 1940

My dear *chacha*,

Some prominent members of the Muslim League have now begun to receive invitations to join the War Boards. As far as the contribution of money was concerned we know it clearly but I do not quite see how we can give full co-operation until it has been passed by the League Executive.

You are probably meeting the Viceroy in the near future, and until then I think it will be premature to give our money as well as our energies.

This is how we want to reply:

As our President is going to meet the Viceroy in the near future and whereas the Executive of the Muslim League has demanded further clarifications, we regret that we shall not be in a position to serve on the War Committees until after the interview.

Shall we reply something like this?

A copy of the invitation is enclosed herewith.

Yours,  
AMIR

[PS.] A telegraphic reply will be most adequate or else the meeting will be over.

*Enclosure to No. 19*

F. 97/83

Dear.....

It has been suggested to me by various gentlemen that the Provincial War Committee be enlarged. This is a suggestion which I am glad to



accept. I wish to ask you whether you will agree to be a member of the Committee. There will be a general meeting of the Committee at the Govt. House, Lucknow, on Saturday, 14th September, at 11 a.m. and I hope very much that if you agree to be a member of the Committee, you will be able to attend.

If you are willing to become a member of the Committee, I would be grateful if you could write to me accordingly.

Signed the Governor

## 20

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghiv Ahsan*

*F. 1363/5-6*

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

BOMBAY,  
11 September 1940

Dear Mr. Raghiv Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th September.<sup>1</sup> I have received the three packets of your presidential addresses and got them distributed among the members of the Working Committee.

Personally I do not attach any importance to the "sporting offer" of Mr. Rajagopalachari. I do not think it needs be taken seriously. I do not see why any one should go on making suggestions when it is quite obvious that the offer is, to begin with, not an offer as Mr. Rajagopalachari says that if it is acceptable to Mr. Amery he would persuade the Congress. It is intended really to mislead the public and press in England and especially the foreign countries like America. There is no offer yet made to the Muslim League by the Congress and when any offer comes from them it will receive our most careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

21

*S. M. Shareef to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 445/8*

NURUL HODA ROAD,  
MAHENDRU, PATNA,  
11 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that after the meeting of the Working Committee in September at Bombay I had requested you to be good enough to write a couple of lines in appreciation of the good work that the *Muslim League*, an Urdu weekly journal, is doing for the League. I had also mentioned to you in this connection that this paper had also brought out a special *Nizam* number on the occasion of His Exalted Highness's last birthday and you had asked me to send you a copy of this number as also of one of its ordinary issues. I am sending you the copies as promised by me.

May I request you to send just a line or two about the paper as it will encourage it greatly in the work being done by it.<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for the same in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,  
S. M. SHAREEF

<sup>1</sup>See No. 80.

22

*M. A. Jinnah to the Consul of Iraq*

*F. 479/13*

BOMBAY,  
11 September 1940

Your Excellency,

I had received a letter from the Supreme Arab Council of Palestine dated the 3rd February 1940,<sup>1</sup> and also we have been following the developments that have been taking place. The All India Muslim League has pressed, from time to time, that the Arab national demands should be conceded by His Majesty's Govt. and representations have



been made by me to His Excellency the Viceroy of India with a request to convey the feelings of Muslim India to His Majesty's Govt. The Viceroy wrote to me on the 27th of June a letter,<sup>2</sup> a copy of which I am annexing herewith, together with the copies of my reply to him<sup>3</sup> and of the letter that I originally received from Palestine,<sup>4</sup> which may be communicated to the leaders of Palestine Arabs.

Besides, a Fund Committee was appointed by the All India Muslim League for the purpose of collecting funds to help, by way of relief, those who have suffered and are suffering and we have been able to collect £ 500. I am sending you a draft for that amount, endorsed in favour of the Foreign Minister, Iraq Govt., as a token, however small, of our goodwill for our Arab brethren as our contribution towards relief to those who deserve help in the name of humanity.

Please therefore request your Minister to see that the money is utilized by proper authority and for the definite purpose referred to above.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

The Consul of Iraq

<sup>1&4</sup>No. 75, Vol. XV, 111-3.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 367, Vol. XV, 504-6.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 23

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 592/8-9*

8 ZAKARIA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 September 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It occurs to me that you, as the Quaid-i-Azam and representative of the Muslim nation in India, should cable a message of human sympathy and goodwill to the British nation through Mr. Churchill in their most heart-rending ordeal and express the natural admiration of the people for the calm and resolute fortitude and determination of the English nation. This should be a message of pure human sympathy and goodwill in the sufferings of the British people brought about by the most inhuman bombardment of women, children, hospitals, churches and maternity homes by the Nazi Air Force.<sup>1</sup>

This message at this moment will just go to the heart of the British people. It will reveal to them, in a striking manner, the world of difference between the policies of the Congress and the League because it will synchronise with the *Satyagraha* resolution to be passed at the Bombay session of the [All-India] Congress Committee. It will be a great contrast.

I think it will be a master stroke. There will be no Muslim worth the name who can object to a message of human sympathy and goodwill to the brave and suffering British people at this hour of the hardest and cruelest trial in their history.

If you think it advisable you can also add a word or two expressing the confidence that the British will overcome this hurdle and come out of this ordeal with flying colours, and the Muslim satisfaction at the growing strength of the British and the Muslim powers in the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East.

The Muslim nation in India will solidly stand by the side of the Muslim powers of the Middle East and Africa provided the British come forward to gain their confidence and friendship in a spirit of alliance and friendship.

I request you to kindly consider my suggestion.

Yours most sincerely,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*General Secretary,*

*Central Calcutta District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>*Luftwaffe.*

## 24

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan*

*F. 383/63-4*

BOMBAY,

*12 September 1940*

My dear Amir,

I am most thankful to you for your report dated the 9th Sept[ember].<sup>1</sup> I was very much interested in it. With regard to the views of Bengal students I am very glad that they are beginning to understand things more and more. I hope that Hassan [Ispahani] will take more interest in the affairs of Bengal students.



As regards holding the meeting of the [AIML] Council at Aligarh, the difficulty about the students not being there owing to their holidays between the 23rd September and 4th of October has been brought to my notice. I have written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that if necessary he may change the place to Delhi and we may go to Aligarh later, say in November.

With regard to the controversy between the students regarding the purse of Rs. 260, I am glad that you have succeeded in pacifying them. Yes, we will see about it when we are in Delhi.

Personally I would advise you that you, at any rate, should not take any steps against our "Tigers". I am inclined to wait a little. I shall be looking forward to your sending me a fuller report as you say [that] after the 15th the Working Committee deliberations will be available.

I thank you for sending me a copy of the presidential address and also the resolution passed by the Council of Students' Federation.

With regard to your letter of the 10th September,<sup>2</sup> yes, I am likely to meet the Viceroy in the near future and I see no objection to the draft reply to the letter of the Governor you propose to send. Our Bombay Resolution of the 2nd of September [*words missing*] the War Committees nor have given any assurance to the British Government of our support pending the settlement. All that we wanted to avoid was the false impression, which was created by our enemies who misrepresented our position, that we have decided to non-cooperate, and we have clarified that we have not yet decided to resort to a policy of non-cooperation which is quite different from saying that we are unable to give genuine and wholehearted support, which we are requested to do by the British Government, unless we are associated with the authority of the Government, both at the Centre and [in] the provinces, as equal partners, for the purpose of the successful prosecution of the war, and only provisionally until the larger issues of India's problem of future constitution can be tackled.

You remember that Nawab of Rampur had volunteered to help the League when I was at Aligarh and had the pleasure of meeting him on the occasion when Nawab Chhatari gave a lunch. I understood from your letter that he is going to Lucknow and will stay with you for a few days. Do remind him of the conversation he had with me and see that he can give us some help.

I hope your deputation will meet at Patna, as arranged. I have

great hopes and expectations of the work of this deputation.

Wishing you all success; with kind regards,

Yours affectionately,

M. A. JINNAH

Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan Sahib of Mahmudabad

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>No. 19.

## 25

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/149*

BOMBAY,

*14 September 1940*

My dear Liaquat,

This is just to inform you that the Viceroy has asked me to go and see him and it is now fixed that I should reach Simla on the 24th morning and see him at 3 p.m.

I wonder whether you would care to accompany me as you were good enough to do on the last occasion. I shall leave Bombay on Sunday the 22nd by Frontier Mail, and hope that you will be able to accompany me. We shall be able to leave Simla on the 25th as far as I can see at present and reach Delhi on the 26th and that will give us a couple of days for the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council.

I notice from the press report that you have changed the place of the meeting from Aligarh to Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Mussoorie



26

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdul Aziz**F. 696/32*BOMBAY,  
14 September 1940

My dear Aziz,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th September.<sup>1</sup> I am glad you approve of our resolutions.

I am going on my journey again to Simla and will leave Bombay on the 22nd to reach Simla on the 24th. I hope to leave Simla on the 25th and get to Delhi on the 25th and be ready for the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 28th and 29th.

With regard to my negotiations with the *Morning Standard* the position is exactly what I told you and until I get the requisite amount we are unable to proceed further. I shall bear your suggestions in mind.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Abdul Aziz, Esq.,  
Hyderabad

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

27

*Currimbhoy Ebrahim to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1098/312*

UNITED INDIA BUILDING,  
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD,  
BOMBAY,  
14 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our conversation this morning, I authorize you to announce, on my behalf, Rs.10,000 for the Press Fund taking into

consideration the explanation and to kindly keep the same in your mind.

Yours sincerely,  
CURRIMBHOY EBRAHIM

28

*Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Misc.I/91*

JAIL,  
JHANSI, U.P.,  
14 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With very great joy I read that you were going to the meetings of the Working Committee and of the Council on the 28th and 29th September at Aligarh. Long did I wait for this day; only I am much grieved to feel that I shall not be able to welcome you and the members of the Working Committee and the Council at Aligarh. Perhaps you are not aware that both my wife and myself have been detained under the Defence of India Rule 26, sub-rule 1, Clause B, with a view to preventing us from acting in any manner prejudicial to efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India, or to public order. My wife, Mrs. Fatima Kheiri, is in the parole camp at Naini Tal and I am here in the Jhansi District Jail. So you will miss at Aligarh two of the most loyal members of the League. But in spirit I will be there.

Mr. Jinnah, I do not want you or the League to do anything for me. You have more important work to do. Only it will do me [*sic*] considerable pain if you have the slightest doubt on my integrity. I wish to assure you on my word of honour and on what I hold dear and sacred that my political activities have been wholly and solely in the service of the League. After the Council meeting, in which Sir Abdoola Haroon's Committee was formed and of which I was a co-opted member, I started it in the spirit of the time, in June 1938, solely to serve the League, at great sacrifice of time and labour and some money. As I had succeeded to [*sic*] make the League over all [*sic*] at Aligarh, the opponents of the League became my enemies. And as I had through great difficulties succeeded to [*sic*] secure some genuine advertisements from some German firms in India, the Communists



and the Congressites made continuous and organized propaganda against me for about a year before the war began. As a member of the University staff I could not publish a paper, so I had persuaded my wife to give her name as proprietor and editor of the paper. You know the paper well. It never wrote anything against the Br[itish] Govt. Besides its work here, it wanted to make the League known in foreign and Islamic countries. I used to send about 100 copies free outside India. The paper was stopped on July 1, 1939, two months before the war began. But the Govt. looked at all my activity in the light of the Communistic and Congressite propaganda against me. This propaganda had started in the *National Herald* of Lucknow. This propaganda painted me as a Nazi agent. This insinuation makes me mad with rage. All my life, for the last forty years, has been only for Islam. All the treasures of the world cannot buy me. If I have anything, I have character. But the truth will be out some day. When I come out, I shall not rest till I make the Govt. declare that they were wrong. They can have no proof against me. No one knows me better than myself. Yes I was in Germany for a long time. There I only studied and learnt. I returned to India in February 1931 before Hitler came to power [in 1933]. I admire many things in Germany as I do many things in England or the United States. Our prophet Muhammad [PBUH] has said, "Wisdom is the stray camel of the faithful, take it wherever you find it." I have taken thoroughness from Germany which again is an Islamic virtue.

My wife is more Muslim than anything else. She adopted Islam before we married 19 years ago. She is devoted to League and often pushed me to work when I felt a little hesitant or lazy.

I am seeing a bright future for Islam in India. Only Muslims must be true Muslims. They ought to work for *Allah* and serve His people, not their own selfish interests. We need character most of all. Character first and character last. We can depend on a man of character.

Mr. Jinnah, I am so happy that under your leadership, the League has moved considerably towards the great ideals of Islam. Muslims have become conscious of their nationhood and are now yearning for a state of their own. There is no going back now. This idea has now come to stay. Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery have accepted much [of] what the League had been demanding. Though perhaps they themselves have not thought fully the implications of what they have declared. Mr. Amery has gone so far as to say, "India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions." Was he fully conscious of the force of these words?

I hope that the meetings at Aligarh will be epoch-making. I have the fullest faith in your leadership, as you know.

With the most sincere wishes for your good health and the great success of the League,

I am,

Always most sincerely yours,

M. ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI

PS. Some time ago I saw your picture, meeting the Muhammadan Sporting Club of Calcutta in Bombay. You looked much younger and so soldier-like. I was happy.

## 29

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/153-6*

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
15 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter.<sup>1</sup> I have decided to hold the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council on the 28th and 29th in Delhi, instead of Aligarh. Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and the Secretary of the Aligarh District Muslim League came and saw me on Thursday last and after considering all the pros and cons I came to the conclusion that it will be better to hold the meetings in Delhi. We can hold a meeting of the Council at Aligarh in November.

I saw in the papers this morning that you are meeting the Viceroy in Simla in the afternoon of the 24th. I do not know what your programme is. If you are going straight to Simla then you will have dinner with us. I shall meet you at New Delhi Railway Station on the date that you will be passing through. On your return from Simla it goes without saying that you will stay with us in Delhi. The weather is not too bad in Delhi now. It is a bit warm in the day-time but the nights are nice and cool. Please let me know your programme. Is Miss Jinnah coming with you? She could stay in Delhi while you go



on to Simla. You know that it is always a great pleasure to have you and Miss Jinnah stay with us.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 30

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/39-40*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
16 September 1940

My dear leader,

I find from the newspapers that the Viceroy is anxious to settle things with you quietly and I am fully confident that the settlement will be to your satisfaction. Now that the Congress is out of the picture, even though Mr. Gandhi is forcing himself on the Viceroy, Muslim representatives will constitute the dominant element in the Viceroy's Council. The Hindu Mahasabha has started an organised agitation against our rights. This would not have been possible if they did not get the information from our Resolution. I hope, however, the Viceroy will not take notice of it. Italy's attack on Egypt and the probable effect of it on the Muslim countries is another reason for the need of the British Govt. to secure our whole-hearted and complete support in their war effort. I hope that the Viceroy will recognise the imperative need for giving Muslim League adequate share in the administration of the country, both at the Centre and in the provinces. The Congress is still holding sway over the administration in the provinces although they are out of office.

The Muslim nation has fullest confidence that whatever our leader decides will be for the good of his brethren.

May *Allah* bless you with long life, health and happiness.

Yours affectionately,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

## 31

*Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

KALAT,  
17 September 1940

My dear friend,

How anxiously I looked [forward] to your proposed visit to Baluchistan but, alas, my wishes could not be realised owing to your bad health.

Today, the hopes of eighty million Musalmans of India are centered in you and it is the desire of everyone of us that God, the Almighty, may bestow you with sound health and a long, successful life devoted to the cause of Islam.

If, out of your most heavy programme, you could spare some days and spend them with us in Kalat, I am sure it would have added much to your health.

I am looking [forward] very anxiously as to when we could meet, either in Baluchistan or at Delhi.

Qazi Mohammad Isa will convey you some specimens of the manual work done in my State which, I trust, you would like.

With best wishes and sincere regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
MIR AHMAD YAR KHAN  
*Khan of Kalat*

<sup>1</sup>Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1981, 175.

## 32

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/39-40*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
17 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The venue of the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council, fixed for September 28 and 29, has been changed from



Aligarh to Delhi. I understand it was done with your consent. I have been to Delhi to discuss the matter with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and I agreed with him that, in the circumstances, it would be better to change the venue as most of our students would be away. I am glad, however, that he has already announced that the next meetings in November will be held at Aligarh. It will be a very suitable time; the University life will be in full swing.

I was very glad to learn from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that you are negotiating terms for the purchase of an already established daily paper and weekly and that the matter has almost been settled. Never before did we need a paper so badly as we do to-day. Our need is two-fold. We have to explain and convey our viewpoint to the world opinion at large; secondly, we have to educate the opinion of our own people and save them from the obnoxious propaganda of all anti-Muslim agencies, and sometimes even those who profess to speak in the name of Islam are really out to undermine Muslim solidarity. In this connection, besides newspapers, another vital necessity is to keep up a continuous supply of pamphlets which should be placed in the hands of every thinking Musalman. I am really very glad that you are fully alive to the need. This should become, in my humble opinion, a regular feature of the activities of the All India Muslim League. It is time that some sort of a separate department for the purpose were [sic for was] opened in the Central League office. My services are entirely at your disposal.

I am writing an article, *The Viceroy's Statement & After*, in which I propose to review the whole situation since the Viceroy's statement, expose the antics of the Congress and elucidate the position and policy of the Muslim League. I will send you the manuscript as soon as it is ready. I am expecting copies of my previous article from the press any day. I shall immediately send them to you.

I hope to meet you in Delhi on the occasion of the meetings.

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

## 33

*S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 423/4-5*

NAGMATIA HOUSE,  
GAYA,  
17 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Congress decisions are out. 1937 is repeating itself. Congress—more correctly Mr. Gandhi, as he is the Congress—cannot tolerate Muslims sharing power. In 1937, when Muslims became Premiers in most of the Indian provinces, Gandhi stooped [so] low to accept office. This time also, the League resolutions have upset him and he has again started wooing the British in his characteristic way under the same, much- misused, cloak of non-violence and independence.

We do not grudge him getting his dues but it must not any more be at our cost, and the Viceroy should know it clearly that now the Muslims are desperately [sic] determined and will rather shed their last drop of blood than agree to the most communal majority [sic] domination. After all it is the Muslim League's firm stand which has brought down the Congress to this level and the British Govt. should realize, if they have not already, that the Muslims can still make and unmake India, if not the world.

Kindly excuse the liberty of encroaching upon your valuable time by these lines.

Hoping to pay my respects at Delhi on 28th,

I remain,  
Sincerely yours,  
LATIF  
MLA



## 34

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/150-2*

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
17 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 14th,<sup>1</sup> which I received this morning having been redirected from Mussoorie. Kindly instruct your Secretary to address the letters to my New Delhi address in future. I sent you a letter on the 15th<sup>2</sup> which must have reached you by now. I shall be happy to accompany you to Simla and shall join you at Delhi on the 23rd night. I shall meet you at New Delhi Railway Station on the 23rd night. We shall have dinner at Gul-i-Ra'ana and catch the train to Kalka at about 10 p.m.

Today, I received a letter from Professor Sattar Kheiri from Jhansi Jail, enclosing one for you. I am sending it herewith.<sup>3</sup>

More when we meet.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT

<sup>1</sup>No. 25.

<sup>2</sup>No. 29.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 35

*S. M. Shareef to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 445/9*

CONFIDENTIAL

NURUL HUDA ROAD,  
MAHENDRU,  
PATNA,  
19 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I herewith enclose a cutting from a local daily, dated the 8th September 1940, in which Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, President of

the Bihar Provincial League, expresses certain views regarding assistance to the Government in its war efforts, which as he says are based upon certain talks he had with you at Bombay in this connection. This statement has appeared in some other papers outside the Province. I also had heard your views on the subject along with the other members of the Working Committee at its meeting on the 2nd September 1940, but to me the general gist of it sounded to be different.

Some misgivings have been created in the public mind as a result of the Khan Bahadur's statement. I think it is my duty to draw your attention to this matter.

Since my return from Bombay, I have been down with influenza and am in bed. I hope to be well enough, however, to attend the meetings at Delhi on the 28th and 29th.

Trusting this will find you stronger and better than what you were when I had seen you last.

Yours sincerely,  
S. M. SHAREEF

*Enclosure to No. 35*  
*Press Statement by S. M. Ismail*

*F. 445/10*

BRITAIN MUST BE HELPED  
Appeal to Muslim League

PATNA,  
17 September 1940

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League, in a press statement says:

The Muslim League is consistently insisting that there should be responsibility [*sic*] at the Centre and in those provinces wherein the constitution is suspended, as otherwise the Centre will not be truly representative. What the Muslim League mean is to have non-official advisers in these provinces. With all respect to the wholesome resolution of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, I must give vent to my personal opinion. The nominees of the League and other parties on the Governor-General's expanded Executive Council will be partially responsible to their own organisations and partially to the Crown; besides this, they will



have the backing of bicameral legislature at the Centre, whereas the position of non-official advisers is different. It is nowhere defined in the Government of India Act, 1935. Under Section 49, the sole executive authority is vested in the Governor, and he is given power either directly or through officers subordinate to him to carry on the administration of a province. As at present, the Governors have appointed their official advisers in those provinces where, under Section 93, the entire constitutional machinery is suspended; these advisers are officers subordinate and responsible to him. The Muslim League wants that its representatives be included in the administration of seven provinces, as equal partners. This matter according to my own constitutional thinking is most complicated and not so easy as it is at the Centre. I have my doubts as to the status of the non-official advisers. The only solution seems to be an immediate amendment of Section 49 of the Act.

The war, at present, has taken a very serious turn. I think it is now the duty of every individual to help Britain, which alone is fighting to uphold the cause of democracy. India's destiny is linked up with Great Britain. I am relieved to find that the League has given option to its members to co-operate with India's war efforts. From the personal talk that I had with Mr. Jinnah, I am convinced that he was never for non-co-operating with Britain. His enemies were misrepresenting him and the League. What he wanted was that we should wait till the negotiations were proceeding. Now the Muslim Leaguers are free to join War Committees. I shall be willingly contributing my humble contribution towards the prosecution of the war. In the end, I wish victory for Great Britain, and I think it is only humane to assist Britain in the hour of crisis like this, out of which England will come off with flying colours.

## 36

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/157*

BOMBAY,  
20 September 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15[17]th,<sup>1</sup> and I am sorry that my letter went to Charleville. However, I am glad you would

be able to accompany me to Simla. Please wire to Cecil Hotel for your accommodation if you have not already done so.

I thank you for asking me to dine with you. I shall be very pleased to do so.

I have read the letter of Professor Sattar Kheiri, which you enclosed in yours under reply. We will consider the matter when we meet next.

Miss Jinnah is not accompanying me but she is quite all right now. Thank you for your kind enquiries.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 34.

## 37

*M. H. Saiyid to A. K. Khan*

*F. 825/97*

BOMBAY,  
20 September 1940

Dear Sir,

Long ago I had a talk with Mr. Omar R. Khan and from the account he gave me of the activities of the Pretoria Muslim League and the work done by you, I was very much pleased to note that you are interested in the activities of the All India Muslim League.

It is, therefore, desirable that we should keep in touch with each other and keep each other informed of the local developments that are taking place from time to time. It will not only promote unity of action between us but will also further our cause.

I am sending you under a separate cover some of our publications



which may give you an idea of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, and would like to hear from you at an early date.

I hope you will appreciate this move.

Yours faithfully,  
M. H. SAIYID  
*Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

A. K. Khan, Esq.,  
Secretary,  
Pretoria Muslim League,  
Pretoria, South Africa

### 38

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 329/123-4*

PESHAWAR,  
21 September 1940

Dear Sir,

You are to see H. E. the Viceroy on 24th and this letter cannot reach you at Bombay, therefore, I am sending it to Simla c/o Postmaster, and I hope, being express delivery, it may reach you in time.

May God Almighty guide your selfless efforts aright. Muslim India is most nervous and anxious. Menace to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey and other Islamic States is most grave. Final prompt adjustment is most imperative. May God Almighty grant H. E. light to see your and people's transparent honesty in the matter. I wish H. E. now realises, after having seen Mr. Gandhi's and Hindu duplicity, that you and your nation want only HM's Govt.'s genuine confidence, rather heart- to-heart confidence in Muslim leadership and in Muslim India. Abnormal times require abnormal speed and actions. High Providence wills that today British interests and those of Muslims of the world are absolutely identical, inch by inch to the minutest detail.

May God Almighty bless your and His Excellency's efforts with brilliant success. Delay is dangerous—I am sure *Insha Allah* God Almighty will crown your genuine efforts with success this time. *Aameen!*

I, however, send you two cuttings<sup>1</sup> from the *Civil & Military Gazette* and one from the *Star of India*. The first is my statement

about Dr. Khan Sahib's wild statement, the second is CMG's editorial thereon and the third is the leading article of the *Star* which fully echoes my feelings and views about Mr. Gandhi and the present situation except in one regard which I have lined.

With prayerful regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 39

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/102-5*

CONFIDENTIAL

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
21 September 1940

My dear Jinnah,

This letter refers to three important things: (1) the contribution of the Kathiawar Princes to our Press Fund, (2) the transference of the amount I have been able to collect from Surat, Rander and Ankleshwar for the Press Fund alone to you to be credited to the Bombay Fund, and (3) to give you, confidentially, an idea of the deplorable inactivity of the City and the District Muslim League officers in Surat.

As regards the first, on return from Bombay after your instructions, I wrote to the Yuvaraj Sahib of Limbdi, His Highness of Porbandar, and His Highness the Jamsahib. The Yuvaraj, who was really a great asset to us and the moving spirit in the matter, is unfortunately down with heart trouble and replies, "In the circumstances, you will see that it is impossible for me to take any part in the question of the paper, however much I may wish to," and adds that if he went to Bombay for his treatment, he would give me his address when he would like me to see him there. His Highness of Porbandar has not replied yet. The Jamsahib has written a 'personal and confidential' letter, which may be taken as hopeful. I enclose a copy of it for your perusal<sup>1</sup> and [for you] to see what you think of it. So, that is that and I do not know what we should do further in the matter.

As to the second point, I enclose a cheque for Rs. [*amount not indicated*] and a detailed list of the contributors.<sup>2</sup> You had also asked me to give you the names of those who have promised but not paid.



This the Surat people did not like and within the last few days I have been able to collect the outstanding [amount] except in two cases, and their contributions would amount to about Rs. 500. That I shall send you next month, because the contributors have asked for a little time. This amount includes a few sums that were collected by me about a year and half ago when I started my 'One Rupee Fund' for the press, and when you took up the matter, that amount was merged in this. The contributors have been given receipts by us and this list will appear in the local papers here so that they may know that the money has gone to you. I may mention here that everyone who has contributed is very anxious to hear of the paper started. I am sorry I was not allowed to tour the 19 districts as you publicly announced in Bombay for reasons which perhaps could not be controlled. Had I been able to go round, I think I would have been able to collect from our District at least forty to fifty thousand rupees. Even at the rate of Rs. 2,000 a district, I might have brought in about Rs. 40,000. Had I been allowed to tour even in the Surat and Broach Districts, I would have brought also from there quite a good few thousands more. However, nothing has been lost yet and when you are ready, an attempt could be made.

When this amount is credited to the Fund you have there, kindly have a receipt sent through me to our Secretary, Mr. Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, so that our record may be brought up to date and the chapter closed. I must here express my thanks (particularly with the intention of bringing facts to your notice, as our leader, and to show as to who are your stalwart workers on our side) to Hakim Meer Sarfaraz Hussain, Hafizuddin Khan, Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, who is the Secretary, and a few others who have worked under their directions, and in Rander, Yusufbhai Hansia. Had it not been for their untiring efforts and help, I do not know how I would have succeeded. I must mention here that my friend, Shaikh Kadir, whom I treat as a sonny, was indifferent in the beginning but warmed up latter on. Well, all is well that ends well. I wish I could have brought up the amount to [Rs.]10,000 as I had hoped to.

As to the third point, the League affairs here are really and truly deplorable. You would be shocked to hear that the membership in the city went down from 4,000 to about 300. Of the 4,000, there were about a thousand ladies, brought in as members through the untiring efforts of Begum Hafizuddin and Mrs. Kazi, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui's sister. In the district, it has gone down from nine Primary Leagues to two. The causes were many and sundry. Well, I had to



call meetings and in the city Hakim Sarfaraz Hussain has been made the President in place of Shaikh, who wished to [w]riggle out because he openly said that his presence in Bombay was more in demand and, therefore, he could not pay the required attention. Anyhow, I have been able to fix him up as the President of the District League; and we hope, before long we would be able to revive the seven dead Primary Leagues and put life into the people in the district, who are really League-minded and the death of these Leagues was no fault of theirs. They have gone into non-entity because the attention needed was not paid to them. This need not worry you, because I have every hope of bringing the whole thing to a laudable standard before long. I have to be a bit stiff with Shaikh, who can do a lot if he would only put his mind to a thing.

I was itching with a feeling of criticism against this wonderful somersault of Gandhi, on his clarification of the Resolution, as he calls it. But I had to hold my pen back, not knowing how your negotiations over there were proceeding, and I would never forgive myself if any word I spoke or line I wrote should handicap you in any way. The papers announce that you are visiting the Viceroy on the 24th; Gandhi too is trying to secure an interview. Perhaps, silence at such a juncture may be good discretion. Anyway, I would like you to give me a hint anytime you wanted me to go ahead at any of these fellows, when they come out with their yarns and astounding statements.

I hope you are well and, as usual, full of your [*sic*] energy.

With fondest regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

PS. Regarding point No.2, about the Press Fund, you may note that the amount, as it came, was regularly credited in the Surat Branch of the Central Bank of India in the name of the Muslim Press Fund and over the signature of our Secretary, Mr. Ghulam Rasul Shaikh. The Manager has told us that the cheque included can be cashed at their bank in Bombay, who would be informed by the bank here, and an amount of about Rs. 2 may be charged for the transfer of the account. Ever since the money has been deposited, interest has accrued to our credit, which amounts to about Rs. 11. That is not included in the amount of the cheque. Printing and sundry expenses have been incurred to the extent of about Rs. 7, which will be deducted from the interest which has



accrued, and the balance would be remitted to the Bombay Fund with the two amounts of the two gentlemen I am expecting about the beginning of next month.

A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

## 40

*Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 95/136*

PRIVATE/STRICTLY PERSONAL

VICEREGAL LODGE,  
SIMLA,

25 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply, before you left for Delhi, to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month, and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you as you will remember that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have, in fact after the most careful thought, found it impracticable. But, knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter, sent herewith, to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistance to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one; for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached.

Yours sincerely,  
LINLITHGOW

*Enclosure to No. 40*  
*Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 95/133-4*

VICEREGAL LODGE,  
SIMLA,  
25 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I duly received the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, passed at their meetings in Bombay on 2nd September, which you were good enough to send me in your letter of 5th September,<sup>1</sup> and I have now had the advantage of a full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions with you.

2. I have, I think, made the general position perfectly clear in the course of our conversation, and it is unnecessary for me to enter into further detail about it here. As regards certain specific matters, I would, however, put on record that I explained to you the constitutional reasons which make it essential that the choice of Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council must rest exclusively with the Governor-General and the Secretary of State with whom it must rest to tender advice in this matter to His Majesty. I appreciate, however, the difficulties which, you made it clear to me, confronted you in connection with the formulation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you, and in the light of our discussion, I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and should they so desire of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on confidential discussion between the Leader of the Party concerned and myself.

3. I have also indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios (a matter which must, of course, rest entirely with the Governor-General) until the replies of all those who may be invited to serve have been received. But I have made clear to you (as I have also to the leaders of the other parties whom I have recently seen) my attitude on both those issues.

4. The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of 8th August<sup>2</sup> and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on 15th August.<sup>3</sup> It is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and



the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India pending the post-war investigations, the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and in Mr. Amery's speech. His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War Advisory Council, will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war, and on the basis already indicated in my statement of the main constitutional issue. But His Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the cause of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead and, in so doing, will, in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built.

Yours sincerely,  
LINLITHGOW

<sup>1</sup>No. 7.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 506, Vol. XV, 686-9.

<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727.

## 41

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/38*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
26 September 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to inform you that copies of the pamphlet *Muslim India and its Goal* have been received from the press and are ready

for distribution. I am informed by the press that they have dispatched to you 200 copies at Bombay. I have also had 25 copies sent to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan for distribution among the members of the Working Committee. He will show you the pamphlet. It is fairly well got up. I hope you will like it.

I am writing another article on *The Viceroy's Statement and After*. I hope to show you the manuscript at Delhi. I have another proposal to compile a biography of yours. Many friends have suggested this. I want to talk to you about it and several other important matters. Will you, therefore, very kindly give me some time at Delhi on the 30th Sep.? Hoping to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

PS. I have sent the resolution to the Secretary regarding Prof. Kheiri of Aligarh who is under detention. I hope you will kindly allow it to be taken up at the Council meeting.

## 42

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 203/23*

CALCUTTA,  
26 September 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must be aware of the latest move of the Congress.

Gandhi will press for no [Executive] Council extension [*sic* for expansion], will promise the abandonment of civil disobedience or any other trouble. He may cooperate in the work of Central Legislature.

I attend Council meeting on 29th.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD



## 43

*M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow*

*F. 95/135*

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
*26 September 1940*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th September [19]40<sup>1</sup> in reply to the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League of the 2nd September which was despatched to you with my covering letter of the 5th September.<sup>2</sup>

I shall place the matter before the Committee on the 28th September and let you have the reply as soon as possible.

May I now inform you that I propose to release to the press the correspondence and the memorandum, submitted by me to Your Excellency on the 1st of July, and I hope you will have no objection to my doing so, as I think the public are entitled to know and understand the matter in its true perspective.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow,  
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,  
Simla

<sup>1</sup>No. 40.

<sup>2</sup>No. 7.

## 44

*M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow*

*F. 95/137*

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
*26 September 1940*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th of September<sup>1</sup> and I

extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which I raised during the course of our conversation on the 24th, though in the course of the discussions you appreciated and recognized that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned, namely that in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with your Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the war, it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League party, as we were entering into, so to say, a "War contract".

I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but, I am afraid, it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow,  
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,  
Simla

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure to No. 40.

## 45

*J. G. Laithwaite to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 95/138*

NEW DELHI,  
27 September 1940

Your letter of 26th September<sup>1</sup> publication of correspondence. Could you telegraph<sup>2</sup> to let me know exactly what letters you are



anxious to publish other than the tentative memorandum and I will telegraph at once.

J. G. LAITHWAITE  
*Private Secretary to Viceroy*

<sup>1</sup>No. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah informed him that he proposed to release the whole correspondence to the press as on a previous occasion. See F. 95/139, QAP. Not printed.

## 46

*M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow*

*F. 95/143*

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
*30 September 1940*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I beg to send you herewith a copy of the resolution<sup>1</sup> of the Working Committee, confirmed by the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 29th of September 1940,<sup>2</sup> with regard to your offer relating to the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General as intimated to you in my letter of the 26th of September.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow,  
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,  
Simla

<sup>1</sup>AFM, 129/132. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See AFM, 262/77. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 43.

## 47

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/41-2*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
1 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry I could not snatch an opportunity to see you at Delhi. I hope I will have some such opportunity when you are back in Delhi in November for the Assembly sessions. I hope you have by now received 200 copies of the pamphlet. The get-up of the pamphlet, I think, is quite satisfactory. I am now proceeding to distribute the pamphlet according to the plan I had mentioned.

As for the meetings of the Council and the Working Committee promised to be held in Aligarh, I am afraid some difficulty might arise owing to the reported demand of Allahabad to have these meetings there on the occasion of their Provincial Conference. I hope you will agree that Aligarh has the prior claim. For one thing, when the venue for the meetings of the 28th and 29th instant was changed from Aligarh, it was done after a definite assurance from Nawabzada Sahib that the next meetings in November would be held at Aligarh. Secondly, the consideration which prompted you to approve of the meetings being held in Aligarh overrides the demands of any other place which can have no more than a local importance as compared with Aligarh. I have written about it to Nawabzada Sahib. Matters can be so arranged as to permit many of our leaders proceeding to Allahabad for the Provincial Conference after the meetings at Aligarh. In any case I earnestly hope you will not make any commitment which might prejudice the prospects of the proposed meetings at Aligarh. If the meetings are deferred still further it will have, I am afraid, a very depressing effect, both on our workers and students.

I am writing another exhaustive article on the Muslim League policy vis-a-vis the war situation and hope to bring the survey up to date. I will send you the manuscript as soon as it is ready.

May I also remind you to take the necessary steps in pursuance of the resolution passed concerning Professor Abdus Sattar Kheiri?<sup>1</sup>

Yours very sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>See No. 66.



48

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani**F. 9/93*BOMBAY,  
4 October 1940

Dear Sir,

With reference to our conversation at Delhi, let me in the first instance thank you for having agreed to make a contribution of Rs. 2,400 for the purpose of our maintaining and strengthening the Secretariat, which is now badly wanted as the work is increasing every day.

I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me have your cheque at your earliest convenience.

I shall keep the amount specifically earmarked for the purpose referred to above.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAHHassan Ispahani, Esq.,  
5 Camac Road,  
Calcutta

49

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan**F. 335/158*BOMBAY,  
5 October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

In the first instance let me thank Begum Saheb[a] and yourself for all your kindness during my stay with you.

Please send me the names and addresses of all the presidents and secretaries of the various provincial Leagues as soon as possible. I would also like to know your opinion and you may consult others with regard to fixing the day to show Muslim sympathy with Egypt,

Palestine, etc., against foreign aggression.

I am also expecting the copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee and confirmed by the Council.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 50

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/159-62*

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
5 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you feel rested after your strenuous time in Simla and Delhi and these long journeys. I am herewith sending you copies of the resolutions passed by the Council on the 29th. I would like you to see the wording of Resolution No. 7, and let me know if you would like to suggest any changes in the wording of it. There was no resolution moved on the subject and the Council had expressed its desire for observing a day on the telegram that was received from Calcutta. I am sending a copy of the telegram for your ready reference. I would suggest your fixing Friday, the 1st of November, as the day for demonstrating Muslim solidarity etc. This will be the last Friday of *Ramazan* and is regarded [as] a very sacred day.

If you would like to suggest any changes in the wording of any of the resolutions, kindly let me know as soon as convenient. I shall not have these proceedings printed till I hear from you.

The weather here is getting cooler every day.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping well.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. I hope you had a successful meeting on the 2nd.

<sup>1</sup>See AFM, 262/77-8. Not printed.



## 51

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/16-7*

MUSSOORIE,  
U.P.,  
5 October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was a pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 6th August.<sup>1</sup>

I did not reply to it earlier as I know you are so busy, and I did not want to disturb you in your activities.

You have asked me in the letter, as you did before, to write to you occasionally and keep you in touch with the affairs of the Punjab.

Of late I have not been in touch with the Punjab affairs. We have been on the hills in summer and then, after the sad death of my elder son in England, I somewhat retired from life—which, I hope, has only been temporary. In this connection my wife and I are deeply grateful to you for your sympathy.

What you have been doing lately in the Muslim League has been most commendable and Muslim India stands by you solidly, as you have restored its self-respect. I hope a compromise, honourable to all, will be reached in course. We all trust your good sense and foresight.

In future, when there is anything to say, I shall avail myself of the privilege of communicating with you.<sup>2</sup>

We leave for Lahore on the 7th instant.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 507, Vol. XV, 690.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah thanked him for the assurance to communicate in future. See F. 197/18, QAP. Not printed.

52

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/121*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
7 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith, for your perusal, a copy of a letter I have addressed to Mr. Turner of the Associated Press of India Limited, Bombay.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

PS. Do something if [you] can.

*Enclosure to No. 52*

*H. Abdoola Haroon to John Turner**F. 274/120*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
5 October 1940

Dear Mr. Turner,

I enclose herewith a copy of an important resolution<sup>1</sup> passed at yesterday's meeting of the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, on the subject of the alleged lawlessness in Sind. I am taking the liberty to send you this resolution with a request that you will be pleased to entrust its publicity to your Bombay office. I am compelled to do so, being thoroughly despaired [*sic*] of the Karachi office of the A.P.I., which is wholly manned by Hindu gentlemen, who have not only been actively dabbling into the communal questions here but have been trying to use the opportunities at their disposal to put the Sind Muslims in the wrong by sending out wrong, one-sided and mutilated reports. Recently, the passages of the Weston Report on the Sukkur disturbances, selected by the Karachi office for the consumption of the world outside, clearly revealed a



tendency to broadcast only those passages which were against the Muslims and to suppress those which, though comparatively more important, were yet likely to go against the interests of the Hindus.

I do not at all want to interfere in your affairs but I cannot help observing that Hindu monopoly on the resources of the A.P.I. in a Muslim province like Sind, where there are acute communal differences, has greatly undermined public confidence in the disinterestedness of the A.P.I.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
ABDOOLA HAROON  
Kt., MLA

<sup>1</sup>See F. 274/119, QAP. Not printed.

## 53

*M. A. Jinnah to T. A. Tausif Lodi*

*F. 873/574*

BOMBAY,  
7 October 1940

Dear Mr. Tausif Lodi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 29, 1940<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I am glad to hear that you approve of the decision of the Working Committee confirmed by the Council of the All India Muslim League by its resolution of the 29th September 1940. I also thank you for the suggestion that you have made in your letter.

As regards your kind offer placing your services at my disposal, may I again request that you should devote your time, in the first instance, to the Punjab Muslim League, and there is plenty of scope ahead for any selfless worker in your Province. You have yet to do a lot of spadework in building up your Province, and I gather from your letter that the position of your Province is far from being satisfactory although I know, as you say, that the Musalmans of the Punjab are becoming more and more politically conscious

but they are not properly harnessed, mobilised, trained and organized in a systematic way to play their rightful part in the future of India.

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

T. A. Tausif Lodi, Esq.,  
Bashir Manzil,  
Pakka Bagh, Jullunder City

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 54

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 329/125-8

PESHAWAR,  
8 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I had received an urgent telegram on 29th September [1940] that Session's trial was to commence on 1st Oct. for which I had to hurry and I could not pay my respects to you at the time of departure. Besides, you were too busy, and you were entitled to your well-earned rest for sometime at least.

I must congratulate you, Sir, on the splendid speech you made at the open meeting of the Council.<sup>1</sup> It was the best I have ever heard from you. Your actions are always excellent but this is declared so by all and sundry.

When Malik Khuda Bux realized that Muslim League is coming into power, opportunist as he has always been, he ask[ed] his factotum to wire the press that Malik Khuda Bux had joined Muslim League unconditionally, and as I was in Rawalpindi in connection with a murder case, I had to send you a telegram. Meanwhile, [as] the news came that probably Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy are coming to terms, he began to back out. These opportunists sit on the fence and will join when they see prosperity.

Of course Mr. Nishtar is a bit different from the two Buxes, i.e. Khuda Bux and Pir Bukhsh, and I can manage Mr. Nishtar, but he is like Jawaharlal or more than that, too vain and arrogant, and he has devoted himself to find[ing] faults with everybody. But if Mr. B. Desai<sup>2</sup> or Asaf Ali<sup>3</sup> can reciprocate confidence, they will tell you that



Congress in NWFP is dead and gone. They addressed two meetings, one in Peshawar Cantt. and the other in the city, but they could not get an audience of more than 200 persons and that too 95 per cent Hindus. So Khuda Bux, after a week or so when the entire Punjab press had commented on it, gave out, "I am still independent." Everybody knows that the original news was his and inspired by him. We have given them to understand clearly that in the next polls Muslim League will oppose them and this is, in a way, bringing them down. I hope they will join sooner or later. A stiff attitude to these selfish people is paying and *Insha Allah* we will succeed.

I am going to see H.E. the Governor, NWFP, today at his invitation and he wants to know the League's point of view. I will compel H.E. to force H.E. the Viceroy to agree to the reasonable demands of the League. I will at once communicate the result of my talks to you, probably today.

By the way, the very next day, i.e. in the *Statesman* of the 29th, some members of the Working Committee gave it to the press that Sir Sikander is alleged to have said in the Working Committee that he is the author of Pakistan.

Dear Sir, it is highly improper. I suspect this to be Malik Barkat Ali. He should give up Sikander-baiting this time; Sikander behaved well and I think in all fairness he is entitled to your kind protection. I concede that Sir Sikander sometimes misbehaves but when he behaves, then he is entitled to the protection of the Muslim League, and we should not throw him to the tender mercies of the wild fanatical Sikhs and the wily *baniyas* of the Punjab.

I hope this finds you in the best of health and spirits.

With affectionate regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. II, Lahore, 1996, 1229-33.

<sup>2</sup>Bhulabhai Jivanji Desai, Leader of the Opposition and of the Congress party in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

<sup>3</sup>Member, Indian Legislative Assembly.

## 55

*S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

9 October 1940

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu writes me asking immediate reply. Letter begins:

As you are aware your cultural zones scheme together with the alternative constitution suggested by you have received careful attention from some prominent Congress leaders. Should further elucidation be necessary in regard to a few points in your constitution, would it be possible for you to meet one or two leading members of the Working Committee for personal discussion. It would be of course purely in your individual capacity as author of the scheme and constitution without prejudice and for purposes of clarification of issues that might lead to an agreed solution.

As I am leaving tomorrow, the 10th, for Wardha, please send me immediate reply.

Kindly wire if you have any objection my meeting Congress leaders in a personal capacity for elucidation.

S. A. LATIF

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 189.

## 56

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Latif*<sup>1</sup>

9 October 1940

Your telegram.<sup>2</sup> Regret cannot agree meeting Congress Working Committee. Any Congress Hindu leader welcome to see me.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 189.

<sup>2</sup>No. 55.



## 57

*S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/136*

YUSUF MANZIL,  
ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
10 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your telegram<sup>1</sup> saying that you do not agree that I should 'meet any member of the Congress Working Committee', and that any Hindu Congress leader is welcome to see you.

My telegram to you, conveying the contents of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's letter, to which the above was your reply, probably was not clear in its meaning. I enclose<sup>2</sup> a full copy of her letter.

The letter makes it clear that it was in my individual capacity as author of an 'alternative constitution', and without prejudicing the official position of any party, that I was required to say whether it was possible for me to meet one or two members of the Congress Working Committee and elucidate a few points in the proposed constitution. That being so, there is obviously no ground for me to refuse to discuss it when invited to do so, especially when the scheme claims to have been prepared for the consideration not merely of the Muslim League but of all other political parties in the land.

As you are aware, I have discussed the subject during the last one year and a half with political thinkers belonging to every camp. But neither I nor any of those with whom I have had to discuss it, have ever been in doubt about my personal role or felt that I was sponsoring the official views of the Muslim League, although everyone could see that as a Muslim my sympathies were always in favour of the Muslim League. My attitude has all along been that of a student anxious to explain a thesis to all concerned—a thesis in which I have fervently believed. In none of my writings have I ever, even unwittingly, compromised the official position of the Muslim League. In fact, I have had off and on to attempt to bring round the leaders of the League to my way of thinking; and I cannot say to myself that my attempts have always met with full success. Even as recently as the 27th September, I had to take up so much of your time in Delhi trying to impress upon you that your Resolution of Lahore lacked

background and that its provisions, particularly the provision of mandatory safeguards for Muslim minorities, needed to be fitted into an all-India framework. Such being my personal view of the League's latest official programme, I should be the last person to have compromised the official position of the League in the course of any discussion of my own scheme with anyone.

The object of my telegram to you was to find if you, as an experienced leader enjoying my personal profound respect, would give any word of caution or advice in respect of the discussion I might have with any leading members of the Congress Working Committee. Your reply therefore is rather unexpected. You have asked me not to meet them at all. Of course, my meeting anyone depends upon my convenience. But as author of the scheme, how can I refuse to discuss it when asked to do so. That would look very ridiculous and would be against the very spirit of the scheme itself. It would have been certainly different if my scheme had been adopted by the Muslim League in its fullness, in which case I would have left its interpretation or exposition entirely to the official representatives of the League.

I pray you, therefore, to think over the matter. For the present, I have given no reply to Mrs. Naidu, because it would surprise her, as it would anybody, if I should tell her that as author of an idea I could not see my way to explain it to those who seek to understand it. I shall therefore be happy to know that you never meant in your telegram that I should give such a reply to her.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF

<sup>1</sup>No. 56.

<sup>2</sup>S. A. Latif telegraphed complete letter of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to Jinnah. For true copy, see SHC, Hyderabad II/137. Not printed.

## 58

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdur Rehman*

*F. 430/1*

BOMBAY,  
10 October 1940

Dear Syed Abdur Rehman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant<sup>1</sup> and the press cuttings



enclosed and thank you for it. I appreciate very much indeed your fine spirit in desiring to help the Muslim League without expecting any financial help instead of remaining in the Govt. service, but everyone can make his contribution, no matter where he is placed.

Of course, at present we cannot take any men who are employed without offering them some remuneration but in course of time our secretariat must develop and grow, and then we may be able to offer opportunities to our best men with some reasonable remuneration. Unfortunately that stage has not reached yet.

Wishing you success,

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 59

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/42*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
10 October 1940

My dear leader,

I thank you very much for your kind letter. Prior to receiving this letter I had arranged to call a meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League for considering, among other things, the question of inviting the All India Muslim League session in Madras. I am confident that by grace of *Allah* we will have the pleasure and privilege of having the session in Madras very kindly suggested by you during the Easter week. This will give us sufficient time for preparations. God willing, I hope our arrangements will satisfy my leader.

The Council is meeting on the 17th instant and the formal resolution including the Muslim League session will be forwarded to you soon after.

Madras Muslims are anxiously looking forward to the day when they can see their leader.

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

## 60

*M. A. Jinnah to Presidents & Secretaries, Provincial Muslim Leagues*

*F. 772/3*

BOMBAY,  
11 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that in accordance with the resolution<sup>1</sup> of the Council of the All India Muslim League, passed on the 29th of September 1940, I have, as authorised by the said resolution, fixed first of November 1940, the last Friday of the month of *Ramazan*, as the day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India with the Muslim countries at this critical juncture when war flames are spreading, and against any possible design or aggression upon the sovereignty and independence of those countries.

I am enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League herewith, which should be supported and confirmed in public meetings throughout every province on that day, and also hope that during the Friday prayers, special prayers will be offered in all the mosques throughout all the provinces for the safety, integrity, sovereignty and independence of Muslim countries.

I hope that this earnest appeal of mine will receive the fullest support of Musalmans generally, and of the Muslim Leaguers in particular, and that this day will be observed in the manner worthy of Islamic traditions.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See Resolution No. 7 in *AFM*, 262/78, Not printed.



## 61

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/163*

BOMBAY,  
11 October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th of October<sup>1</sup> along with the resolutions passed by the Council on the 29th.<sup>2</sup>

The resolution No. 7 should be worded according to the text enclosed herewith.<sup>3</sup> I have addressed a circular letter to the Presidents and Secretaries of the various provinces and I am enclosing a copy of it for your information.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to resolution No. 8, what do you suggest should be done for organizing the Red Crescent branch?

As regards the resolution, notice for which was given by Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, you merely say [it] was not moved. This will convey nothing in our proceedings. We should state the resolution and say [it] was withdrawn.

If you like, you need not reproduce the whole of the resolution but only the substance of it as it was reported in the press.

With kind regards to Begum Sahiba and yourself and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 50.

<sup>2</sup>See *AFM*, 262/77-8. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable. However, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 471.

<sup>4</sup>No. 60.

## 62

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/43*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
11 October 1940

My dear leader,

As the All India Muslim League session will be held in March next, may I request you to kindly grant us time up to the 15th December 1940 for holding the election of our representatives to the All India [ML] Council. As per Rule 11, these elections should be held one month before the all-India session. If this time is granted to us, we will have [an] opportunity to work up and get more of our District Leagues constituted and affiliated to the Provincial Leagues. Besides, according to Rule 39, we should have at least more than half the number of the districts affiliated. In your letter, kindly give us direction not to precipitate the elections of the office-bearers etc. of the Madras Presidency Muslim League before a good number of the District Leagues are affiliated to our Provincial League. Soon after *Ramazan*, I and other friends will tour our districts to constitute District Leagues and get them affiliated. I am extremely sorry for the delay in getting the work done. I am anxious to get many of the districts affiliated, particularly in view of the fact that the all-India session will be held in our province, God willing.

I am writing a similar letter today to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib also.

With esteemed regards and affections,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN



63

*Laurence P. Atkinson to M. A. Jinnah**F. 773/224-5*

3 WELLESLEY PLACE,  
CALCUTTA,  
11 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just heard from Hassan Ispahani on his return to Calcutta. He told me that you would like some more particulars about the visit of selected newspaper editors to Egypt. I can definitely inform you that it is the Government of India who are bearing the expenses of this project. The two batches of newspaper editors [will] travel by chartered aeroplane and they will be the guests of the Government of India from the time they leave Karachi to the time they return to Karachi. I am informed that the only reason why they issued invitations through the Eastern Newspaper Society is that they preferred to deal with an organized body of journalists.

I would also add for your information that Sir Nazimuddin wrote to Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member of the Government of India, protesting at the exclusion of the Editor of the *Star of India* from the invitation list and I understand that Sir Nazimuddin has received a reply from Sir Reginald Maxwell saying that if I want to go, I can go in the second batch, but up to the time of writing I have received no invitation. Whether in these circumstances you would like to pursue the matter further or not, I leave it to you.<sup>1</sup>

With my kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,  
LAURENCE P. ATKINSON  
*Editor, the Star of India*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah suggested in reply that he (Atkinson) might await invitation to go in the second batch. See F. 488/23, QAP. Not printed.

## 64

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/164-8*

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
12 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 5th<sup>1</sup> which I received on my return from Muzaffarnagar a couple of days ago. I am sorry when you stayed with us last time, we had to try so many cooks on you. However, we have at last got hold of a man who is not bad and so next time when you come here you will be saved that trial.

A list containing the names of members of the Council and Presidents and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues was dispatched to you soon after you left Delhi and I hope you have received it long before now. I wrote to you on the 4th<sup>2</sup> and sent you a copy of the resolutions<sup>3</sup> that were passed by the Council. I read in the papers today that you have, as was suggested by me, fixed the last Friday of *Ramazan* to be observed as the day on which sympathy should be shown for all the Muslim countries. Kindly let me know if you want me to do anything in this connection, as I noticed in the papers that you have already written to all the Provincial Leagues in this connection. I should like to have a copy of the letter<sup>4</sup> which you have sent to the Provincial Leagues. I have today received a representation<sup>5</sup> from the office-bearers of the Nagpur Muslim League, which I am herewith enclosing in original for your perusal. If what is written in it is true then it is certainly a case where the Muslims are being treated most shabbily by the C. P. Govt. They ask me to suggest to them as to what the Musalmans should do. I do not know what advice to give them—hence I am sending this letter to you to get your opinion. The representation is in Urdu. Kindly ask your Secretary to read it to you and let me know what should be done. I do not know if you have received any communications from C. P. regarding the matters mentioned in the enclosed representation.



With kindest regards from both of us to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>See AFM, 262/77-8. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>No. 60.

<sup>5</sup>Not traceable.

## 65

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Latif*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/138-9*

BOMBAY,  
12 October 1940

Dear Dr. Latif,

I have received your letter of the 10th of October 1940,<sup>1</sup> with a copy of the letter addressed to you by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.<sup>2</sup>

So far as I am concerned, there is no misunderstanding of any kind whatsoever. It is quite clear and I am still of opinion that having regard to the position you occupy, you should not wait on any member of the Congress Working Committee for the ostensible purpose suggested. If they really desire to discuss with you as the author of a scheme in your individual capacity for the purpose of elucidation, why all this fuss? They can do so by meeting you at your place or by correspondence. But let me draw your attention to the last sentence of the 1st paragraph of the letter of Mrs. Naidu. It runs as follows:

It would be of course purely in your individual capacity as author of the scheme and constitution without prejudice and for the purpose of clarification of issues that might lead to an agreed solution.

What does this mean? Agreed solution between whom?

Besides, in my opinion, your scheme is fundamentally different from the basic principle laid down in the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League, last March.

I am sorry that you do not quite appreciate the League Resolution, although I tried to explain [it] to you in our talk on the 27th of September. You say, to use your own words, "The object of my telegram to you

was to find out if you, as an experienced leader enjoying my personal profound respect, would give any word of caution or advice in respect of the discussion I might have with any leading members of the Congress Working Committee." That is the very reason why I advised you not to be dragged into this move as you are sought to be. I still advise you to adhere to my request contained in my telegram.<sup>3</sup>

We did not have sufficient time to discuss the Lahore Resolution in Delhi, as I was busy with the meeting of the Working Committee, but I shall be too glad to resume our talk in the near future.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 57.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 55 and note 2 to No. 57.

<sup>3</sup>No. 56.

## 66

*M. A. Jinnah to Maurice G. Hallet*

*SHC, Misc. I/92*

BOMBAY,  
12 October 1940

Dear Sir Maurice,

I am taking the liberty of drawing your attention to a matter which has been agitating the mind of a large and influential Muslim opinion with regard to the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Kheiri, a member of the staff of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Your attention may have already been drawn to the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League, passed on the 29th of September 1940 in Delhi, which runs as follows:

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League greatly regrets that Mr. Abdus Sattar Kheiri of the Aligarh Muslim University, a member of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League, is being kept under detention as B class prisoner without trial. The Council requests the Government to reconsider Mr. Kheiri's case and set him at liberty. The Council further authorises the President and the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to take up the matter with the Government.

But I had received a letter from Mr. Kheiri<sup>1</sup> long before the meeting of the Council, and I am enclosing it herewith for your perusal,



hoping that it will receive your careful attention and lead to the reconsideration of his case at your hands.

I am personally inclined to believe what he says in his letter, and in these circumstances, I think, you will agree with me that his and his wife's detention should not be continued.

Please return to me the original letter when you have done with it.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet,  
Government House,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>See No. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Governor UP replied that he would look into Kheiri's case again. See SHC, Misc. I/93. Not printed.

## 67

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/43-4*

PRIVATE

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
15 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you early this month but have not heard in reply. I hope you duly received 200 copies of the pamphlet entitled *Muslim India and its Goal* and found the get-up satisfactory. The pamphlet has had a good reception in the University and there is a large demand for it. I am writing another article and shall soon send you the manuscript. It is an exposition of the Muslim League policy vis-a-vis the war situation and the constitutional problem.

The other day, I received a circular letter from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. He draws attention to the apathy of certain local Leagues and appeals for intensification of effort for strengthening the League organisation. His appeal is specially addressed to members of the League Council and office-bearers of the Provincial Leagues. His letter mentions that you have definitely decided not to recognise any League which does not come up to a certain standard of work. I have replied to him explaining the steps I have taken to

implement his instructions. But I have also told him of our difficulties. We have been able to get together a few workers and we are concentrating on the following items of work: (1) enrolment of members, (2) publicity and propaganda; in this connection it may be mentioned that we have opened centres for circulation of literature and propaganda in the various halls of hostels and we are trying to enrol subscribers for the *Manshoor*, (3) social welfare; for instance literacy and winter relief for the poor. I shall explain to you in a future letter the serious difficulties and handicaps we have to confront [sic for confront] with in the course of the League work in the University. They are chiefly concerned with the hostile attitude of the authorities and the demoralization of students on account of the systematic persecution of students who work for the Muslim League. The morale of students has been paralyzed, chiefly due to the machinations of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor who does not wish to see the Muslim League thrive in the University.

Another handicap from which we suffer is that none of our leaders has cared to visit us this session so far. We do not know as yet as to when the proposed meeting of the Council or the Working Committee will be held at Aligarh. I am being pressed with anxious inquiries about this. Will you very kindly give me some indication<sup>1</sup> as to the dates of the meetings or ask the Nawabzada to let me know.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that the meetings would be held some time in November. See F. 199/45, QAP. Not printed.

## 68

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/122*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
15 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter received by me from Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in response to the Resolution of Sind Provincial Muslim



League Working Committee, which was held at Nawabshah on 4th of October, for favour of your information.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

*Enclosure to No. 68*  
*M. K. Gandhi to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/123*

SEVAGRAM,  
WARDHA,  
C.P.,  
12 October 1940

Dear Haji Sahib,

Though it is only an official letter, your signature revives memories of the happy days when I used to enjoy your confidence in full measure. But as the saying goes, 'all days are never the same' and I must be content with what God gives me from time to time.

You will not expect me to enter into a discussion with you on your resolution. I did not write the note in *Harijan* to provoke controversy. If you are satisfied that so far as the Muslims are concerned, they have nothing to answer for, I have nothing to say. I wrote as a friend, not as an opponent. Hence you will excuse me for not printing the resolution. If I do, I must answer it. This I want to avoid. But you can expect me to help in the production of a friendly atmosphere in Sind through personal correspondence. I, therefore, like the last paragraph of your first resolution—that inviting the co-operation of the Hindus.

Yours sincerely,  
M. K. GANDHI

69

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah**F. 242/32*CHHATARI,  
16 October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith my note as promised. It contains a few suggestions for your perusal. I hope you would not mind my sending this note to you; and I am sure it would cause no misunderstanding in your mind.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
AHMAD SAID

*Enclosure to No. 69*  
*Note by Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari*

*F. 242/33-5*

I am writing this note to put my humble views before you as I feel that I would be lacking in loyalty to you if I do not do so. I hope it would be taken by you in the same spirit in which it has been written by me.

I am sure you remember that in the afternoon of September 29, when I had a talk with you, I thought that our demand of majority share in the Cabinet was rather excessive and that it did no good to us. The chain of arguments that brought me to this conclusion is as follows:

As, I think, the policy of the Musalmans in India is to have a system of government in which Indians may govern their country with complete and effective safeguards for themselves, where they are in a minority, and consequently for all the minorities. To achieve this end the Muslim League made an effort to come to terms with the Congress. The last elections were run in the provinces on this basis. The Congress afterwards got so intoxicated with power that they were unwilling to form Governments in coalition with the Muslim League without the latter accepting such conditions which [*sic* for as], if really accepted, would have killed the Muslim movement altogether. After that you had some talks with Mr. Gandhi, and some



other Muslim leaders had some talks locally. But the result of all these talks was nothing except the Muslims getting convinced that it was impossible to come to any terms with the Congress. And the fight began. Then came the War [in September, 1939], and with it the resignations of Congress Ministries [in November, 1939]. Therefore, naturally, the Muslims thought that if they could not come to any terms with the Congress, they should come to some terms with the British Government. And, this was the natural [con]sequence of the attitude of Congress Governments towards the Muslims. Being in a minority, the Muslims rightly thought that they could not fight on two fronts simultaneously.

The above narrative is the result of what I have learnt through press reports, and the conclusions that I have drawn are based on my knowledge drawn from such reports as I cannot claim to be in the know of things.

On the other hand, I think, the British Government made every effort to placate the Congress, hoping all the time to win it over to their side when [the] critical moment arrived. That moment did arrive; and the British people realised with deep disappointment that their policy had failed and that they could not expect anything from the Congress. In this frame of mind they thought of consolidating all the non-Congress elements in the country and of isolating the Congress. This policy created an identity of interests between the Government and the Musalmans. Both wanted to isolate the Congress and to strengthen their own position in the country. Now, the condition of having a majority in the Cabinet in the absence of the Congress is such a condition that, if carried out into practice, instead of isolating the Congress, it may result in consolidating its position in the country. The moment we have a Cabinet with a majority of the Musalmans in C.P., Madras and other provinces where we are in a minority, a cry of Muslim *Raj* would be raised, which would unite every non-Muslim under the Congress banner. Will it serve the purpose the British have in view, i.e. isolation of the Congress? Will it serve the purpose that we have in view, i.e. isolation of the Congress? On the other hand, this might isolate the Muslim League if every other Indian community joined hands with the Congress. This was the reason why I thought our demand was too highly put. We cannot run any Government in India single-handed. In my humble opinion we must get as many Hindus out of the Congress as possible to join hands with us otherwise even the Lahore Resolution will not solve this problem because the Muslims in the minority provinces



will suffer in any case. If, on the other hand, we had accepted the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy and formed governments with non-Congress Hindus, it might have helped in the creation of a non-Muslim party in the country, which would have been an ally of the Musalmans in the formation of future governments in India.

The other point to which I wish to draw your attention is the future constitution for this country. The Lahore Resolution, so far as it goes, will give the fullest protection to the Muslims residing in the majority provinces but I am doubtful as to whether it will ever become the law of the land against the united opposition of the non-Muslim India. Under your leadership, the Muslims have gained a great point when Great Britain agreed not to enforce any constitution on them against their wishes. But I am sure this applies equally to the majority community and to other minorities residing in provinces where we happen to be in a majority. Hence my fears regarding the realisation of our scheme as embodied in the Lahore Resolution. But, suppose the future constitution is based on the Lahore Resolution; even then we cannot leave the Muslims in the Hindu provinces to their fate. Therefore, I would request you kindly to bring this point also before the Muslim League prominently so that we may know as to what sort of constitution we would like to have for future India.

These were the points that I wanted to speak about in the meeting of the All India [Muslim League] Council; but as you thought that any change in the resolutions would amount to an expression of no-confidence in you and the Working Committee—an idea which was far from my mind, I did not speak. On the analogy of the Cabinet of a Government, if the Cabinet's proposal is turned down by the Parliament on an important matter, the act amounts to a vote of no-confidence. But, at the same time, if people put forward their views freely without pressing them to voting, it has several advantages. For instance, (1) it has an educative value, (2) it may contain a suggestion that may be acceptable to the Cabinet as an improvement in the right direction and (3) it may encourage people to feel that they have a hand in moulding the policy, which will strengthen their attachment to the institution.



## 70

*S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/141*

YUSUF MANZIL,  
ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
17 October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter last evening<sup>1</sup> and wired to you as under:

"I appreciate your standpoint. Will follow advice".

Mrs. [Sarojini] Naidu has come back from Wardha and I had a talk with her today on the phone in connection with her letter under consideration. I told her my view, and she said that in that case, her friends on the Congress Working Committee would write to me and seek elucidation of certain points in my constitutional scheme. Let the matter rest at that. When I actually hear from them, I shall write to you again.

As I told you in Delhi, I was practically in full agreement with the Lahore Resolution as far as it went. But I tried to make it clear that when you would proceed to implement it, you would have to reproduce in some form the all-India background provided in my scheme.

The Resolution provides for two compact Federated Sovereign States—one on the North-West and the other on the North-East—even as envisaged in my alternative constitution which has been under your consideration for over a year. It too speaks of safeguards to be provided in the constitution for the Muslims in areas where they are in the minority. Only my scheme details those safeguards. My contention is that the provision of safeguards for the minorities ("mandatory," as the Resolution qualifies them) will argue some reciprocal all-India arrangement such as can be effectively enforced. Indeed the Resolution states that for some time to come at least, the exercise of powers in respect of Defence, External Relations, Customs, Communications, etc., will not be assumed by the States you would carve out. In other words, the Resolution anticipates a transitional all-India constitution, at least for these subjects. That is one of the reasons why I have provided a Centre—a Centre which should be agreeable to you and from where the Hindus will not be in a position to

dominate the Muslims. (Vide the provisions in this respect under Representation on Legislature (3) and Executive (2), pages 3 and 4 of the proposed constitution as redrafted three months ago with a view to implementing the Lahore Resolution and forwarded to Sir Abdoolah Haroon for the consideration of his Constitution Committee. Copy enclosed.<sup>2</sup>

I do not think, therefore, that my "scheme is fundamentally different from the basic principle laid down in the Lahore Resolution", as you say. If there is really any difference, it is in this! Mine is fully outlined; yours is only partially disclosed, though standing on all fours with it, for [sic for to] all intents and purposes.

But if my interpretation is not correct, and your view is that the scheme does not at all need any Centre or an all-India background to set against for implementing its provisions, and that it can stand on its own legs, then it is clear that I must endeavour to understand how all that is possible, particularly in view of the fact that I have to preside over the Ceded Districts' Muslim Conference in the Presidency of Madras next month and discuss in my address the implications of the Lahore Resolution as they affect the Muslims in areas where they are in the minority—the very purpose for which the Conference has been convened. I welcome, therefore, your suggestion to resume our talk on the subject in the near future. It may be possible for me to come to Bombay in the last week of this month. Will that suit you?<sup>3</sup>

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF

<sup>1</sup>No. 65.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 261, Vol. XV, 374-8.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah replied that he would prefer to meet him in Delhi in November. See SHC, Hyderabad II/143. Not printed.

## 71

*M. A. Jinnah to the Chief Editor, the daily Ehsan, Lahore*

*F. 873/578*

MATHERAN,  
17 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th October 1940<sup>1</sup> and in reply



I venture to send the following message to the Musalmans of the Punjab for the special number of the daily *Ehsan*.

Organise yourselves and take up a constructive programme for the uplift of the people generally, educationally and economically. We want a powerful press badly. We want sincere and selfless workers.

I am glad to have read in the paper that [the] Punjab is planning to enlist at least eight lakh members of the Muslim League in the course of a short period and the daily *Ehsan* can play a very important part in helping this requirement.

I hope that your paper will continue to support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

Wishing you success,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 72

*M. A. Jinnah to M.A.C.M. Saleh*

*F. 873/579*

MATHERAN,  
17 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th October[?] 1940<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I read the enclosed press cutting, editorial of the daily *News*, with interest. That is what is expected. But we are getting stronger. Our immediate need is an efficient Muslim press and selfless and sincere workers and, above all, money. In all these very important requirements we are almost paupers as compared to our opponents. We have to build up, and I am confident that it would not be long.

With regard to your kind invitation, I wish I could promise an immediate visit to Ceylon but my previous commitments are such that I cannot really fix any date at present. But I am sure that I shall not only have the pleasure of visiting the beautiful country of Ceylon but, as you say, a very warm welcome is awaiting me there, especially from the Musalmans.

I thank you for your personal references to me and for your loyal co-operation.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 73

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/44*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
18 October 1940

My dear leader,

At the meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, it was unanimously decided to invite the All India Muslim League session to Madras city to be held during the Easter holidays next year. I was elected as the Convener of the Reception Committee to be formed by the enrolment of members by me. By [the] grace of *Allah*, I have able supporters and I feel confident the session will be a great success. Madras will, after all, have the pleasure of seeing and hearing our great leader.

A formal invitation is being sent. Kindly let me know which dates during the Easter holidays will be convenient to you for the meetings of the Working Committee, Council and the session.<sup>1</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN  
MLA

*Member, All India Muslim League Council*

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he would let him know the dates after consulting the Secretary, All India Muslim League. See F. 321/45, QAP. Not printed.



74

*Laurence P. Atkinson to M. A. Jinnah**F. 773/228*

3 WELLESLEY PLACE,  
CALCUTTA,  
18 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is just to inform you that I have been summoned to Patna to answer a charge of defamation under Section 500, I.P.C. The case has been brought about by the Government and refers to an article of a Patna reader which appeared in the columns of the *Star of India*, a cutting of which I attach hereto for your information.

I thought you would be interested to hear this.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
LAURENCE P. ATKINSON  
*Editor, the Star of India*

*Enclosure to No. 74*

*F. 773/229**17 June 1940*

BIHAR POLICE DEPARTMENT

(From a Patna Reader)

It is not known if the Bihar Government has any principle or criterion to consider while giving promotions to its employees in the Police Department. The favouritism that has been frequently on show for the last two years and over in the District of Patna in the Police Department can never be commendable. If the present discrepancy is not checked, we are afraid it might aggravate [sic] public opinion to some bitter consequences. There have been numerous cases of promotion from the Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and Sub-Inspector of Police to Sub-Inspector of Police and Inspector of Police, respectively. But to great surprise not even a single Muslim has been promoted from the lower rank to the higher one, and the question of representation remaining [sic] an utter responsibility because those entrusted to discharge this responsible function on behalf

of the Government find it difficult to cope with their inborn hatred and jealousy towards the Muslims. But, should one's sweet whims encroach upon one's responsibility has to be given careful consideration by the Government. Last year, of the many literate constables appointed, not a single Muslim was taken perhaps none was available!

If seniority counts, and if seniors and the efficient are given preference over juniors, we do not find any justification for the concession made to Babu Gulab Chand Lal who acted as Inspector of Police and who has now been transferred to the G.R.P. And the short vacancy thus created is to go to Babu Ramjee Prasad who is reported to have an extremely unsatisfactory service record. We do not mean the Hindu officers should not get promotion, all that we mean is that it should not be at the cost of the rights and claims of the Muslims. That the Superintendent of Police and the Additional Superintendent of Police posted these days in Patna are Hindus, we do not grudge. But, all the same, the combination should not have abused its privileges to the incalculable loss to the Muslim subordinates. If one cannot apportion blame for the alleged favouritism, we cannot at the same time exonerate them as they happen to be men on the spot, and transactions in [the] matter of promotions and appointments as a rule pass through them. One's holding of office must always be consonant with one's ability and developed sense of responsibility.

Another clique to the grave discontent of the Muslims is in progress [sic]. Moulvi Mojeebur Rahman, a senior Sub-Inspector of Police, has been called from Bihar Sharif to take over charge of the Patna Chowk *thana* and the junior officer of the Patna Chowk *thana*, who is a Hindu, has been sent to Bihar Sharif. To a common observer and a layman, this change might not carry any meaning, but the keen critic knows the motive behind it. Bihar Sharif is an important police station in the District and at the time of promotion officers running bigger *thanas* are first given opportunities, and thus the claims of seniors are overlapped [sic]. This is a cheap but clever manoeuvre!

Will Mr. A. E. Bion, I.P., Inspector-General of Police for Bihar, look to the interests of his Muslim employees, who have suffered so long for no fault of theirs.



## 75

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/169*

MATHERAN,  
18 October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th of October.<sup>1</sup>

I have already written to you informing you as to what I have done for fixing the date and sending the circular to the office-bearers of the various Provincial Muslim Leagues. You do all you can to back it up. It seems that my letter to you crossed with your letter under reply. I hope you have received it [by] now.

Yes, from all accounts I also gather that the Musalmans are treated badly by C.P. Govt. The question is what should be done. May I suggest that you, as the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, draw the attention of the C.P. Governor to the complaints that are pouring in the Central Office and ask him to act? Let us see what is the reply.

By that time I shall be in Delhi and [we] will put our heads together and see what can be done in the matter. I am returning the original of the representation you received.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 64.

## 76

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/170-5*

8 B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
19 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending a letter from Professor Abdus Sattar Kheiri

of Aligarh,<sup>1</sup> which he sent to me with a request that it be forwarded to you. He is in great distress and is deserving sympathy. The Council in its meeting on the 29th of September passed a resolution<sup>2</sup> requesting you and the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to take up Khairi's case with the Government.<sup>3</sup>

In your last letter,<sup>4</sup> you asked my opinion as to what should be done to give effect to the Resolution of the Council regarding sending of medical missions to [the] Muslim countries if and when they get involved in the war. I suggest that in each province some suitable persons, who are willing to go abroad, from amongst the members of the Muslim National Guards, be selected and arrangement be made to give them the necessary training. The services of some doctors will be required to go with the missions. An appeal should be issued (preferably by you) asking all those medical men (Muslims), who are willing to offer their services for the noble purpose, to send their names to you so that we may be in possession of names and addresses of some medical men and when the time comes to send missions, we may not be hunting for doctors. Some funds will be needed when the time comes for sending the missions. For this, I suggest that you should issue an appeal asking people to send donations to you direct. But this appeal should be issued when a Muslim country is actually involved in the war and is attacked by a foreign power because it will have a very great effect then.

I am sending a copy of the Resolution of the Council on the subject to all the Provincial Leagues asking them to make arrangements for giving necessary training to such persons as are willing and ready to go outside India on medical missions. Even if we are able to send out a couple of such missions, it will have a great effect apart from the fact that we will be serving humanity. This is just the broad line and when you come to Delhi next month, details can be worked out.

I read in the papers that you had gone to Matheran for a few days. I hope the rest will be of great benefit to you.



Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. I received a telegram<sup>5</sup> from Sattar Sait saying that Madras has invited the League to hold its next annual session there during Easter; you also must have got the news. This must be the result of your writing to them.

L.A.K.

<sup>1&5</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 470-71.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 66.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 61.

## 77

*S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 443/20-1*

FORT, PANDHARKAWADA,  
19 October 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After a long tour of about four weeks, I returned home four days ago. I am in receipt of your letter dated the 11th October 1940,<sup>1</sup> in respect of offering prayers for the safety of the Muslim countries on the 1st of November. I have issued necessary instruction to the District Leagues in my Province. I hope throughout the Province meetings will be held, prayers offered and resolutions passed.

The news of the cyclonic havoc caused in Bombay, the other day, is shocking. By the grace of God you and Miss Fatima Jinnah must have been quite safe and your new residence and trees in the compound might have suffered damage.

Another riot in the Yeotmal District has taken place on the 10th instant between the Muslims and the Mahasabhai Brahmans, other Hindus not participating. It is apprehended that both the parties will be challanned. I am going that side tomorrow for two days.

Music-before-mosque question is proving very troublesome in our Province. It was in this connection that Mr. Siddique Ali Khan had made a speech in Nagpur on his return from Bombay in the first week of the last month, which wrought [*sic*] him into trouble. I think

it will be advisable on the part of the All India Muslim League to take up the question and give a bold lead to the Muslim Leaguers. Either it should be made an issue for fight throughout the country or the Muslim Leaguers should be definitely asked to put up with all sorts of music at all times and not to waste their energy, time and money. There is no uniform practice or custom anywhere. Here I quote some instances of a variety of practices:

- i. at some places, processions do not at all pass with music by the side of a mosque.
- ii. at some places, music is stopped only at the time of congregational prayer.
- iii. at some places, music is played near some mosques and stopped near other mosques.
- iv. at some places, the Hindus are not allowed to play music near mosques and the Muslims are prevented from doing so near temples.
- v. at some places, there are written agreements between the two communities. At others, relations are based on old customs and practices.

There are no uniform orders of the executive officers.

It is highly essential in the interest of the Muslim community to take necessary steps to establish uniformity in respect of music throughout the country.

I shall be thankful if you kindly let me know when and where the All India Muslim League Conference will be held.

I read the other day in a paper that a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League will be held at Larkana on the 14th of November in connection with the Provincial Conference there. I am afraid the plan will not suit the members of Provinces like Assam, Bengal, Madras, C.P., Bihar and Orissa.

I am sorry, owing to the month of *Ramazan*, I could not hold Provincial elections in the month of October as I could do last year. I am holding them in the middle of November.

With best regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 60.



78

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/124-5*

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
19 October 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must, I hope, be reading the news regarding developments in Sind. All that I can say is that the things are in an unsatisfactory state and efforts are being made, chiefly by the officials and to some extent by the Hindus, to put the Muslims in the wrong. There is a strong move by these parties to create conditions prejudicial to the Muslims. We have called a meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee at Karachi on the 6th of November to consider this situation. In the same meeting, we shall have to decide whether the present League Ministers should continue or resign. I have been desired by the Muslims of Sind to invite you and at the same time to request you earnestly to attend this meeting and give us guidance at this critical hour in the life of our Province. The occasion is so serious that if an unsound decision is arrived at in this meeting it will recoil on the general Muslim position in the field of Indian politics, inasmuch as it affects the future of a Muslim province. Even your stay for one day will be sufficient for our purpose and will greatly facilitate our task.

I sincerely hope that you will not reject this humble request of ours which conveys more than a mere formal invitation.

An early reply is requested.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. A. HAROON

MLA

President,

*Sind Provincial Muslim League*

## 79

*S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 443/21*

FORT, PANDHARKAWADA,  
20 October 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Today I read in a local newspaper a general appeal issued by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung requesting the Muslims throughout the country to observe the 1st of November as Hyderabad Day and pass some resolution in mosques or *Idgahs*. Is it by accident that your and his appeals fall on the same day. It would have been better had Nawab Sahib fixed any other Friday for offering prayers for the Hyderabad State. At some places, it will be difficult to adjust these two appeals. Some clear instructions in this respect from the office of the All India Muslim League will be very useful.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

PS. I am leaving just now for Pusad and Mulawa Districts where riots have taken place.

## 80

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Shareef*

*F. 445/11*

MATHERAN,  
21 October 1940

Dear Mr. Shareef,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th November [September]<sup>1</sup> which I received only two or three days ago.

In the first instance, I do not like any name of a newspaper to be such as in question—the *Muslim League*. It is somewhat misleading. I would like to send a message to any paper that is doing good work in helping the Musalmans and Muslim public opinion.

There was another instance of a newspaper that called itself the



*Muslim League*, and it misled the public that it was the organ of the All India Muslim League and many other things happened in connection of [sic for with] the paper which I would not like to say.

I would, therefore, ask you to request those concerned to change the name of the paper and I shall be very glad to give the message, as recommended by you.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>S. M. Shareef had requested a message for the Urdu weekly, the *Muslim League*.  
See F. 445/8, QAP. Not printed.

## 81

*M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari*

F. 242/36

22 October 1940

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant<sup>1</sup> and also your note enclosed. I shall bear your suggestions in mind. But in your note I missed any constructive proposal. You say, "suppose the future constitution is based on the Lahore Resolution, even then we cannot leave the Muslims in the Hindu provinces to their fate. Therefore, I would request you kindly to bring this point also before the Muslim League prominently so that we may know as to what sort of constitution we would like to have for future India."

In the first place, the Resolution made it quite clear that we cannot leave the Muslims in Hindu provinces to their fate. I wish you would give me some idea as to how you would like to safeguard the interests of the Musalmans in the Hindu provinces. I expected a definite scheme from you in this respect so that it may help us to consider it.

Besides, the Lahore Resolution contemplates a division of India and if that is accepted there is a conflict in your last sentence when you say, "we may know as to what sort of constitution we would like to have for future India." Your note does not throw any new light on the subject.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 82

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/176*

MATHERAN,  
22 October 1940

My dear Liaquat,

Your letter of the 19th October refers.<sup>1</sup>

About Sattar Kheiri, I have already written to the Governor of U.P.<sup>2</sup> and I have received a reply, copy of which is enclosed.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the Red Crescent mission, I thank you for your suggestion and we will consider [it] when we are in Delhi. I am glad you have already sent the Resolution of the Council to various Provincial Muslim Leagues to give training to the persons who would be willing to go abroad on medical missions.

Yes, I am in Matheran and hope to roll down to Bombay by the end of this month. I hope to be in Delhi by the 5th of November.

I have received the telegram from Sattar Sait and have officially heard from the Secretaries. I would like to know your suggestion for fixing of the dates during the Easter holidays in the event of my accepting the invitation from Madras. Most probably I shall decide that we should go to Madras.

Of course, I had written to them explaining the whole matter and that had some effect on their arriving at their unanimous decision.

With kind regards to you both from us and love to Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 76.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 66.

<sup>3</sup>See *ibid.*, note 2.



## 83

*M. A. Jinnah to Maharaj Singh**F. 189/21*MATHERAN,  
22 October 1940

Dear Sir Maharaj Singh,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

Of course, I feel confident that the Musalmans would welcome any non-Muslim who wishes to support the observance of the 1st of November fixed by me for the purpose of demonstrating our sympathies with the Muslim countries. I read with interest a copy of your letter which you have addressed to the press.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, I was very much pleased to meet you at Simla after such a long time and was glad to have an interesting talk.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

## 84

*M. A. Jinnah to Mushtaq Mohammad Khan**F. 873/581*MATHERAN,  
24 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for your kind personal references to me.

I learn from your letter that the Muslim students of the D.A.V. College are celebrating 'Id by holding a function and you desire me to give you a message:

All that I have to say is that you should organise yourself and follow the lead that the All India Muslim League, our only authoritative and representative organisation, has given us. The welfare of every nation depends upon its young generation and there will be a time

soon when the reins and bridles of the Muslim nation in this country will be in your hands. You should, therefore, resolve on this great day to train and qualify yourself from now, and be prepared for the grave responsibility that is bound to fall on your shoulders before long.

We have great Islamic traditions and historical achievements before us and it is for the coming generation specially to prove that we are capable of living up to our glorious past and will not shirk our responsibility in establishing ourselves as a great and progressive nation in this country.

Wishing you every success in your celebrations.

Yours truly,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mushtaq Mohammad Khan, Esq.,  
Shakakan Street,  
Jullundur City

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 85

*M. A. Jinnah to Yakoob Ali Qureshi*

*F. 873/580*

MATHERAN,  
24 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th October 1940<sup>1</sup> and am glad to learn that you are starting a new weekly called *Payam-e-Amal* for the purpose of propagating and supporting the programme of the All India Muslim League and furthering the cause of the Muslim nation. I gladly give you the following message:

You have named your weekly *Payam-e-Amal* and, therefore, I call upon the Musalmans to work, organise themselves, and assemble within the fold of the All India Muslim League, which is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of India, and speak with one voice and from one platform and under one flag.

In the past, the Musalmans of Cawnpore have shown a



remarkable capacity to work and organise themselves, and I am sure that they will maintain their tradition in future also. We need selfless and sincere workers, who place the Muslim national cause above their own and are prepared to work for and achieve our cherished ideal, even if enormous sacrifices are involved therein. I am looking forward to Cawnpore to provide us with such men as it has done in the past. The time has come when we should be up and doing and I am confident that your journal will be able to make an enormous contribution in that direction.

I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 86

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/126*

MATHERAN,  
24 October 1940

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of 19th October 1940.<sup>1</sup>

I think by now you must have known my views and also Mr. Sayed's, who was here in Bombay not long ago and had a long talk with me [and] knows my views. It is very difficult for me to follow the various steps that have been taken by your Provincial Muslim League and I do not see really what useful purpose will be served by my coming to Karachi, when even the 35 members of your Assembly are hopelessly divided. Even if you had the solid majority of 35 members, one might make an effort.

I quite see that the Musalmans outside the Assembly are getting strong and that if you organise our people properly, they may in course of time bear great fruits [sic]. Unless there is anything definite

for which you require my presence, I think it will be unwise for me to come and jump into the unknown.

I wish you all success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Abdoola Haroon,  
Napier Road,  
Karachi

<sup>1</sup>No. 78.

## 87

*Honorary Secretary, Anglo-Arabic College & Schools  
Society to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 164/260*

DELHI,  
24 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in acknowledging your cheque for Rs. 1,000 enclosed in your letter of 12th October 1940.<sup>1</sup> Please permit me to express, on behalf of my committee, their sincere thanks for the generous donation and for the sympathy which you have always displayed towards the Anglo-Arabic institutions. I append here below a copy of the resolution passed at the general meeting of the Anglo-Arabic College and Schools Society, held on October 20, 1940:

The Honorary Secretary reported that a cheque for Rs. 1,000 which had been promised by way of donation to the General Fund of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, had been received from Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Resolved that this meeting records its gratitude for the generous donation and requests the Honorary Secretary to communicate the same to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Yours faithfully,  
[A. A. RUSHDIE]

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



## 88

*Codicil to the Will of M. A. Jinnah**F. 1302/4-7*

25 October 1940

This is my Codicil to the Will.<sup>1</sup> I have an account with the National Bank of India, Bombay, as account No. 2 and also I hold (500) five hundred shares of the Reserve Bank of India, now in the possession of the Bank standing in my name but purchased out of the money from the account No. 2.

This account and all moneys deposited and invested were given to me personally by various public spirited donors to use them and do what I liked with them for the uplift of the Musalmans. I, therefore, have full and absolute power to dispose them of in anyway I may consider proper. I also have received a donation of one lakh to use it for the purpose of establishing Muslim League press and paper in such manner as I may consider proper.

I now having full power of disposition bequeath the same to my Executors and they are to use the capital and or interest thereof in anyway they may consider proper relating to this account.

Besides this amount and 500 shares of the Reserve Bank, I have other accounts of my own in the National Bank of India and also in the Imperial Banks at Bombay and New Delhi but those and all other accounts abroad with any Bank or Banks are my own absolute property and will be governed by Will of mine that I have already made.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Annex.

*Annex to No. 88*  
*Will of M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1302/1-3*

LITTLE GIBBS ROAD,  
MALABAR HILL,  
BOMBAY,  
30 May 1939

1. This is my last will and testament; all other wills and testaments of mine stand cancelled.

2. I appoint my sister Fatima Jinnah, Mr. Mahomedalli Chaiwalla, Solicitor, Bombay, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of Delhi as my executrix and executors and also my trustees.
3. All shares stocks and securities and current accounts now standing in the name of my sister Fatima Jinnah are her absolute property. I have given them all to her by way of gifts during my lifetime, and I confirm the same and she can dispose them of in any manner she pleases as her absolute property.
4. I now hereby bequeath to her my house and all that land with appurtenances, out-houses, etc. situated at Mount Pleasant Road Malabar Hill, Bombay, including all the furniture plates silver and motor-cars, in its entirety as it stands absolutely and she can dispose it of in any manner she pleases by Will, deed or otherwise.
5. I also direct my Executors to pay her during her lifetime Rs. 2,000 (two thousand) per month (for her maintenance and other requirements for her).
6. I direct my Executors to pay per month Rs. 100 (one hundred) to my sister Rehmat Cassimbhoy Jamal during her lifetime.
7. I direct my Executors to pay per month Rs. 100 (one hundred) to my sister Mariam Abdinbhoy Peerbhoy during her lifetime.
8. I direct my Executors to pay per month Rs. 100 (one hundred) to my sister Shereen during her lifetime.
9. I direct my Executors to pay per month Rs. 100 (one hundred) to my brother Ahmed during his lifetime.
10. I direct my Executors to set apart Rs. 2,00,000 [two lakh or (two hundred thousand)] which will at 6 per cent bring an income of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) and pay the income thereof whatever it be to my daughter every month for her life or during her lifetime and after her death the Corpus of two lakh so set apart to be divided equally between her children males or females; in default of any issue the Corpus to fall into my residuary estate.
11. I direct my Executors to pay the following by way of gifts to the institutions mentioned:
  - A. I bequeath Rs. 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) to the Anjuman-i-Islam School Bombay, situated at Hornby Road opposite Boribunder Station, and next to *The Times of India* Buildings.



- B. I bequeath Rs. 50,000 (fifty thousand) to the University of Bombay.
- C. I bequeath Rs. 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) to the Arabic College, Delhi.
- 12. Subject to above, all my residuary estate, including the Corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interests or otherwise, to be divided into three parts—and I bequeath one part to Aligarh University—one part to Islamia College, Peshawar, and one part to Sindh Mudrressa of Karachi.

M. A. JINNAH

## 89

*Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 364/15*

LUCKNOW,  
28 October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since writing to you about the effort of a group of disgruntled Congressmen to form a coalition party in the Assembly, there has been a press controversy between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Kanwar Anand Singh, the rebel leader of the Congress. This group is making feverish attempts to secure 30 to 35 votes from amongst the Congressmen to their side to secure a majority. The Congress at the time of the elections of 1937 had entered into a pact with Malaviya<sup>1</sup> and Aney<sup>2</sup> by which it adopted 20 candidates of the nationalist Hindu group. Kanwar Anand Singh is counting on the support of this group along with [that of] the scheduled-castes to give him more than 35 votes. He has also been asking me to give him a definite reply about our attitude. Not having received any reply to my letter, I have been putting him off till I hear from you. In spite of the great hopes that he entertains about the chances of securing the required number, I am very doubtful whether he would succeed in his effort. I, however, feel that we may not at this stage say or do anything to dampen their enthusiasm. Even if ultimately the required number is not secured by him, the disruption in the Congress Party of a serious character will be assured. It would be welcome indeed to us particularly when we have neither taken any initiative nor actively helped the

Congress rebels.

Kindly write to me at once giving your full instructions in the matter; for I am being seriously pressed for a reply.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQUZZAMAN

<sup>1</sup>Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President, Indian National Congress, 1908 and 1918, and founder of the Hindu University, Benares.

<sup>2</sup>Dr Madhao Shrihari Aney, moderate Congress leader of Berar; later, Member of Viceroy's Executive Council for overseas Indians.

## 90

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 605/9*

CHHATARI,  
28 October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The other day Kanwar Anand Singh, ex-Chief Whip of the Congress Government [Parliamentary Party] in U.P., came to see me here and expressed his desire that I should help him towards the formation of a coalition ministry in these provinces. I referred him to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman. Anand Singh belongs to M. N. Roy's group and is a sincere and enthusiastic worker. Personally, I am not very hopeful about the successful formation of a coalition ministry in U.P., but I think there is no harm in encouraging such a movement. Of course, it is for Mr. Roy and Kanwar Anand Singh to show to the non-Congress members as to how many men they could bring out of the Congress Party. I am sure Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman must have written to you about this move.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
AHMAD SAID



## 91

*M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Kalanjiam*

*F. 873/584*

BOMBAY,  
29 October 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th October 1940<sup>1</sup> and am very glad to hear that the Muslims of Malaya are taking a keen interest in the activities of the All India Muslim League and have a great sympathy with its cause. In your letter, you desire me to give you a message.

All that I can say is: organise yourselves, assemble under one flag, speak from one platform and with one voice, take up a constructive programme for the uplift of our people generally, educationally, economically and socially, and shape yourselves into a solid block of a huge rock to face all difficulties and dangers.

Islam is a great brotherhood, unified by means of its socio-political conception of laws that are based on liberty, equality and fraternity. It recognises no territorial limitations. The Muslims of the world are attached to each other by their common faith, religion and culture, which itself embraces all the aspects of life and action. We must prove ourselves worthy of the great brotherhood, to which we belong. We must serve ourselves and our brothers and be able to live up to our glorious past.

Your journal *Dhesa Nesan* is, I believe, doing much good work and I am sure that if you continue your efforts in this direction, it will one day be of great value to the Muslim world in general and to the Musalmans of Malaya in particular.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

A.N.P. Hameed Kalanjiam, Esq.,  
Editor, *Dhesa Nesan*, [Malaya]

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 92

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 242/29-30*

CHHATARI,  
[30] October 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd [October].<sup>1</sup> I am sorry that the last sentence in the last paragraph of my note should have given you an impression which I had never meant to convey. Perhaps, it would have been better if I had said, "so that we may know as to what sort of constitutional safeguards we would like to have for the Musalmans in various provinces where they are in a minority," instead of saying, "so that we may know as to what sort of constitution we would like to have for future India."

You have kindly asked me to put forward a definite scheme. I have some scattered ideas, but I do not think I am in a position to put forward a scheme for the protection of the Musalmans of India as a whole. Such work can best be done by the representatives of various minority provinces. However, I have seen in the papers that the Constitution-making Committee is going to submit its report to you next month; and let us hope that the report will give the fullest satisfaction to the Muslims of the minority provinces and that it will give them an opportunity of remoulding the scheme, if they find that it is not suited to their requirements.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
AHMAD SAID

<sup>1</sup>No. 81.



## 93

*M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman*

*F. 364/16*

BOMBAY,  
1 November 1940

Dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of October.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult for me to discuss the matter referred to by you in your letter by means of correspondence, because there are so many pros and cons which will have to be seen and considered. But before anything can be done we must at least know definitely what is the strength of the new group and who is their real leader and spokesman.

Of course, we will be ready to consider if there is a powerful group desiring to work with us on the terms acceptable to us. The matter is open to adjustment.

I hope to be in Delhi very soon and perhaps the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League will also be called in November and if the things develop, you can run down to Delhi for a day and then we can talk the matter over fully. I shall certainly be there before the 10th of November.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>No. 89.

## 94

*Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/61-2*

LUCKNOW,  
4 November 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter, dated 1st November 1940.<sup>1</sup>

I was myself thinking of meeting you in Delhi and had asked

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib to communicate with you on the subject. I hope you will kindly send us a wire to see you any day convenient to you between 10th and 15th so that we may discuss in detail the situation in our province.

Unfortunately, the letter which I had written to you on the 18th October 1940 was returned to me from Bombay because it was short of necessary postage. As I am going to discuss the matter personally, I do not think it useful to rewrite its contents to you. I am, however, sending you copy of the letter of Mr. M. N. Roy<sup>2</sup> and his manifesto. I have not yet given them any reply for want of instructions from you.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQ

<sup>1</sup>No. 93.

<sup>2</sup>Manavendra Nath Roy, 1887-1954; a revolutionary, radical democrat, Leninist, and author; founded the Radical Democratic Party and the Indian Federation of Labour; edited the *Radical Humanist*; during World War II, when the USSR became an ally of Great Britain, he supported the war effort, contrary to the Congress policy.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 94*  
*M. N. Roy to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman*

*F. 1092/63*

*12 October 1940*

INDEPENDENT INDIA

My dear Chaudhry Sahib,

In view of the attitude of the Muslim League regarding the war, I assume that you share the view that the present deadlock in the provinces should not continue indefinitely. The rapid development in the Balkans and the threat to the Near-Eastern countries may, before long, bring the Fascist menace at the very gates of our country. India will find herself just behind the front-lines. She will not be able to defend herself unless a certain measure of popular control is established on her Government. Unfortunately, the British Government refuses to accept even very moderate demands. That, however, does not permit us to be unmindful of the danger that threatens India.

In view of these considerations, I tried my best to persuade the Congress leaders to adopt a more realistic policy, to what consequence is now publicly known. I am now free to act according to my conviction. I have always been of the opinion, which I pressed



persistently, that Congress Ministries should have been reconstructed as coalitions with the Muslim League. I believe that such reconstruction is now possible. Of course, the official Congress leaders will not come around. They have chosen to go to the wilderness. But there are many Congress MLAs who are not prepared to follow them there. Together with them and with the Muslim League, it is possible now to command a majority in the Provincial Legislature and restore popular ministry on that basis.

I have had discussions with various groups and individuals in this connection, and have been promised support. All along, I assumed your co-operation because nothing can be done except with the co-operation of the Muslim League.

The Chief Whip of the Congress Assembly Party, Kunwar Anand Singh, has resigned from the Congress. He was here to discuss with me the details of the plan, a rough outline of which is enclosed herewith. He is going to see you in this connection. If necessary, I shall be very glad to discuss the matter with you personally. But being confined to bed for nearly a month, I am not in a position to come to Lucknow. Kunwar Anand Singh is authorised to speak on my behalf. In any case, it will be necessary for me personally to see you. On receiving the report that you are agreeable to the plan in principle, we shall see how the meeting can be arranged.

Yours sincerely,  
M. N. ROY

*Enclosure 2 to No. 94*

*F. 1092/64*

#### DRAFT RESOLUTION

##### *Preamble*

It is evident that the prospect of Indian freedom and progress as well as the future of the rest of the world will be seriously prejudiced by the victory of Fascism, and that before long India herself may be directly menaced from all sides by the German-Italian-Japanese combination. In this situation, non-cooperation with the war cannot be the badge of Indian patriotism nor pacifism can be a noble ideal. In the midst of a world enslaved by triumphant Fascism, the chances of India attaining her freedom will be more remote than ever. Herself conquered by this or that Fascist power, India will lose even the very possibility of carrying on her struggle for freedom. Therefore, all true Indian patriots, not blinded by false ideals or petty

considerations, should for the moment work with the sole purpose of defeating Fascism. But they cannot play their part with honour and credit unless the Government of the country comes under popular influence as far as possible in the given situation.

2. Having these considerations in view, this conference of the representatives of the Muslim League, Scheduled Castes, the Radical League and the Independents, resolves to form a National Democratic Bloc in the United Provinces, inside and outside the Legislature, with the following programme:

#### *Programme*

- i. Support of India's participation in the war against Fascism.
- ii. Democratization of war efforts in order to make India's contribution voluntary, purposeful and, therefore, more effective. War Committees should become popular non-official bodies and function as organs of anti-Fascist propaganda with the object of enlisting mass support and promoting popular sentiment and will in favour of the war.
- iii. Early end of the constitutional deadlock through the formation of a coalition ministry.
- iv. Re-election of the Legislature on the issue of India's participation in the war, if a coalition ministry favouring participation cannot secure a majority in the present House.
- v. Appointment of the nominees of the National Democratic Bloc as non-official advisers for the interim period, should re-election be necessary; during the interim period, non-official advisers shall implement point (ii) of the programme, so as to guarantee the victory of the National Democratic Bloc in the general election.

#### *Scope and Constitution*

It is further resolved:

- i. That the different parties and groups, constituting the National Democratic Bloc, will retain their individual existence for all other purposes except to enforce the programme of the Bloc which is their collective responsibility.
- ii. That the selection of the personnel of the coalition ministry shall be determined, in the first place, by the basic consideration of giving it the most popular composition and ensuring it the widest popular appeal.
- iii. That Kunwar Anand Singh, MLA, be elected the President and Z. H. Lari, MLA, and K. Kane, MLA, as Secretaries of the National Democratic Bloc in the Assembly.



- iv. That Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, MLA, be chosen for the prime ministership of the proposed coalition ministry.

## 95

*M. A. Jinnah to Habibullah*

*F. 164 /262*

BOMBAY,  
6 November 1940

Dear Mr. Habibullah,

I understand that Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad has already instructed you to send me a cheque for Rs. 20,000 whenever I require, as his contribution towards the League establishment of an English daily, which we are proposing to start.

Of course, I need not say how thankful we are for this handsome, public-spirited and patriotic help which Raja Sahib has agreed to give.

I am, therefore, requesting you to send me the cheque as the things are now materializing and money may be required at any moment. I hope you will send me the cheque as soon as possible and I will send you the official receipt.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 96

*Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Misc. I/94*

DEHRA DUN JAIL, U.P.,  
7 November 1940

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

God bless you for your speech on 'Id day.<sup>1</sup> What a difference

between your speech and other speeches delivered on that day by many other so-called Muslim leaders and statesmen! By *Allah*, Mr. Jinnah; you are a man after my heart. You are reported to have said, while addressing the Muslims, "I wish you to make up your minds that we are not a minority. We do not believe in the so-called democratic parliamentary form of government for this country. We are a nation and as such we should have our own territory and our own state." These words, these great truths, have thrilled me. Nothing has given me greater joy in my isolation since I have been supposed to be deprived of my freedom. In the above lines has been expressed the true creed of the Muslim League. Every Muslim in India should know it, feel it and will it. Had this also not been the perpetual theme and cry of my paper, your paper, the *Spirit of the Time*? Does not Aligarh resound with these very words?

Mr. Jinnah, do not be indifferent to Aligarh. Of course, you are not. I know more than anybody else that you are not. You cannot be indifferent to Aligarh. But I hear that the Congressites, the Communists and the Godless are again raising their heads there. No less a person than Dr. Abid, the President of the Muslim University Ward Muslim League, writes this to me.

The last election to the Court from the Registered Graduates Constituency was organized by this humble servant of yours, and he had 100 per cent success in spite of very stubborn opposition. I had made no compromise though advised by some important persons.

I do not quite yet know what I can do with the next election. New members to the Constituency can be enrolled till December 15, 1940, for the next election in spring.

Besides, the term of the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Suleman,<sup>2</sup> is to end in April 1941. We must now think of a new Vice-Chancellor. Unless our Sahibzada Sahib can be spared, I think, after due consideration, after weighing all possible pros and cons, without any prejudice and with all possible purification of heart and soul, that we cannot find a better man than Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad,<sup>3</sup> to fight the Congressites, the Communists and the Godless. Besides, during these critical times, Dr. Zia Uddin is by far the best man for the University. He knows the University so intimately. Any other man may be a total failure. Dr. Zia Uddin has his faults and defects. Who has not? We have to sacrifice the inessentials and the less important in order to preserve the fundamentals and the more important.

I had to talk with Sir Zia Uddin about the matter. I do not know whether he is willing or not. You can order him and compel him to



accept the post. He will have to obey you and follow you.

I shall continue my work of purge in the University Court as best as I could, till there are no Congressites or Communists or the Godless in the Muslim University Court.

My experience in the jail with the Congress leaders has given me very great hopes. I have seen their doctrines of truth and non-violence. I have seen great Congress leaders talking and acting violence against poorer prisoners. Mr. Jinnah, false men cannot make a brick house. Hypocrisy is soon out.

I am very optimistic about the programme of the Muslim League. But we must have in our high command, men of character. A chain is as strong as its weakest link. I am optimistic about my work in the Muslim University and the Muslim League.

I am nowadays in very high spirits. Remember Mr. Jinnah, that you and I are the most youthful members of the League. And we are not going to grow old till our work is done. We do not talk of the past except as foundation on which plans we build our present and future. If the British Govt. help us in our plans, we shall be only too glad to help them. But we are *Allah's* and we turn to Him alone. Therefore, forward, always forward, always trusting in *Allah*. And He alone is a sufficient Helper.

Very sincerely and devotedly yours,  
 MUHAMMAD ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI  
*Detained under D.I.R. 26 (1)b*

PS. I had sent you two letters before. I did not expect any answer nor do I expect now. But if possible tell someone to drop a card informing me if my letter reached you. I do not know if other letters ever reached you or even if they were ever posted.

SATTAR KHEIRI

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 78-9.

<sup>2</sup>Dr Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, 1886-1941; Mathematics Tripos (1909) and Law Tripos (1910) from Cambridge; called to the Bar (Middle Temple) in 1910; LL. D. (Dublin), 1911; Judge, 1923-32 and Chief Justice, 1932-37, Allahabad High Court; Judge, Federal Court, 1937-41; Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1938-41; distinguished mathematician.

<sup>3</sup>Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1941-47.

## 97

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah**F. 392/35*

URGENT

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
9 November 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Associated Press of India's report of a speech, delivered by you at Bombay, was published in the *Star of India*. The following passage is supposed to be a verbatim quotation from your speech:

We are convinced that in the interests of India, whatever may have been the deeds of the British Government in the past, it is our duty to support and co-operate with them as we are now destined to be in the same boat and in order to protect our own homes and hearths.

I will be obliged if you will kindly confirm by return of post or by wire if this is correct. I am going out on tour on the 15th and I would like to have your reply before I leave Calcutta.<sup>1</sup>

I hope you are keeping well.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah wired that his speech had been mutilated and misrepresented and that he was sending him the full text. See F. 392/36, QAP. Not printed. Also see No. 98.

## 98

*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin**F. 392/37*NEW DELHI,  
12 November 1940

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th instant.<sup>1</sup> I have already wired to you as desired by you, and I am sending herewith the copy of my statement issued to the representative of the *News Chronicle*, London. It was released in India but with the exception of the *Times of*



*India, Bombay*, it did not appear in any newspaper. My information is that it was, by [sic for for] some reason or other, stopped by the wisdom of the Censor Adviser to the Government.

As regards my speech on the 1st of November, I am sending you a summary<sup>2</sup> of the correct version which has also appeared in the *Times of India, Bombay*. It was also released by the news agencies, including the Associated Press. But whoever was the genius responsible for mutilating and misrepresenting my speech has only allowed that portion of its context which has been quoted by you.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir K. Nazimuddin,  
9 Gariahat Road,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable. However, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice* II, 81-3.

*Enclosure to No. 98*

*Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to a London newspaper<sup>1</sup>*

F. 772/2

[BOMBAY,]

1 November 1940

In an exclusive interview to a London newspaper, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, commenting on the Day of Observance by Indian Muslims stated:

The attitude of the British Government towards the Muslims in India is far from satisfactory in the policy they are pursuing in regard to their demands. The Viceroy's offer<sup>2</sup> was only in name, purporting to give a real share and authority in Governments, provincial and central, for the purpose of prosecuting the war successfully. Nor are the Muslims in India satisfied with regard to the policy pursued by the Great Britain in Palestine. We think the British Government does not care for our support and cooperation on an honourable basis with a real share in the authority of the Government.

The observance of November 1, is based on the bond of brotherhood that exists between Muslim India and other Muslim countries, and it is to mark our sense of deep sympathy and concern with Islamic countries that we have decided to pray for the safety and integrity of their

independence and sovereignty and to hold meetings all over the country to prepare people to be ready to give all the help we can in the event of any attack or aggression against them by any foreign power. We hope that not only the Nazis and Fascists will refrain from defying the solidarity of the Muslim world but also that the French and British will revise their policy in Syria and Palestine.

<sup>1</sup>The *News Chronicle*, London.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, Vol. XV, 687-9.

## 99

*F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 997/21-2*

BOMBAY,  
14 November 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you a telegram<sup>1</sup> this morning regarding your statement on the interview you gave me and the Government denial. Enclosed [is], a note attached by the Associated Press to your statement. Please treat it as private, as you will see that it was for the editor's information only and not for publication. No responsible editor in India was willing at that time—this was before the recent press ban was lifted—to publish any statement endorsed as "publishable at editor's risk". The Associated Press accordingly were not prepared to take the risk, and they tell me that they remonstrated with Government on this point. I was also told in confidence that about 2 a.m. the same night the Assistant Press Adviser from Delhi phoned the Associated Press saying that "Government would not like publication of the interview" but as the statement was made in strict confidence I know you will make no use of it.

Did you get any assurance from Maxwell<sup>2</sup> on the other matter I discussed with you and about which I subsequently wrote?

Yours sincerely,  
F. R. MORAES

<sup>1</sup>See F. 997/20, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.



*Enclosure to No. 99*  
*Note by Associated Press*

F. 997/23

14 November 1940

Reference Mr. Jinnah's today's statement and Government press communique thereon (see Bombay four New Delhi message) Mr. Jinnah's message to *News Chronicle* dated October 30th was submitted by the Associated Press to the Chief Press Adviser in New Delhi for approval. In view of the fact that the endorsement "passed for publication" was not forthcoming and the only advice that was given was "publishable at editor's risk," the statement was not issued by the Associated Press.

Note. For editor's information only and not for publication.

[PS.] Mr. Moraes! This may interest you!! The story was yours. Wasn't it?

100

*M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Laithwaite*

*SHC, C. P. & Berar I/26*

NEW DELHI,  
15 November 1940

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

I am enclosing a telegram in original which I have just received.

I hope you will, without delay, see that the matter is attended to. I request you to place it before His Excellency the Viceroy as soon as possible for action.<sup>1</sup>

Yours sincerely  
M. A. JINNAH

J. G. Laithwaite,  
Private Secretary to  
His Excellency the Viceroy

<sup>1</sup>Laithwaite informed Jinnah that, as instructed by the Governor-General, he would be sending a copy of Jinnah's letter to the Governor of U.P., which, in fact, should have been sent to the Governor of C.P. See *SHC, C. P. & Berar I/28-30*. Not printed.

*Enclosure to No. 100*  
*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*  
*Telegram, SHC, C.P. & Berar 1/27*

BURHANPUR,  
 15 November 1940

Military allowed to violate sanctity of 'Idgah. Pitched tents inside and marched past round city playing music before mosques while Muslims offering evening prayers. Thus disregarding officially recognized 1890 local agreement to stop music before mosques. Muslims greatly excited. Held monstrous protest meeting last night observing complete *hartal* today. Pray for immediate action.

Anxious,  
 MOHAMMED ASGHAR  
*President, Burhanpur District Muslim League*

## 101

*F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah*  
*Telegram, F. 997/19*

BOMBAY,  
 15 November 1940

*News Chronicle* by cable officially deny receipt of your interview. London has asked for full details of affair. Am sending cable today. Please ask Press Adviser Delhi to let story go through without mutilations.

F. R. MORAES

## 102

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*  
*F. 361/1-6*

PAHARI IMLI, GHORFA,  
 DELHI,  
 16 November 1940

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,  
 May you lead us, Muslims, to the path of glory. Please allow me



to express myself, though in my poor bad English.

Your great admirer and true and faithful follower, my unfortunate younger brother Prof. Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M.A., teacher of the German and the French languages in the Aligarh University and a devoted member of your League's foreign sub-committee, is a victim of deep intrigues and awful misunderstandings. This can be proved by certain documents and others [*sic*].

It is now more than four months that he was arrested under Defence of India Rule 26(1) (b) and was put, of course without trial, in the Jhansi Jail. During the awfully hottest days he was put in the locked cell and was not allowed to sleep outside it, like the A Class convicted prisoners. He was obliged to remain in this cell for 14 hours, i.e. twelve hours in the night and two hours in the day. So he lost his sleep altogether and lost eight lbs of his weight.

After passing the hottest days in Jhansi, now he is transferred to Dehra Dun, perhaps under the same conditions as before. Some eye-witnesses have told me that he was put in barracks with some other convicted prisoners and one under-trial prisoner in a murder case! Thereupon I entreated the Govt. of U.P. to give him special treatment at least during the *Ramadan*. As a Muslim my brother must need some kind of privacy for prayers etc. But all such facilities were rejected.

I went to see my brother with his only son in Jhansi. We were shocked to see him thin, dejected and extremely sorry. I wanted to see him now in Dehra Dun but unnecessary formalities are just in my way. Even our correspondence is unduly delayed. It takes more than a fortnight to know his welfare. My letters reach him in a week and so [do] his replies to my letters, if he writes the same day.

He is now so much disheartened that he has already stopped writing letters. He is constantly losing his weight. His family is not supported by the Govt. All of them are in distress. His daughter, who was placed in the first division in her F.A. Examination, is not able to study any more. He himself was teaching her. His only son, who passed his Matric Examination in the first division and got a position in the whole University, does not study any more with the same zeal, as before with his father. The whole family is scattered. My brother is at present in the Dehra Dun Jail, [and] his wife and youngest daughter are in the Naini Tal camp. His son is living in the deserted *kothi* of his father and his daughter is living in a friend's house!

The climate of Dehra Dun suited my brother well but I have heard



from a friend in Dehra Dun that my brother is again to be transferred to Deolali near Ajmer which is said to be a stronghold [sic] of the detained Communists and Socialists. It will certainly be a great torment for my brother to live among his deadliest enemies. What a calamity!

It is strange that my brother's wife was also arrested under the same section as my brother, but being a European she is placed in a much better position than my brother. There, in the camp the European husbands and their wives live together but my brother is a black man (*kala admi*).

A unanimous resolution of the members of the Muslim University Court was passed asking for his release. But if that was not possible at the moment, treat him as an internee of the European standard. Sir Shah Sulaiman and the ex-Governor, Nawab of Chhatari, assured me that the Governor has the powers to send him to Naini Tal camp to live with his wife and children. But this promise was never fulfilled and now it is also known that my brother will not be transferred to Naini Tal to live with his wife and children.

I met you some time ago on behalf of my unfortunate brother. You promised then that you will do your best. Please do it now. I have full faith in you. I may also remind you of the resolution presented by yourself in the League's Council [meeting]. There is no hope except in yourself. Long before, I tried to approach the Home Member and the Chief of C.I.D. to explain the matter myself. So I sent a letter to grant me an interview on the 19th October but no reply ever came! Then I wrote a petition to H.E. the Viceroy through his Private Secretary. This was registered on the 31st October 1940. But I did not receive even the acknowledgment of it. All the doors of redress are closed! But one is open and this is yours only.

Now our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, I am ready to give you all the necessary details. I wish to pay you my humble visit and hope you will kindly allow my humblest self to see you and open my extremely sad heart to you. My brother is more than a son to me. I have no one except him.

My brother is your great admirer and a true and faithful follower of yours. Do please, by all means, have him and his wife released as soon as possible, and save him and his family from utter disaster and ruin.

In the meanwhile, it is of paramount importance that my brother, Prof. Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M.A., should receive the treatment worthy of himself and the prestige of his Kheiri family. He



should at once be removed from the so-called B class, which is causing him great inconvenience and enormously telling upon his health. Do kindly intervene so that he is put in the special class at once and that his family and he himself be supported by the Govt., and that the husband, the wife and the children be put together.

I am sure that my brother and I would not be disappointed. I am sure that you will kindly do all you can promptly and will save him from the ever growing indignities, humiliations and miseries that have been heaped on his head. Anxiously awaiting your favourable reply,

I am,  
Your humblest, most faithful  
and obedient brother-in-Islam,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI  
M. A., Ph. D.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 66. Also see No. 104.

## 103

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

17 November 1940

My dear *chacha*,

It is after a very long silence that I have got something to write about. The political atmosphere has been most depressingly dull and drony [*sic*]. The month of *Ramazan* finished on the 1st of November. Since then I had been busy preparing my address for the Shahsaram conference, which was held on the 9th and 10th. The conference was a great success. People from various parts of the Province had come to attend; some of them, I was told, had walked from distant villages because they had no money. Raja Sahib of Pirpur also attended and inaugurated the conference. Jamal Mian made one of his most brilliant speeches. But throughout the conference, I realised that there was a lack of that life, that vivacity [and] that spirit which, during the Congress rule, usually guided our deliberations. Accepted that our ideal is the creation of Muslim sovereign States in the North-West and in the East but today when we should be organizing our masses

to that end, we feel that the method of the struggle is still in the shade. Right or wrong, today if the Congress says that a free and independent India is its goal, it also has the method of the (so-called) non-violent *satyagraha*. The public with its distorted sense of values and a conveniently short memory is easily led away by their intensive and extensive propaganda machine which works day and night untiringly weaving lies after lies and falsehood after falsehood. With this in view and also our condition, how are we to compete without men, without money, without newspapers? This is the question, Sir. Until the Congress is out we have got a breathing time. In the meanwhile, if we are unable to do constructive and concentrative work we may find ourselves betrayed and our existence may only dwindle into a liability on the nation. It was during the lull period between the two mass upheavals of 1924 and 1930 that the Congress consolidated its position. It was then that the workers and the peasants realised that it (Congress) could become very useful to them only if it came to power. But the greatest blunder that its political leaders did was to accept office when all the creative and destructive powers were vested in the Governors. They had come to wreck the constitution but the constitution wrecked them. Now, lately [M. N.] Roy and K[anwa]r Anand Singh have been meeting the members of the Council. My personal information is that Roy has been bought over by the Govt. and the Govt. is trying its level best to form a ministry. To-day, a meeting of the Muslim League Party in the [Legislative] Assembly and the [Legislative] Council was held to discuss the formation of a ministry and throughout the deliberations the strain showed a greed, an inextinguishable desire [and] an insatiable appetite for power. All offices have been practically filled (in imagination, of course), every parliamentary secretary has been nominated and every detail has been considered. The Raja Sahib of Pirpur was offered a seat in the cabinet, as a representative of the Shias, which he, of course, rejected and I know that he for one will never be so low. Noticing the trend of thought in our political liege lords I must convey my frank opinion on the situation. I am convinced, Sir, that we should not accept office for the following reasons:

- i. A minority cannot live but in opposition.
- ii. The Muslim League has not yet got that hold on the masses which the Congress had when it assumed power.
- iii. We have no labour organizations within the League.
- iv. Our contact with the peasantry is nil.
- v. The prerogatives of the ministers of today (war period) will



be much less in comparison to those which the Congress had.

- vi. Over and above those restrictions, which the Governor may place, the League representatives will be in double slavery, one of the Govt. the other of the majority party which will form the Govt.
- vii. The League has no outstanding economic programme.
- viii. There will be a split in the League.
- ix. By the time they (members of the League) come out of the offices they will have thoroughly discredited themselves.

The Pakistan deputation could not start its tour as four out of seven members were unable to come. Sir Currimbhoy is busy making arrangements for his daughter's marriage. Siddique Ali Khan is in jail. Ispahani is tied up with his business in Calcutta. Nawab S. M. Ismail had previous engagements for this month. Now we are going to Assam and Bengal, if possible, in the first two weeks of December.

More than two-third translation of your book on Pakistan is ready; the rest will soon follow. It is in the press. I will be in Mahmudabad from the 20th to the 27th.

With respectful compliments,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed ed., *Letters to Quaid-i-Azam 1936-41*, Karachi, 1998, 153-6.

## 104

*Maurice G. Hallet to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Misc. I/95*

GOVERNOR'S CAMP,  
UNITED PROVINCES,  
18 November 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of the 12th October<sup>1</sup> on the subject of the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Kheiri to which an interim reply was sent on the 17th October.<sup>2</sup> The resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League, to which you refer, asked for the release of Mr. Kheiri. I have given the matter my most careful consideration, but I am afraid that I am unable to agree, at any rate at present. There is a mass of information concerning the activities of the Kheiris, some of which has not yet been fully

examined. It may be that when this has been done, Mr. Kheiri will be able to explain certain facts which go to show that he was an enemy agent, but, subject to what he may be able to say, the information available appears to leave no room for doubt that he was in touch with German propaganda agents before the war and had contacts also with anti-British agents of other powers. These facts are only gradually coming to light and could not have been known to your Council. There is no objection to your communicating them confidentially to the members of your Council should the matter again be raised there. Mr. Kheiri was not of course detained, as he suggests in his letter, because of his connection with the *Spirit of the Time* nor of any Communistic or Congress propaganda against him, of which indeed I am quite unaware.

2. I, of course, appreciate and sympathise with the distress of the Kheiri family in their present unfortunate position and am doing all I can to alleviate it, consistently with what appears to be necessary in the interests of the public safety. Sometime ago, I ordered that Mr. Kheiri be moved to Dehra Dun Jail, where he now is, and where the climate is better than at Jhansi. I am afraid that I cannot agree to the release of Mrs. Kheiri but I [have] satisfied myself by a personal visit that those detained in the Parole Camp in Naini Tal, where Mrs. Kheiri is, are well looked after and have no ground for complaint. Mrs. Kheiri has her younger daughter with her and I have just issued orders that her elder daughter be sent there too, as Mrs. Kheiri wishes. Neither of these girls will, of course, be treated as a detenue though Government will pay for their board and lodging. The university authorities are willing to take the son into a boarding house and I am instructing the Collector of Aligarh, Mr. [A. T.] Naqvi, to arrange for the letting of the Kheiri's house, the rent of which should be sufficient to pay for the son's university expenses.

Yours sincerely,

M. G. HALLET

Governor, United Provinces

<sup>1</sup>No. 66.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, note 2.



## 105

*Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1059/12  
[Original in Arabic]

THE COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO  
PALESTINIAN AFFECTEES,  
BAGHDAD,  
21 November 1940

In the name of *Allah*, the Merciful, the Benevolent  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah*

Noori Pasha Saeed, the Foreign Minister of the Government of Iraq, has handed over an amount of 500 pounds to the Committee for Assistance to Palestinian Affectees, which was sent by your honour<sup>1</sup> and was donated by the Indian Muslims for their Palestinian affected brethren.

The Committee and I myself are grateful to your honour and honourable donors for this kindness and dedication for the Palestinian issue and affectees. We request for continuation of this kindness and pray *Allah* Almighty to reward you for your services to India, Palestine and Muslims in general.

Please also find attached receipt for this amount<sup>2</sup> on behalf of the Committee with renewed thanks and compliments.

MUHAMMAD AMIN EL-HUSSEINI OF PALESTINE  
*Mufti*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 106

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 274/131

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
21 November 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry I could not see you before my departure for Karachi.

This was owing to the fact that I left the Assembly very late and there was practically no time left, for which pray excuse me. I had to leave Delhi early in order to be present for the opening ceremony of the building of the Girl Guides Headquarters, presented by Lady Haroon to the Association.

On my arrival in Karachi I immediately issued the enclosed statement and I assure you that at no cost will I allow the prestige of the League to be hurt.

I hope that you will kindly stop with me during your stay in Karachi and please inform me beforehand [of] the day of your arrival in order that I may arrange your meeting with various gentlemen.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

*Enclosure to No. 106*  
*Statement to the Press by H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/132*

MUSLIM LEAGUE OFFICE, KARACHI,  
21 November 1940

I have just returned from Delhi. I am receiving enquiries as to what the position of the Muslim League, as such, is in the negotiations that are being conducted by the Congress President regarding Sind Ministry. The constitutional position is very clear. The Muslim League, as such, has not authorized any individual to represent it in these negotiations and it follows, therefore, that the Sind Provincial Muslim League, as an organization, stands committed to nothing unless a specific decision is taken from the Sind League Council.



107

*S. R. Narayana Ayyar to M. H. Saiyid**F. 924/91*

DEVINILAYAM,  
COONOOR, THE NILGIRIS,  
23 November 1940

Dear Sir,

As one who is anxious to understand the problem of Hindus and Muslims I have been trying my best to understand the Muslim viewpoint but no clear idea comes to me from the various statements of leaders, except some vague ideas such as Pakistan Movement, religious rights, a separate nation, etc. Hence, may I request you to kindly let me know where I can get a clear statement of what Mr. Jinnah wants the Hindus to do? He has made many speeches before he gave that admirable talk on 'Id day.<sup>1</sup> But the talk is absolutely in contrast to his vehement speeches, which he has been making before. Myself being in South India, I have not been able to get at full texts of the speeches of Mr. Jinnah regarding the rights and claims of the Muslims as at present stated by the Muslim League through Mr. Jinnah.

May I trouble you to send me some authoritative statement, which Mr. Jinnah might have made regarding this aspect. What I mean is a clear statement instead of vague phrases. May I also know whether the recent speeches of Mr. Jinnah—say, in the course of the last one or two years—are published in a book form? If so, will you kindly let me know the bookseller from whom I can get such a book and also the price of same?

Here in South India we Hindus and Muslims have lived amicably, but now-a-days even our daily lives have become one of unendurable suspicion. Yet I am fully convinced that no Muslim interest in Madras Presidency has been brushed aside by the Congress Ministry. In fact, many of us feel that the Government has gone out of its way to please the Muslims and done things which the Hon'ble Mr. [A. K. Fazlul] Huq of Bengal would never have done to a minority. It is on account of this [that] a group of us are trying to grasp at the ideas of Muslims.

Hoping that you will kindly place this letter before Mr. Jinnah

even though he may be very busy and send me the information requested above.

Yours faithfully,  
S. R. NARAYANA

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 305-6.

## 108

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/1

VERY CONFIDENTIAL

23 November 1940

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Just a line to let you know that the intrigue stirred up against the Ruler by his enemies in the month of April last which had died down, is now revived again by the same persons with the help of R. G.<sup>1</sup> whose relations you know are not friendly with the Ruler. This episode is already known to you, so we must be on our guard again in order to counter-act it in time. I trust you will do what lies in your power as President of Muslim League and also to help me in any way you can. Should you happen to have an interview with H.E. at Delhi, let me know the result later on for which there is no hurry.

Hope you are well,

Yours sincerely,  
M. O. A. K.  
[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

<sup>1</sup>Probably Rajagopalachariya.

## 109

*M. A. Jinnah to Maurice G. Hallet*

SHC, Misc. I/96

10 AURANGZEB ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
28 November 1940

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th instant.<sup>1</sup> Of course it is very



difficult for me to deal with this allegation that Mr. Kheiri was an enemy agent, nor is it possible for Mr. Kheiri to give his explanation until he knows the actual allegations and facts upon which it is said that he was an enemy agent. I should really therefore like to know what are the reasons and facts which go to substantiate his contact with the German propaganda agents before the war and also anti-British agents of other powers.

I think, in fairness, Mr. Kheiri ought to be informed of what the specific charges against him and his family are and he must be given an opportunity to explain his position. After all Your Excellency has got an *ex parte* case and after all it is not safe to rely upon it and take away the liberty and livelihood of a man and consequently of his dependents.

I am very thankful to you for your appreciation [of] and sympathies for the distress of the Kheiri family in their present unfortunate position and that you have tried to do your best to alleviate it. Therefore, while I appreciate your efforts to do what you can to lessen the rigours of misfortune upon them, nevertheless, the main question of Mr. and Mrs. Kheiri's detention without trial is a matter that requires Your Excellency's serious consideration and, therefore, once more I request you not merely to act on the *ex parte* report but give Mr. Kheiri the fullest opportunity to meet these serious allegations against him.

Thanking you again for giving me the detailed account of the position as you visualize it.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet,  
Governor of the United Provinces,  
Lucknow

## 110

*H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah**F. 458/23**CALCUTTA,  
28 November 1940*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, one of the Advisers to the Secretary of State for India, has sent the following telegram to me. He has asked me to send a copy of the telegram to you as I understand that the message is meant for you as well:

Mr. Jinnah's, yours and the support of other leading Muslims of Britain's heroic stand for values which are dear to humanity, have rallied public opinion in favour of the Muslim League. They have also helped to secure world opinion in favour of India sharing equality, freedom and justice with the British Commonwealth of Nations. It has provided a great opportunity for working towards India's economic and political independence. Settlement of Hindu-Muslim domestic quarrel is not impossible with a broad-minded approach. The Secretary of State's pronouncement<sup>1</sup> at the English-speaking Union lunch on Thursday, the 21st of November, gives a clear basis for thoughtful consideration. The Commons debate<sup>2</sup> is another indication of the sympathetic attitude of the British Government and of Parliament. This is my personal opinion and appeal to personal friends prominent in intellectual and public life.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

<sup>1&2</sup>See the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 22 November 1940.



## 111

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 215/60-2*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
4 December 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that a meeting of the old Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, formed at the residence of Sir Sikander on the 10.1.[19]40, was called on the 1st of December 1940. The Committee of Enquiry had, as a condition of the affiliation, recommended that there should be a fresh Council formed after the rules have been amended in the light of their recommendation and fresh election. The Committee had said that this should take place after three months of the date of the report. Nothing of the kind was done. The old Council under the condemned rules was called. Sir Sikander put forward a list of the members for the Council of the All India Muslim League. I am told that all sincere workers of the League were excluded from the list beginning with myself at the top. I enclose a cutting from the *Civil & Military Gazette* of today, in which prominent mention is made of the exclusion of myself and what are called my lieutenants including Mr. Pir Taj-ud-Din. Our exclusion is a very trivial matter but there is a question of principle involved. The only persons who now form the so-called Muslim League are the Unionists who owe allegiance, first and last, to Sir Sikander. Sir Sikander's only desire was to capture the organisation of the League and then to keep it inert. This is [the] first meeting of the Council after the 1st of January, 1940. In a recent by-election the only person recommended by him is one on Unionist ticket. The League finds no mention. I am told that Nawabzada Sahib has extended the period within which the list is to be sent up to 30th November, 1940. I have not studied the constitutional aspect of this matter, i.e. whether it was necessary for the list to be submitted before the 30th November, 1940. In any event it is necessary to place you in possession of this development that has taken place. A common friend, who brought me the news of this exclusion of myself and those friends who had been co-operating with me in preaching the true creed of the League, told me that Sir Sikander was willing to include me and my friends provided I promise

to owe him allegiance and not "divide my loyalty with Mr. Jinnah". The fellow seems to have gone mad. There is no question of dividing my loyalty to him with you. My entire loyalty is to you, and not a shred of it goes to him. I feel that the cause of the League has suffered a most irretrievable set-back and unless you seriously take in hand the question of the reorganization of the League in this Province, the organisation will die before long, howsoever much politically-minded Musalmans agree with the League.

You will be amused to hear from me that the majority of the persons included in this list of Sir Sikander are persons who disobeyed the mandate of the League in the matter of the War Committees. No action whatever has been taken against the offenders by Sir Sikander's League; obviously they cannot. The Provincial League has not even supplied the Committee, which was appointed to take action against the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League, with the names of those members who disobeyed the ban. Surely, this is an impossible situation.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. BARKAT ALI

M.A., LL.B.

*Member, Legislative Assembly (Punjab)*

Note 1: I will be supplying you in my next letter with a list of the names of those who have been sent on behalf of the Punjab, and also a list of those members of the old Council from the Punjab who disobeyed the ban.

Note 2: My object is not to provoke you to an immediate quarrel with Sir Sikander, as possibly this may not be expedient at the present moment. But, surely, Muslim Punjab cannot be left out for the sake of Sir Sikander. It is for you to find the solution.

*Enclosure to No. 111*

*Parties in Punjab Muslim League<sup>1</sup>*

#### DIFFERENCES BECOME MORE PRONOUNCED

Differences between the two groups in the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, as led by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Malik Barkat Ali, became more pronounced on Sunday when the Council of the



Provincial League, which met at the residence of Nawab Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, after a heated discussion decided not to include the name of Malik Barkat Ali among the 90 representatives of the Punjab to the Council of the All India Muslim League. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan was among those who attended the meeting.

It was urged that Malik Barkat Ali had completely dissociated himself from the Muslim League party in the Punjab Assembly and as such he had rendered himself liable to disciplinary action. Other lieutenants of Malik Barkat Ali, including Pir Taj-ud-Din, were also dropped from the list of representatives.

Nawab Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan and Khan Bahadur Mian Ramzan Ali were elected President and General Secretary, respectively, of the Provincial Muslim League for 1941.

<sup>1</sup>The Civil & Military Gazette, 4 December 1940.

## 112

*M. A. Jinnah to Currimbhoy Ebrahim*

*F. 259/2*

BOMBAY,  
5 December 1940

Dear Sir Currimbhoy,

It seems that Mr. Ispahani had evidently collected a certain amount of funds on his own responsibility for the Muslim [League] National Guards. He has sent me an account and also a cheque for the balance of Rs. 581-6-9.

Of course, I take no responsibility for the account, nor do I take any responsibility of sending you this money and I have intimated him to that effect, but he now informs me that he had called a meeting of the donors and desires that this money be handed over to you. Accordingly, I am sending the cheque herewith properly endorsed in your favour.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim,  
Pherozechah Mehta Road,  
Fort, Bombay

## 113

*A. Keshava Sharma to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 188/47*

54 ACHARAPPEN ST.,  
G. T. MADRAS,  
5 December 1940

Dear Mr. Jinna[h],

Enclosed is a cutting from the *Indian Express* of Madras.<sup>1</sup> You know that every thinking man in the country is anxious to settle our internal and constitution[al] problems. I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to throw some light on the question of your conversation with Messrs Gandhi and Nehru. If there is anything which ought not to be published, you may mark that portion as confidential; you will agree that, in the absence of authoritative information, the public will very likely get false impressions.

May I add that the feeling is growing strong among the people that you should take up the leadership of the country in this crisis. You will find people, even in the Congress, who will follow you.

I am sending you the first two issues of the *People's Weekly*,<sup>2</sup> of which I happen to be the Editor.

Yours truly,  
A. KESHA VA SHARMA  
Editor, People's Weekly

<sup>1-2</sup>Not traceable.

## 114

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/138*

786 NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
6 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A telegram was shown to me purporting [to say] that the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq has sent a requisition to you to convene an urgent



meeting of the Working Committee with a view to consider[ing] the desirability of approaching the Congress on behalf of the Muslim League on the question of settlement.

In response to that I have given a statement to the representative [of the] Associated Press, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your kind perusal.

When [am] I going to expect you here<sup>1</sup>?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah informed him that he would be arriving in Karachi on 14 December 1940.  
See F. 274/140, QAP. Not printed.

*Enclosure to No. 114*  
*Statement by H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/139*

I have seen Mr. Fazlul Huq's statement. According to my view it won't bring any result which my friend Mr. Huq requires, as present mentality of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi is so clear that they want to threaten British Government and get their settlement with them. They are not willing to settle with Musalmans according to [sic] last 3 years' negotiations.

After settling with the British, the Congress want to dictate their own terms to the Muslims and they want to compel Musalmans to accept them, that is to say, majority rule in India, which is very harmful to Muslim community according to the last 50 years' experience.

115

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, UP IV/25*

MAHMUDABAD, U.P.,  
7 December 1940

My dear uncle,

Thank you very much for your letter.<sup>1</sup> We were mightily pleased to read your magnificent speech<sup>2</sup> in the Assembly. You did not leave a point untouched. As you desired, I would have come to Delhi to

see you but for the Estate budget, which had already been delayed by a couple of months. This year is a thoroughly bad one for us. We have gone down in our income by over two lakh and the delightful [sic] situation is that we cannot retrench for fear of unemployment. God only knows how we are going to manage it all.

I am now touring in the badly-stricken areas. Here the source of all trouble is the Muslim and not the Hindu. The Hindu still has implicit confidence in me. One of my dear friends has been appointed *Madart-un-Nizam* (Dr. Nami's) place, which is the highest post in the Khaksars after Mashriqi. Before now he had been at loggerheads with the other Khaksar leaders on question of policy. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and we are from one and the same camp. This new appointment is, in other words, the victory of our League-minded Khaksars. During the last Lucknow agitation, Baqi (my friend) has gone through fire and water with me. He has been most useful. He is sincere beyond reproach, master organizer with a clear-cut understanding of the political issues of today. Now he has come to see me. We had long discussions and we have come to the conclusion that there should be closer co-operation between the League and Khaksars. In my opinion, if a control board with a few League leaders and a few Khaksar leaders is appointed, it will (make) matters very easy and the recent headstrong policy of the Khaksars will finish. Before such an allotment [sic] it will be necessary for both of us to make a mutual gesture. He suggests that if meetings demanding the release of Mashriqi are held by the local Leagues, then it will throw dust in the eyes of those Khaksars who are anti-League and give our friends a stronger hold. The Govt. of India is now quite sympathetic towards the release of Mashriqi; it only wants a note from Sikander in which he may write that he has no objection. Baqi is ready to have Sikander on the joint control board, if necessary.

These, Sir, are vital questions. If Bahadur Yar Jung could be consulted, it will be most opportune and things will run more smoothly. Whenever and wherever you order, Baqi can be sent over. He will of course (if you order) see you secretly. But Bahadur Yar Jung must be present during the conversations.

I have more to write but the rest I will type out.

With respects,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1250-77.



## 116

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 281/18*

*8 December 1940*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have read in the papers my statements about the necessity of a final attempt to solve the communal problems of India. I do not wish to do anything without your consent and I am, therefore, writing these few lines to request you to call a meeting of the Working Committee, or of the Council, of the All India Muslim League as early as possible. The organisers of the All-India Educational Conference at Poona have wired to me suggesting that the meeting should be held at Poona. I realise that there are great advantages in this suggestion.

In all my statements I have been extremely guarded and have said nothing beyond the fact that the All India Muslim League might call the conference. Some day or other these communal differences will be made up, but I do not see any reason why the Muslim League should not take the wind out of the sails of other organisations and secure to itself the credit of having done the greatest possible service to India and her people. Let us discuss and if we fail, the blame will not be ours. As regards subjects to be discussed, I will send you my note later on. I won't publish this agenda until approved by you. At the present moment, I am only asking you<sup>1</sup> to accept my suggestion for calling a meeting of the All India Muslim League or of the Council, whichever you prefer.

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

<sup>1</sup>See No. 127.

## 117

*Siddique Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 352/2-4*

NAGPUR,  
*9 December 1940*

Kathiawari Muslim subjects' mass meeting held today Kutchhi

Mosque. Lodges strong protest condemnation against high-handed oppressive measures of Gondal authorities harassing [and] persecuting innocent Dhoraji Muslims. Expresses awful [sic] surprise [and] abhorrence against unjustifiable convictions [and] harsh sentences to eleven Muslims, posting punitive police at exclusive Muslim cost after about two years of alleged incident, recent prosecution of leading Dhoraji Muslims, and restrictions on their movements. I have appealed Maharaja Gondal telegraphically. Pray intervene take immediate effective steps for redress.

SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN  
MLA (Central)

## 118

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/116-17*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
9 December 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

The latest move of Mr. Fazlul Huq is being deeply resented by the Muslims in Bengal who regard it as most impolitic, detrimental to Muslim interest and demoralizing for the community.

The Muslims in Bengal do not at all agree to the statements of Mr. Huq. The general belief is that he has been inspired by the same Oracle at Del[p]hi who recently inspired the *Statesman* to flash a comment suggesting a liberal move to reconcile the Congress and the League or to solve the problem of the present political deadlock independently of the two.

Mr. Huq is being encouraged by those very elements who have been opposed to the Muslim League. This is only a move to help the British out of the present difficulty at the cost of the League.

The Muslims are confident that you will not be influenced at all by these tactics. The Muslims of Bengal are fast losing confidence in Mr. Fazlul Huq whose jobbery, nepotism and corruption in the Ministry has assumed the proportions of a scandal. This question of Mr. Huq's flagrant nepotism has been raised in the Bengal Assembly and the press, time[s] without number. Naturally, it has damaged



his reputation beyond repair. He is losing influence with the progress of League organization in Bengal.

This latest move of Mr. Huq is bound to further lower him in the eyes of the Muslims.

I do hope you will not give undue importance to Mr. Huq's move.

His recent statement that the Muslims should write to you from all parts of India to accept Mr. Huq's proposal is particularly very wrong and objectionable. This means he wants to organize political pressure on you to dislodge you from your position. But he is, I am certain, doomed to failure.

Yours most sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN  
General Secretary,  
Calcutta District Muslim League

## 119

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Burhanulhaq*

*F. 284/2*

BOMBAY,  
10 December 1940

Dear Maulana Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th December<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it, but I am afraid the newspaper reports are not correct.

I am bound for Karachi and according to my present arrangements, I am leaving on the 12th. How long I shall be there it is difficult for me to guess.

Yes, I would like to go to Allahabad but it is not possible as far as I can judge at present. If I could have halted at Jubbulpore for a day, I think it would have been better.

I hope you appreciate that I have to do many things and it is not possible for me to embrace every part of India single-handed.

However, I thank you for your inviting me but our people must go on organising themselves on their own. I emphasise particularly

the economic and educational sides of our activities.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 120

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Mohammed*

*F. 769/436*

BOMBAY,  
10 December 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th December 1940<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

I wish I could attend your conference on the 20th and 21st instant but I am already booked for Sind and, therefore, it is not possible for me to reach your Province. However, I am glad you are holding a conference.

I wish to emphasise that the Musalmans must concentrate more and more upon the economic, educational and social uplift of our people. Each province must take up a definite constructive programme, at least a few items.

There is such a lot to be done in this direction, and although I cannot have the opportunity of participating in your conference, my best wishes are with you for the success of your proposed conference.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Mohammed, Esq.,  
Secretary, Second Bihar Muslim Students' Conference,  
Patna

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



## 121

*M. A. Jinnah to A. Keshava Sharma**F. 188/48*BOMBAY,  
10 December 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th December<sup>1</sup> and I am sending you herewith, under a separate cover, a pamphlet<sup>2</sup> containing, among others, the correspondence that passed between the Viceroy and the Congress and Mr. Gandhi and myself, and also the correspondence that passed between myself and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, which will clearly show that Mr. Gandhi refused to do anything till the British Govt. accepted the demand that they should make an immediate declaration of the independence of India and agree to the Constituent Assembly.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAHA. Keshava Sharma, Esq.,  
54 Acharappen Street,  
G.T. Madras<sup>1</sup>No. 113.<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 122

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 335/269-72*GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
10 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending a copy of Syed Zakir Ali's report<sup>1</sup> regarding the Burhanpur affair. There is no doubt that the allegations that were contained in the telegram of Mohammed Asghar were correct

and it is difficult to understand how the Defence Secretary could deny them in face of the mass of evidence that is available on the point. You might send a copy of the report to the Defence Secretary with a covering letter. I have not yet released the report to the press for publication, but I think it should be made public. I would like to know what your view is about its publication. I was surprised to read Fazlul Huq's statement in the press regarding the convening of a meeting of the Working Committee to consider some proposal which he has got for opening negotiations with the Congress. We have never said "no" to any negotiations with the Congress and your statement in the Assembly is there to remove any doubts. In face of this, one does not know what Fazlul Huq has up his sleeve. Statements such as this can only do harm by creating misunderstanding regarding the attitude of the League in this connection. If he had any definite proposal to make, he should have written to you privately instead of rushing to the press. "God help us from our friends"<sup>1</sup> I went to Aligarh last week-end and had two very interesting days there. I think the heart of Aligarh is sound.

When are you going to Karachi? I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>The correct quotation is: "God save me from my friends. I can protect myself from my enemies"—Marshal de Villars (1653-1734).

## 123

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Akbar*

*F. 205/1*

BOMBAY,  
10 December 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th December 1940<sup>1</sup> and I am sorry that I cannot participate in the proposed conference which is to



take place during the Christmas holidays at Daryapur, Berar, under the presidentship of Mr. S. A. Rauf Shah.

Musalmans are in a great need of organising themselves as they are lagging behind enormously in matters of education and they are very backward economically and politically. It is up to the leaders of your Province to devise the ways and means for a thorough drive for the uplift of the Muslims in your Province and in the neighbouring districts.

Although I cannot be present in your conference, I most earnestly appeal to all of you to work selflessly and serve your people to make them into a disciplined nation.

I wish your conference every success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammed Akbar, Esq.,  
Chairman, Reception Committee,  
Muslim League Conference, Daryapur, Berar

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 124

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/106*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
10 December 1940

My dear Jinnah,

Just a line to ask for your guidance, which I need by return of post. So far, as you must have seen, I have scrupulously followed the leader. This morning's post has brought me a letter from Mr. M. N. Roy, who is generous enough to include me among "distinguished Indian patriots", whose list he has enclosed. I, therefore, proudly rank with our great friends in high positions like Fazlul Huq, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Chaudry Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Ismail Khan, Wazir Hasan, etc. [*sic* for et al.]. He proposed to convene a meeting

of these distinguished men in Calcutta on December 30th for discussing the "problems of the moment and undertaking co-ordinated action for solving them." What reply<sup>1</sup> would you suggest me to give?

Hoping this finds you well,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>See No. 128.

## 125

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/115*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
10 December 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith three leaders of three Calcutta [news]papers on Fazlul Huq's latest move.

The Bengali cutting is from *Madeena*, Calcutta, the new Muslim League Bengali journal of Bengal. It has been started by Maulana Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, ex-Editor, *Azad* and *Mohammedi*, of Maulana Akrum Khan. I enclose a translation of *Madeena's* note. I had a talk with Maulana Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, the Editor of *Madeena*. He says that Mr. Huq has been inspired by Delhi<sup>1</sup> and is acting against the interest of Muslim League and the community.

*Madeena* is carrying vigorous League propaganda and denouncing Gandhian *satyagraha* as really a war on the Muslim League to coerce the Govt. to surrender to the Congress and reduce the Muslims to abject subjection and serfdom.

Yours sincerely,  
R. AHSAN  
General Secretary,  
Calcutta District Muslim League

<sup>1</sup>Presumably meaning the Government of India.



*Enclosure to No. 125*  
*Translation of editorial note in the weekly Madeena*  
 F. 204/119

CALCUTTA,  
 10 December 1940

HUQ SAHIB'S PROPOSAL

Moulvi Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, along with the Ministers of Agriculture, Finance and Home Departments, went to Delhi to confer with the India Government about the jute situation; but real [*sic*] being in Delhi he engaged himself in dealing with the war situation; one after another, he issued two statements saying that a joint conference of the League and the Congress should be summoned to mobilize the resources of India for winning the War. We could not quite follow what is the significance of "mobilizing all resources of India". Is it a hint that following the example of England, Indian Government should forfeit all personal property for the State. Besides this, we cannot understand [how] a joint conference of the League and the Congress [is] possible. Though not to help the War, yet to formulate a joint demand as regards the political rights and powers of India, Mr. Jinnah made an appeal to the Congressites in the Central Assembly but without success. Still an emergent meeting of the League may be called, if Huq Sahib is so willing. But who will call the meeting of the Congress? If he has got any indication from the Congress side, he (Huq Sahib) must give it publicity for public information.

126

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 916/167-8

KHANDWA, (C.P.),  
 10 December 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After a long period of anxiety and constant worry lasting for several months, I am now glad to inform you that all the 17 Muslims accused in the most sensational riot case of Burhanpur were acquitted by the Sessions Judge yesterday agreeing with

the majority verdict of the jury by four to one.

It was as a result of firing by the Police on a Muslim mob that the former were assaulted by the latter and they were charged under Sections 307 and 189 of the I.P.C. [Indian Penal Code]. Of course, there were many innocent [persons] involved as accused. Mr. Abbas Ali, Advocate, who was in charge of the whole case, did wonderfully well and all credit is [due] to him for this grand success.

We are, however, faced with another big Sessions case in which the order of the District Magistrate in ordering firing without either declaring the assembly to be unlawful or giving warning is involved. This, in fact, is the main riot case.

My appearance in these cases has kept me so busy that I could not even attend to my ailing younger brother suffering from T.B. I am afraid it is now an advanced case. I am, however, determined to serve rightly my community and I leave my brother to the care of God.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR  
*Pleader*

## 127

*M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq*

*F. 281/18*

*11 December 1940*

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq,

I have seen your statements in the press, first on the 5th December from Delhi and the second one on the 8th<sup>1</sup> from Calcutta.

Apart from the wisdom of this move on your part, I regret to say that you should have adopted this course without reference to me. From your statements it follows that you are forcing the Muslim League that they should take the initiative because in your second statement you are definitely appealing to the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League to support you and that they should call upon me to summon an emergency meeting of the Council or the Working Committee of the League. This, whatever may have been your intentions, clearly conveys that I am not willing to come to a settlement for this unfortunate deadlock, for which the Congress alone is responsible.

I know you are very busy as the head of the Bengal Government. Perhaps you have not followed what has taken place at the various



stages of negotiations up to the present moment.

I would, therefore, request you to read carefully at least the resolutions<sup>2</sup> of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League and my recent speech<sup>3</sup> in the Central Assembly in connection with the Supplementary Finance Bill. This speech of mine is fully reported in many newspapers and particularly in the *Star of India*; the full text is given in its issue of the 10th December and the remaining portions are to be continued in the next issue.

I appreciate very much when you say, "I do not want to do anything without your consent and I am, therefore, writing these few lines to request you to call a meeting of the Working Committee or of the Council of the All India Muslim League as early as possible." But you have already in public press declared your opinion as if the Muslim League was to be goaded by somebody to come to a settlement and decided that we should consider the proposals which you are going to formulate for the purpose.

I am glad that you are going to send me those proposals and I am awaiting them before I can express any further opinion on the matter with regard to calling the meeting of the Working Committee or the Council of the All India Muslim League as suggested by you.

Apart from the wisdom of your having issued these statements and having appealed to the members of the Council in the press, I think your move will convey the impression in the political quarters in India and in England that the Musalmans are divided as it has already been so interpreted in many quarters.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 116.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 470-71 & 500-01.

<sup>3</sup>See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1250-77.

128

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi*

*F. 256/107*

BOMBAY,  
11 December 1940

My dear Dehlavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th December.<sup>1</sup> Surely it is

obvious. Mr. Roy had come to see me in Delhi and your [sic for the] only straightforward course open to you is to write to him and inform him to continue his talks with me. At present, I gather that he represents no following worth the name, either of Hindus or otherwise. Let him first organise his sanction behind him, which at present is lacking, before the Muslim League is approached and that too through proper channel and not by involving individuals over the head of the Muslim League organisation.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir A. M. K. Dehlavi,  
Sadar House,  
Surat

<sup>1</sup>No. 124.

## 129

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan*

*F. 383/68*

BOMBAY,  
12 December 1940

My dear Amir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it, specially with regard to your suggestions about the Khaksars.

I shall be very glad to see Baqi on my return from Karachi. I am leaving tonight and hope to return within a week or ten days.

I will also get in touch with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and we can then arrange the meeting.

I am glad you approve of my speech in the Assembly. Let me know when you will be free to come down to Bombay.

Yours affectionately,  
M. A. JINNAH

Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan  
of Mahmudabad

<sup>1</sup>No. 115.



130

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan**F. 335/177*BOMBAY,  
12 December 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant.<sup>1</sup> I am leaving for Karachi tonight.

I thank you for enclosing the report of Zakir Ali on Burhanpur and I shall look into it.

With regard to Fazlul Huq's move, it is quite obvious that it is inspired. It is a pity that he allows himself to tumble into these pitfalls.

You say "God help us from our friends". I say organise our people. God is already with us. I am glad you found Aligarh all right.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>No. 122.

131

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghbir Ahsan**F. 1363/12*BOMBAY,  
12 December 1940

Dear Mr. Raghbir Ahsan,

I have just received your letter enclosing the press cuttings.<sup>1</sup> I am glad that Bengal is sound and they have understood the latest move of Mr. Fazlul Huq.

I quite agree that it has been very unwise and detrimental to the interest of the Musalmans. It has already created a great deal of misunderstanding and conveys that Muslim leadership is divided although we know that the fact is that the Musalmans are solidly

behind the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. Raghīb Ahsan, Esq.,  
8 Zakariah Street,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>No. 125.

## 132

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 281/19*

*14 December 1940*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter.<sup>1</sup> I have been suffering from a slight attack of fever and I am not, therefore, in a position to write a long letter. At the same time, I feel it [is] my duty to say a few words, otherwise I might be misunderstood. I am very sorry that owing to prevailing facts and circumstances my move has already been misunderstood. I made it clear in my statements that I did not wish to dictate to you anything, but only to express the desire that there should be an effort for peace. In doing so, I never meant to insinuate that anyone was to blame although I did perfectly know where the offence really lay. But it would not be politic for me to say anything indicating that I am already a partyman. At the same time, I feel so strongly that there should be one more peace effort and for that reason I could not resist the temptation of making a suggestion. I never meant that I should take the lead or I should dictate but I was really asking you to take the lead and, as the head of the premier political organisation of India, to call everybody else to meet you in order that they may be able to put their case before you and you may be in a position to discuss problems with them across the table and come to a decision. My object really was to put you in the position of the dictator of India. I am sorry if I have been misunderstood by you and my other friends. If you still think that my move has in anyway been unwise, you can tell me accordingly. It is far from my intention to bring about a disruption in the Muslim League. I hope you will write to me both freely and frankly so that I may be able to repair any wrong that I may have unwittingly inflicted on the



reputation of the League. My only desire has been for peace because I feel that unless there is unity among all communities on the principle of give and take, there will be no constitutional advance and no prospect of a better India than we know at the present moment. The present Government of India Act is absolutely rubbish. It gives us responsibility but no power; it gives all the power to the Governor and the Governor-General in Council but all the responsibilities to the Ministers.

You can, therefore, easily understand how much we feel [*sic*] our position under the present constitution and how much we are longing for a better state of things. I feel that the only obstacle in the way is the present impasse. I, therefore, think that this should be removed anyhow but not by any surrender of our principles or of the position that we now hold. That will be for you to decide but do please try to bring about a solution which will enable India to march forward. If you think that it is the Pakistan scheme and nothing else, why not send for these people and explain to them what you mean? People are not able to appreciate or understand the thing fully. This [misunderstanding] will be removed if you have free talks with the leaders. It is not for me to suggest ways and means but I have indicated to you my heart's desire and I hope you will appreciate it.

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

<sup>1</sup>No. 127.

133

*Desmond Boyle to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 873/634-5*

C/O EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION,  
3 WITTET ROAD, BALLARD ESTATE,  
BOMBAY,

14 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

First of all may I thank you very much for the copy of your book, *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution* which I have read with the

greatest interest and studied carefully. I shall keep it by me for permanent reference. I hope you will forgive me for bothering you further, but I am very anxious to get absolutely clear on one or two points. Perhaps if your Secretary could reply to this letter, I might be able to help in bringing a clearer understanding to many Europeans.

I think I am quite clear from reading your book [about] the background of the demand of the Muslim League and, in general terms, what that demand is. As you know, Mr. Amery, in his speech to the English Speaking Union, referred to the possibility of the regrouping of provinces and more power being given to the provinces, presumably at the expense of the Centre. Certainly I took this as a reference, even if indirect, to the Muslim League demands and I understood from what you told me last Saturday that you did also. It would appear, however, from Mr. Amery's speech that was reported in yesterday's papers, that he is entirely against a division of India into separate entities as "India would relapse as it did in the decline of the Moghul Empire into a welter of contending powers...." I take it, therefore, that Mr. Amery's first remarks referred only to alterations in the existing Government of India Act giving more powers to the provinces and also to the possibility of altering the physical boundaries of certain provinces. Whatever might have been the position some years ago, I take it that this will not now satisfy anyone in the Muslim League.

The most important question I wanted to ask you is about the relationship which you envisage between the separate entities in India which would be set up under Pakistan. Do you envisage something in the way of a confederation as opposed to a federation?

I know how busy you are and would not think of troubling you, but I think it might be of value if the European minority did fully understand the implications of the scheme which the Muslim League are supporting.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
DESMOND BOYLE



## 134

*Amrit Kaur to M. A. Jinnah**F. 281/3-6*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,  
C.P.,  
18 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My long-standing friendship with you compels me to write this to you today.

I read your speech—as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 16th instant—at a recent gathering in Karachi.

In explaining the Pakistan scheme you have said it would be totally wrong for the Hindu minority in the Muslim majority provinces to migrate *en masse*. You say it will be “our duty to protect the rights of the minorities and we shall expect the same treatment from the Hindus in their majority provinces.”<sup>1</sup> Again, “in Muslim majority Provinces, viz. Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, Bengal and the N.W.F.P., the Muslims should be allowed to establish their own rule.” I am myself of this opinion—this is not merely an opinion but an article of faith. I want to know from you: does this state of affairs not already exist? Have the Muslims not got their own governments in the Provinces above-mentioned and *vice versa*? If so, then why may not you and the Congress come to an agreement so that we may free ourselves from an alien rule which is literally sucking our very life-blood?

I have been drawn to Gandhiji ever since he came to India because his way of life and ideals appealed to me. Living with him now, as I do, I know how Hindu-Muslim unity is his most cherished desire and how deeply the present cleavage hurts and grieves him. And I have no doubt that some day those Muslim friends, who doubt his love today, will realise that he was their best friend.

Do tell me if the *Bombay Chronicle* has reported you right and if you have not got Pakistan already? I saw a gleam of hope of understanding in it—hence I have written.

My love to your sister and kindest greetings to you,

Yours very sincerely,  
AMRIT KAUR

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 95-7.

## 135

*M. A. Jinnah to Amrit Kaur**F. 181/7*KARACHI,  
23 December 1940

Dear Miss Amrit Kaur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant,<sup>1</sup> and I am enclosing under separate cover a booklet, entitled *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, which will explain to you fully the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League and the basic principle laid down therein. I am sure that your leaders understand the matter fully.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 134.

## 136

*A. B. Tribhuwan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 674/20*AHMEDNAGAR,  
24 December 1940

Dear Sir,

The Working Committee of the Ahmednagar Christian League desires me to write and convey to you our very sincere greetings on your birthday. On behalf of the Christian League, I wish you very many happy returns of the day and I pray that the Great God will bless you richly and be your Guide during this new year in all your undertakings, not only for the Muslims of India but all other minorities that need protection and safeguards. The Christian community and particularly the village Christians are very keenly watching your activities. I may mention here that on the Deliverance Day, appointed by you after the Congress went out of office, I attended the local meeting organized by the Muslim League here and gave a public speech supporting your plan.



It is true that some top people in the Indian Christian community have shown leanings towards the Congress but that is definitely limited to the top. An overwhelming majority of our people are not merely suspicious but clearly positive of the tyrannical treatment they would receive at the hands of the Congress and, therefore, would naturally endeavour to keep at an arm's length from them. We, therefore, greatly admire the gallant fight that you are putting up for the minority communities. It was a matter of great encouragement to read the recent news in the press that you have succeeded in assuring the Anglo-Indian community that their interests will be quite safe with you. The Indian Christian community greatly differs from the Anglo-Indians, but such an assurance from you to us will be a real boon. May I, therefore, request you to please express your views about the Indian Christian community sometime soon. We shall be very grateful to you for this.

Once again expressing our most sincere greetings on your birthday,

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

A. B. TRIBHUWAN

*President,*

*Ahmednagar Christian League*

## 137

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani & Khwaja Nooruddin to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

CALCUTTA,

24 December 1940

In wishing you many happy returns of the day we congratulate you on the success achieved in Sind. You have once more demonstrated to us all and Sind Muslims by upsetting the apple-cart of Abul Kalam Azad and have confirmed that the redemption of Indian Muslims lies in holding fast to the rope of *Allah* and gathering together under the banner of the League, so courageously held aloft by the Quaid-i-Azam.

HASSAN ISPAHANI

KHWAJA NOORUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 164.

## 138

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner*

*F. 494/2*

KARACHI,  
25 December 1940

Dear Mr. Gardiner,

I am thankful to you for giving me the opportunity of having frank and exhaustive talks with a view to explore [*sic* for exploring] the possibility of ending the present impasse. I have, at your request, prepared a summary of our talks with regard to the present conditions in India and Muslim aspirations, which I understand you propose to forward to the Secretary of the Labour Party in the Parliament.

Let us hope that your labours will bear [the] fruit they deserve.

My best wishes to Mrs. Gardiner and yourself for a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 139

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 796/5-8*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
25 December 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of the correspondence<sup>1</sup> that passed between me and the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly regarding my seat in the Assembly Chamber. From a perusal of this correspondence you will find that there is no Muslim League Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The only Parties in the Assembly are (i) the Unionist Party, (ii) the Independent Hindu Party and (iii) the Congress Party. This shows how successfully Sir Sikander has been deceiving others outside the Punjab into thinking that there is a



Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly Chamber.

I have already intimated to you that the list of names communicated to the office of the All India Muslim League as members of the Council on behalf of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was presented by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and was passed in the meeting of the old Council of the League as formed by him on the 10th of January, 1940. The report of the Enquiry Committee, in which fresh elections were laid down as a *sine qua non* and other recommendations made, was thrown into the down heel and no action whatever was taken on that report. He has deliberately not put my name amongst the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League on behalf of the Punjab. It is not me alone whom he has left out. He has left out every true Muslim Leaguer. His list mostly consists of honorary magistrates, contractors and sub-registrars, who will merely obey his orders. I must say that by capturing the League organisation he has done the greatest damage to the cause of the Muslim League. He thought that in this way he would be able to control me, but he forgot that my allegiance is not to him but to the Muslim League. Yesterday, one of his minions reported to me that the reason why my name has been omitted from the list is that Sir Sikander is keen on excluding me from the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and that now even in spite of you I cannot become a member of the Working Committee. I have done my best to apprise you of the situation here. The final action rests with you. I must say that the affiliation of this bogus League, consisting of *jee hazurees*, was the greatest blunder ever committed. If you think that Sir Sikander should remain the master of the League organisation, then naturally there is an end of the matter, but let me respectfully point out that this would be a great blunder. I have just looked up rule 14 of the Constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League and I find that the members of the Working Committee are to be nominated by the President from amongst the members of the Council. This means that Sir Sikander has fully achieved his object, namely of putting me out of the Committee, unless you foil Sir Sikander's attempt by either refusing to accept the list sent by the so-called affiliated Punjab Provincial Muslim League or including me amongst the Council members by filling any vacancy that might arise. I may inform you that most of the members in his list are persons who defied the ban of the League in the matter of War Committees. The Punjab League has taken no action whatever against those members of the League who defied the ban for the obvious reason that the defiance was under the



orders of Sir Sikander. The Punjab League has even refused to call for explanations from those members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from whom the Enquiry Committee had called for explanations. The method adopted was as follows:

When the letter of Nawabzada asking for explanations came, Sir Sikander's Parliamentary Secretary, Syed Amjad Ali, wrote to the defiant members that they should simply send the following reply to the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League: "refer to President". Accordingly, the defying members of the Council of the All India Muslim League wrote to the Secretary of the Punjab League, saying: "refer to President".

The President, Nawab Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan, is but a slave of the Premier and although there were no explanations sent by the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League, he has sent an explanation on their behalf himself. This is really strange. The Nawab has not, so far, even communicated the names of the defiant members to the All India Muslim League headquarters. This is how the League organisation is being run here. The Nawab has also sent a letter to the press saying "that in view of the working of the Unionist Party, it is unnecessary to form a Muslim League Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly." This is remarkable, coming from the President of an affiliated Provincial Muslim League. I would request that you may kindly ask Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to call for explanations from the defiant members themselves and not treat the letter from Nawab Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan or his Organising Secretary as the explanation of the defiant members. The names of these members apparently reached Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan somehow as Nawab Moh[amma]d Shah Nawaz Khan never communicated even the names of the defying members to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Trusting that the affairs of the Punjab will receive due attention at your hands and with all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI

Note: I may, however, inform you that the majority of the persons whose names are now sent for the membership of the Council of the All India Muslim League are not even members of any Primary League in the Province.

<sup>1</sup>See F. 796/17-8, QAP. Not printed.



140

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 199/47-50*

PRIVATE

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD, ALIGARH,  
26 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already conveyed to you my congratulations on your birthday. I am now taking the liberty to write about one or two very important matters concerning the University.

The visit of Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] early in November was a great success. It proved very helpful to our League. But it seems the elements which happen to be in power in the University at the moment are bent on undoing our efforts and secretly undermining the position of the Muslim League. In the recent Union elections, the Muslim League had to face the combined onslaught of the 'loyalist' element—the agents of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and his satellites—and the Congress clique. I am glad to inform you that the League came out quite successfully. Nothing better could be done in the circumstances. For the office of Vice-President, there were two candidates, both Muslim Leaguers; the League took pledges from both and left them free to fight it out. The test election was for the office of Secretary. Of the three candidates, one was a Communist, one a loyalist and the third a genuine Muslim Leaguer. I am very sorry to inform you that the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and his men resorted to the meanest tactics to discredit and defeat the Muslim League man. They had recourse to personal calumnies, threats and cajolery and used their official influence to put pressure on voters. Many Professors and Wardens interfered directly to influence the voters. This is indeed an unprecedented affair and the whole thing was engineered by the P.V.C. with the one and only aim of dislodging the League from its position as the determining factor. Against these heavy odds the League workers fought bravely and won through. The League inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined front of Congressites and loyalists. The P.V.C as the President of the Union is supposed to be above all parties; but anyone in Aligarh will be able to tell you how shabbily he interfered with the free vote of the students to gratify his vanity.

Another matter for which I would crave your attention is still

more painful. At the University Convocation, held on Dec. 21, Sir Sultan Ahmad of Bihar delivered an address which was a direct negation of the cherished ideals which the League has been propagating. The greater part of the speech was war propaganda in a most disgraceful manner. Then he deprecated the idea of the separate national and cultural entity of the Muslims. By implication, he also condemned the scheme of separate Muslim States. He gave expression to such hackneyed un-Islamic conceptions as that religion is man's private relationship with his God or gods and should be kept separate from civic and political life. Isn't it a down-right refutation of the ideology which the League workers are propagating? Such speeches, from men who are known to be members of the Muslim League, do incalculable harm, specially when they are made from such central platforms as Aligarh. The outside world is deceived into believing that the views expressed in such speeches, as Sir Sultan Ahmad's, are the views of the Muslim intelligentsia. We have reason to believe that this address was deliberately brought about by both the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, most probably at the instigation of the Government. Is the platform of the University to be exploited for the purpose of Government propaganda and the expression of such mischievous nonsense as Sir Sultan Ahmad uttered the other day? If Sir Sultan Ahmad is a member of the Muslim League, I suggest that disciplinary action should be taken against him. For our part, we will see that his views are contradicted by students at open meetings.

I hope you will give careful consideration to these matters and devise some plan to prevent recurrence of such incidents.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

141

*W. H. P. Gardiner<sup>1</sup> to Reginald Heber Parker<sup>2</sup>*

*F. 494/9-12*

*28 December 1940*

Dear Mr. Parker,

Since being recalled to India by the War, I have been exploring every possible avenue of assisting in its prosecution, over and above my normal duties. Dr. [Hugh] Dalton<sup>3</sup> will tell you of the



letters which I have written to him in an effort to have some steps taken to stop the more stupid and unnecessary blunders repeatedly coming to my notice which the administration out here shows little signs of trying to curb.

However, the most important problem, to my mind confronting us, is to induce the peoples of this great country to co-operate with us willingly by coming to a settlement with the two leading parties. To this end I have been quietly exploring it in its every aspect and finally reached my conclusions last month. My subsequent contacts happily enable me to forward to the Fabian Society the results of my investigations for its approval and, if seen fit, submitting to the Labour Party for endorsement.

It sounds, no doubt, a trifle ambitious for me, comparatively unknown as I am, to tackle a problem which so many eminent men have failed to solve, but I would remind you that ability is not necessarily confined to those whose names are shouted from the house tops. Moreover, I start with an advantage which no Englishman that I know of, with the necessary experience of the East which is so essential, possesses; namely the ability to treat the Indian as an equal and appreciate that his point of view at least deserves consideration. To this I can add over twenty years' experience of India during which I have, unlike the great majority of officials and visitors, lived in the country and not on it; an intimate knowledge of the language and finally a thorough knowledge of the Irish situation, the inestimable advantage of which will presently become clear.

It will be necessary for me to examine briefly a few of the fundamental fallacies which, to my mind, will always prevent the Englishman from tackling this problem with any hope of success, and explain the line of reasoning which led to my eventual conclusions.

From our school days we are, most unfortunately, taught that India is a country like our own or France or Spain, and it follows naturally that any experiment which we have found successful should be considered equally so for India. No greater fallacy was ever conceived. India is not a country, not even a sub-continent. For, it is more cut off from the rest of Asia than Asia is either from Europe or Africa. It has, in fact, greater claim to be regarded as a continent than its parent. In India are spoken no less than 72 distinct languages with over 400 dialects. In language, temperament, outlook, religion, diet, physique and even colour; the Pathan of the North differs more from the Madrasi of the South than does the Swede from the Spaniard. The term 'Indian' covers three times a greater range of peoples than



'European' does. Yet, although a league of federated nations of Europe has barely survived a decade, the attempt is now being made to thrust a similar federation on India and with even more binding ties. While England claims that she fights to restore the rights of the small nations of Europe, she still insists that self-determination be denied to those of India. It's hardly logical.

And furthermore, although ethnological differences between peoples should be the stronger dividing lines, it is one of the human paradoxes that religious ties should have the greater importance. The European is, almost unexceptionally, a believer in one religion, but that has not prevented fighting with the utmost bitterness throughout the centuries over comparatively insignificant differences. In Ireland, a minute island inhabited by a people of similar race, the impossibility of ever finding a solution to the age-old quarrel between North and South has been admitted. We have failed in this little country of a few million people at our very back door to influence a settlement and admitted the necessity of division. And yet it is still hoped to discover a formula which will allow peoples with two utterly fundamentally different religions to live together in peace and harmony. Again I am forced to the conclusion that it is an utterly illogical course to pursue.

I, therefore, decided that it was both impracticable and impossible to expect a settlement with both parties. Should I, however, be successful in negotiating with one then the other would almost certainly be forced to come in for the period of the War, the only one which really now counts.

In deciding that the Muslims, although the smaller of the two leading parties, were undoubtedly the first to be approached, I was influenced by the following reasons which I feel are incontestable:

1. The Muslim League wishes to co-operate fully in the prosecution of the War while the Congress party refuses.

2. Unlike Congress, it wishes to continue as a Dominion of the Empire.

3. No steps to implement home rule are asked for until a reasonable period after the War. Congress demands immediate freedom (absolute).

4. The Congress attitude in trying to force our hand while we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle, is far more despicable than Italy's and is a significant pointer, to my mind, of the principles actuating the Congress leaders.

5. Congress has, in effect, allied itself with the Axis Powers [Germany



and Italy, later Japan as well] in an effort to disrupt the Empire.

6. Mr. Gandhi is too much of an idealist and too impractical to expect concrete and common sense results from for instance, in answer to the enquiry of a deputation, which waited on him yesterday, he said "No. I think that it would be ungentlemanly to commit [sic] *satyagraha* in a railway carriage". This is hardly the type of pronouncement one expects from a responsible leader.

7. In my long talks with Mr. Jinnah I have found him precisely the opposite. While Mr. Gandhi says that war has been declared by [the Govt. of] India without the country's consent, he admits that under the constitution, as it is at present framed, the Viceroy had no other alternative. I attach two notes about Mr. Jinnah, both taken from the *Daily Gazette*, of which the Editor is a Hindu, marked "A" and "B".<sup>4</sup>

Owing to the fact that the Hindu and Congress generally are far more vocal, and its organisation in being far longer than that of the League (which has in effect only been functioning for four years), the impression appears to be general that it represents a much greater number of people. It should, however, be remembered that strictly speaking sixty million untouchables should be excluded from its total while a large number of the remaining Hindus support the Hindu Mahasabha.

On the other hand the League can already count on no less than 90 per cent Muslim support and is growing in strength daily. The Congress stratagem of appointing a Muslim President was too crude a move to deceive anybody and in every single by-election the League have captured the seats they have fought against Muslims of every other party.

Reports that Mr. Jinnah was intransigent and that his demands were exorbitant, making further discussion profitless, did not give me a great deal of hope. I am happy to be able to say that I found both quite unfounded, proof of which is this document which I am now forwarding. His contacts and experience of others of my party and officials of the Government of India have not been encouraging and in the beginning he treated me with reserve and a trace of excusable suspicion. As our conversation developed and he realised the honesty of my purpose, it completely vanished and I think that I can claim to have his complete confidence now. I found the leader of the Musalmans straightforward, honest, downright, practical, completely genuine and reliable; qualities which are not as common, particularly in this country, as one might wish. I



mention these points so that you should know that any undertaking he may enter into can be completely depended on.

As his report of our conversation, greatly compressed and attached marked "C",<sup>5</sup> which he was kind enough to forward to me, shows his contacts in the past have not been happy. The account which he gave me of his exchange of views with the Viceroy is, as he himself put it, incredible and gave him absolutely no other alternative but to turn down the extraordinary offer, and consider the door finally closed for the time being to further negotiation. I am now in a position to state with certainty that should the Labour Party induce the Government to modify their proposals to nothing but the bare minimum demanded by reasonableness, and trust me, as their representative, with the future conduct of negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, the door will not only be open, but it will be wide open. He is as anxious for a settlement quickly as anybody, to enable India to take her place and status alongside the other Dominions in the struggle of the sane against the demented.

Necessarily briefly, my proposals are as follows:

The Executive Council should consist of twelve ministries: Defence, Finance, Communications (including Post Office), External Affairs, Internal Affairs, Commerce, Trade and Industry, Justice, Culture and Education, Land, Canals and Forestry, Health, Labour and lastly Development. Of these portfolios, during the period pending co-operation by the Congress, the Muslim League, bearing as they would the whole burden of the representative part of the government, should be granted seven, the Viceroy having power to nominate five, who should include one Christian and one Sikh. When Congress agreed to participate the Muslim League would surrender three ministries to them and the Viceroy one, leaving the League with four portfolios, Congress four and the Viceroy four. So long as the Congress party refused to join, it would be necessary for the Viceroy to retain his powers of certification since the Council would not command a majority in the Chamber. This he should be prepared to lose when the Council held the full support of the Assembly.

Congress will argue that the League would have a share in the government unwarranted by their numbers. I have already pointed out that there is not the discrepancy which exists on paper and to the reasons I adduced I would add that there are far more Hindus in the States than the Muslims.



The position of the States I have not touched for their relations with the Crown would remain unaltered. Mr. Jinnah recognises the inviolability of their treaty rights, a more honourable attitude than that of the Congress party.

On a strict numerical basis Congress could hardly expect a five to three ratio of portfolios as this would indicate that the Congress party represents 150,000,000 Hindus, a figure they would have the greatest difficulty in substantiating. But Mr. Jinnah's claim to parity is, I think, unquestionably justified by his attitude and demands, neither of which is unreasonable as outlined on page 2, and in striking contrast to those of Mr. Gandhi.

It is emphasized that these proposals are only meant to deal with the period during which the crisis exists, which will include necessarily a short period after the War. Mr. Jinnah would then expect the British Government to permit the establishment of Pakistan. Here I must most strongly emphasise that this will not preclude the possibility of the two peoples federating under their own arrangements, that it does not envisage either enmity or hostility between the two peoples, that adequate safeguards for the minorities and the rights of the States can be demanded and that the Pakistan portion of the Indian [sub-] continent will be still a Dominion in the British Empire.

I should like you to warn the Government that Mr. Jinnah is a force to be reckoned with and taken seriously. I understand that he has already appointed a propaganda representative in New York and Ankara, subsequent to his last abortive meeting with the Viceroy. As you can see he has a terribly strong case and might well do considerable damage to our cause in the States where it is now prospering exceedingly. We have two courses only open to us. Continue the autocracy and risk the consequences or come to a settlement with the Muslim League and really call the Congress bluff. Even if it does not then come to its senses, its power to harm the war effort in this country will be reduced to ineffectiveness.

The winning of this War should be the paramount endeavour of the Government. By admitting the right of the Muslims to self-determination the Indian problem can be shelved and left to themselves to decide. We were not successful enough in our endeavour to carve up Europe after the first German War to warrant us trying again to demarcate the frontiers of others. If the experience of the Muslims in the minority provinces in the last three years is an insufficient pointer for the Government as to their probable fate in a democratically federated

India and without our influence as a check on greater excesses, then let the Government consider how Hindus treat the lower castes of their own brethren. And finally let the tragedy of Ireland become a blessing in disguise if its warning succeeds in preventing a far greater one.

Mr. Jinnah has drawn my attention to an article by Professor Keith who is, I understand, an authority on this subject and whose latest views on the problem of Muslim-Hindu collaboration represent a radical change from those which he formerly held. It is attached "D".<sup>6</sup>

I trust that those members of the Labour Party participating in the Government will be warned by their predecessors' fate when they also participated in a Conservative Government<sup>7</sup> and that they will still retain power to break with tradition where common sense demands such a course. I would ask them to tackle this grave problem with fresh and completely open minds and I have no doubt of the outcome. Mr. Jinnah already has cuttings of a number of articles from Hindu papers, particularly from Madras Province, which go to show that the more enlightened Hindus are prepared to accept Pakistan.

I am sending this letter with a heart full of hope that it may pave the way to the settlement which so many of us are hoping may come to pass, and that the reply which you will be authorised to send me for passing on to Mr. Jinnah will make this a reality.

Wishing you all the very best of good fortune in the new year,

Most hopefully yours,

W.H.P. GARDINER

*Major*

[PS.] I am asking Mr. Jinnah<sup>8</sup> to stay his proposals for an intensification of propaganda in the U.S.A. until at least I have a reply to this letter and I do not doubt that he will be willing.

<sup>1</sup>Labour Member of Parliament.

<sup>2</sup>Member Council of State; representing Bombay Chamber of Commerce; Secretary, Fabian Society, formed in Britain in 1884 with the aim of building socialism through gradual reforms. It supported the Labour Party, and its early members included Sidney Webb, his wife Beatrice, and Bernard Shaw.

<sup>3</sup>Labour Member of Parliament; Minister of Economic Warfare (1940—22 February 1942) President, Board of Trade, 1942.

<sup>4,6</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>7</sup>Refers to the coalition governments in Britain, headed by Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, Conservative Prime Ministers, 1935-37 and 1937-40, respectively.

<sup>8</sup>Copy sent on 5 January 1941. See No. 156.



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*Siddique Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F. 352/7*

AMRAOTI,  
CENTRAL PROVINCES,  
28 December 1940

Ten weeks imprisonment shattered health. Wife ill lost child. Top of it Provincial League expelled me [for] two years. Seek protection. Pray grant permission retire.<sup>1</sup>

SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 154.

143

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/156*

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,  
28 December 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I met the leader of the Turkish Military Mission to-day and apprised him of the problems of Muslims of India. He was very sympathetic. He was much interested in our affairs, although according to military etiquette we tried to be within reasonable bounds. I have given him all the literature which he is conveying home. His view is that it would be desirable to send a deputation out immediately at the end of the War. He assured us that Musalmans of Turkey were intensely interested in the welfare of Indian Musalmans.

I had invited them to an at-home last evening and they are dining with me in a day or two. They are, however, [here] up to the 5th of next month.

With best wishes, and kind regards to Miss Jinnah and your goodself,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

## 144

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 873/639-42*

BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
29 December 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Let me congratulate you, once again, on the 64th birthday celebrations of your life, so precious to the country and the Muslim nation. I hope you must have received my telegram redirected to you from Karachi.

I must thank you for the keen interest you have so kindly taken about the unfortunate desecration of *'Idgah* by the military here. I believe the matter is still under the close consideration of the Government of India. All this is due to you and you alone, and I hope the Government will realise, more and more still, that your voice is the voice of nine crore Muslims in India. May you live long, enjoying the best of your health for the Muslim cause first and Muslim cause last. *Aameen*.

I take this opportunity respectfully to remind you about your very kind promise to visit Burhanpur. I have already said that it is just on the main line of the G.I.P.R. for going to Delhi. The Musalmans in Burhanpur have been waiting for long to accord you a fitting reception. It is now high time, I beg permission to say, when you will please honour the Muslim public of Burhanpur by giving them an opportunity, as early as possible, to welcome you here.

The Central Assembly Session begins perhaps early in February for nearly three months and then follows the All India Muslim League Session in Madras. Hot weather soon follows and rains set in thereafter.

The only possible opportunity that we can, therefore, seek is about the end of January next, a little before the month of *Moharram*.

If, therefore, I am permitted to say I would request that either 26th of January 1941 (Sunday) or even a little earlier would be the most convenient date for us all to offer you our most hearty welcome. We must also get about three weeks time to prepare ourselves to accord you a fitting reception.

I earnestly appeal that you will please grant our most humble



request, coming as it does from the hearts of the poor and rich, young and old, alike.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR  
*General Secretary,*  
*C.P. & Berar Muslim League*

## 145

*M. A. Jinnah to Desmond Boyle*

*F. 489/13*

KARACHI,  
*29 December 1940*

Dear Mr. Boyle,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th December 1940.<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult for me to explain to you the details of the various points by means of correspondence. But if, I think, you carefully examine the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League and my speech and the various statements in the booklets, the details are fully supplied.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Desmond Boyle, Esq.,  
c/o European Association,  
3 Wittet Road, Ballard Estate,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>No. 133.

## 146

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 383/69*

CAMP ADAN,  
VIA MAHMUDABAD,  
*31 December 1940*

My dear uncle,

I have started some practical work for economic and political

training of Muslim workers. This year is a thoroughly bad one for us, and I am here in the villages.

The bearers of this letter are Sayyad Ahmad Safi and his sister's son, Sayyad Sulaiman al-Mawalidi. S. Ahmad is a big magnate of Palestine. He has been staying with me for the last fortnight, and we have become great friends. I would very much like that he may meet you. Will you grant him an interview?

With affectionate regards,

Ever yours,  
AMIR

*Tasleem to Phophi [aunt Fatima] and [your]self. May Allah save you to lead us for many more years. Insha Allah. Aameen.*

## 147

*M. A. Jinnah to L. S. Amery and Winston S. Churchill*

*Telegram, F. 490/7*

*31 December 1940*

Member Labour Party [Gardiner] forwarding Secretary [Parker] report<sup>1</sup> our frank and fully exploratory discussions finding means end present impasse. Posting copy genuinely desire settlement and feel new year reasonable time make fresh approach to permit closest co-operation England Muslim India whose interests mutual in successful prosecution war. Request earnest study League point view as indications appear show Cabinet attaches undue importance Congress influence and representation. Willing plebiscite substantiate overwhelming evidence Muslim League now represents 90 per cent Musalmans. Sincerely hope you able influence reply<sup>2</sup> forming basis settlement. Best wishes 1941.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 141.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 174.



## 148

*Nazir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1053/1*

*[Undated December 1940]*

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

1. My correspondence with Rajagopalachari is enclosed herewith,<sup>1</sup> but for this two things are essential:

- a. The political outlook of the Musalmans should be strengthened day by day.
- b. The political outlook of the Musalmans should depend on religious foundations.

When I wrote the last letter, Mr. Rajagopalachari had already been imprisoned and, therefore, I received no reply from him. I will now find some occasion to send the whole of the correspondence to him and draw his attention towards it.

2. One other letter in Urdu is also enclosed,<sup>2</sup> which I have written to such a man who calls himself your opponent on the basis of religion and Pakistan. He has also started an organisation for the purpose. Before your coming to Aligarh, he came here and showed such inclinations. I have tried to put an end to such an opposition and told him that if such an organisation is necessary then it is essential for him to go against the [Muslim] League because the League is open to accept[ing], by stages, such a change in its policy which will turn it into an Islamic organisation. But it does not require *fatwas* from the *Moulvis*. Our attempt should be that we should create such men who will do such work in the future. This requires a considerable time and, therefore, for the time being it is necessary that the League should be left to do its work till then, and it should be advised from time to time.

3. I am thinking of consult[ing] you some time in this connection, so that we can join the religious elements in such a way that they would automatically have a conception of the Islamic State before them, and the present opposition would cease.

4. I pray that God may keep you well until at least the Musalmans are able to embrace the whole of India within their fold on the foundations of Islam.

Yours sincerely,  
NAZIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>See F. 1053/2-11, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

149

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah**F. 852/10-14*

PAHARI IMLI,  
JAMIA MASJID,  
DELHI,  
1 January 1941

May it please our Quaid-i-Azam,

Not only I and the distressed children of my brother, Prof. Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M.A., but the whole house of Kheiris is anxiously waiting for the [sic for a] favourable result of the Resolution<sup>1</sup> unanimously adopted by the Council of the All India Muslim League and [of] your efforts for the release of my brother and his wife, Mrs. Fatma Kheiri, who are undoubtedly the victims of deep intrigues and awful misunderstanding.

Our Muslim University had since long been in the clutches of the Godless, Congressite and Communist elements whose activities resulted in indiscipline, anti-British feelings and anti-Islamic spirit. The boys once set fire to the coaches placed for the welcome of a very high Government official. Some of the boys tried to lead a strike and set up the Congress flag on the Students Union Hall of the University. My brother, Prof. Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, tried to inculcate the spirit of Islam, eventually succeeding in setting up the supremacy of the Muslim League with the result that the banner of the Muslim League was set on the [Students] Union Hall of the University. Consequently, respect for law and order was inculcated in the students of the University. The Congressites and Communists, especially among the staff and the students of the University, thereby became his deadliest enemies and made intrigues to discredit his activities which were firstly to inculcate the spirit of Islam in the University and secondly to preserve his post in order to support his family.

To inculcate the spirit of Islam he had to contend against Communism in the University, for which he made use of the anti-Communist literature issued by the anti-Communist organizations in other countries. When he started *The Spirit of the Time*, in opposition to Communism, many persons and organizations in foreign countries began to send their literature to him in order to get the journal in exchange. Some persons sent him literature merely in order to influence



the policy of the journal one way or the other. Thus, foreign persons and organizations came in contact with my brother at their own initiative but he remained adamant in his own Islamic policy.

His second line of activity was two-fold, i.e. to do his duty conscientiously and to preserve his post in order to support his family. While in England, I arranged for him a permanent post of professorship [*sic* for professor] in the University of Palestine but Kh. Hasan Nizami invited him to India to take charge of his projected educational institution. My brother preferred to come to India but unfortunately the scheme of Kh. Hasan Nizami did not start [off] and my brother and his family were left in straitened circumstances. At the recommendation of the Government of the United Provinces my brother was given the vacant post for teaching German in the University of Aligarh. His post has been unstable and depended upon the demand for it shown by the number of students attending his classes and upon the funds of the University. The University did not even provide his department with the books necessary in connection with the teaching of modern languages. Because the teaching of languages requires a knowledge of the culture of their people also, my brother after getting permission from the University authorities wrote to some of his old pupils in Germany whom he had taught English to provide some books for the purpose. Dr. Otto Spies, a German, who was then Professor of Arabic in the Muslim University, was mainly helpful in this connection. Thus, all sorts of literature from different sources began to come. My brother, coming to know that many Hindus were getting scholarships for the prosecution of higher studies in Germany, tried to get some scholarships for [the] Muslims, mainly through the help of Dr. Otto Spies. Thus Dr. Goepfel, Director of Humboldt Scholarships, who is by no means to be confused with Dr. Goebbels, Propaganda Minister, [Nazi Germany or Third Reich], agreed to award scholarships to the Muslims also. Some prizes and other facilities were also provided for the students. Thereby not only the number of students attending his classes increased but some members of the staff also joined the same. My brother thought that his post had, therefore, become secure because there was an ample demand for it but the intriguers tried to get it reduced on the plea of lack of funds in the University. Thereupon my brother suggested to the authorities of the Muslim University that he might be permitted to correspond with the German Consul-General and the French Consul-General in order to secure help from their respective countries for the teaching of German and French in the University in the same way as these



Governments were directly helping to finance departments of modern languages in other Universities. It may be pointed out that by this time my brother was put in charge of teaching French also. Accordingly, he corresponded with them. Of course, all this was before the War which was at that time quite unanticipated so much so that afterwards even Mr. Chamberlain<sup>2</sup> assured the people of England and also the world of an eternal peace pact with Hitler. Further, my brother, in order to give a sense of security to his family, took a building loan from the University and began to build a house, room by room, which is, however, still incomplete. Although all these activities were innocent, frank, undisguised and with the express permission of the University authorities, yet his enemies, the intriguers, began to put a false construction on them to achieve his dismissal, e.g. the allegation was made that he was supported by the Germans and got money from unknown sources which enabled him to build his house. Even now, when my brother and his wife are detained and their children are in extreme distress, these intriguers are behind the suggestion that the Government need not give them allowance which they require to get even their daily bread and other necessities, for which, they say, the house be rented though it is quite incomplete, its doors are insecure, there is no whitewash, no electric light and unfit for use by any family. The house was being built for a family of the European style without any *pardah* arrangements and, therefore, wholly unfit for the use of an Indian family, and for a family of the European style, it lacks even the necessary comforts because it is unfinished. The Government views the activities of my brother in the light of the propaganda of the intriguers against my brother. The propaganda has been done in such an artful and systematic way that the Government may not be able to recognize its source being the intrigues of my brother's enemies. The effect of the propaganda on the Government has been so great that even the wife of my brother, Mrs. Fatma Kheiri, has been interned though she had nothing to do with anything besides her household work.

Further, I may point out a few discrepancies in the search list, prepared by the official Search Party, of the things removed by them from the house of my brother, e.g. under the items of the files of correspondence, which are more than twenty, the number of correspondence in each file is not given, nor their subject. The list runs, 'file No. 21, containing copies of the correspondence of Mr. Kheiri,' 'file No. 2, containing miscellaneous correspondence,' 'file No. 42, containing correspondence from India,' 'file No. 43, containing



correspondence from Berlin,' etc. The said list is also misleading in so far as it does not show whether the number of copies of the printed matter given therein are of the same issue or each copy belongs to a separate issue.

The policy of my family and, of course, of my brother has been to support the Government in opposition to the Congress and foreign powers, but alas! the Government do not know their real friends! Shakespeare wrote out *The Comedy of Errors* and my brother and his family have been the *dramatis personae* of an actual "Tragedy of Errors."

I hope that you will explain these points to the Government and make full efforts for the immediate release of my brother and his wife.

Kindly find enclosed a statement<sup>3</sup> regarding my brother. It gives details of his case. I shall give more details if required.

I am the most humble and insignificant thing,

MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI  
M.A., Ph.D.

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 471.

<sup>2</sup>Neville Chamberlain, British Conservative Prime Minister (1937-40). He pursued a policy of appeasement towards Nazi Germany, but failed to prevent the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939, which led to the Second World War.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 852/15-22, QAP. Not printed.

## 150

*W. Hoondraj to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 924/151-2*

PERSONAL

BURNS ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
2 January 1941

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

With the advent of the happy new year, I wish you such many more of propitious future [sic] for your personal welfare and that of your dear and near ones as well as for the cause of our country.

In our personal talks here your solution to the Hindu-Muslim tangle was that the paramount leaders of [the] two communities should sit together and understand each other without the intervention of a third party like the Congress etc. In order to get lasting and practical profits of your such a capital suggestion, I have contemplated

a strictly private, unofficial and confidential conference between your goodself, Mr. [V. D.] Savarkar and Mr. [Subhas] Bose to be arranged here in Karachi as early as suitable to you three. I have discussed this view with the General Secretary of the Forward Bloc, who is here now.

In my opinion, such a conference, in consonance with your expressions and ideal, will be of great mutual benefit to all the three parties, jointly as well as separately, and will be of immense political profit to the country.

If you very kindly agree to this suggestion of such a conference, I may proceed further in the matter. The contents of your mind as expressed to me in your reply to this shall remain strictly personal and confidential and shall not be communicated even to Messrs Bose and Savarkar, till at a mature stage, when you permit. If you kindly agree, let me know your convenient dates. I am writing so free [*sic*] to you because you had desired me to remain in frank touch with you for our mutual understanding and welfare.

My regards for yourself,

HOONDRAJ  
MBBS  
*Eye Specialist*  
*Secretary,*

*The Sindh Hindu Panchayats' Federation*

## 151

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/157*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
*2 January 1941*

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Herewith I send you copies of letters which I have sent to New York. These people are interested in India's affairs and I have tried my best to make them understand the Muslim point of view so that they may be able to study our side of the question.

Yours sincerely,  
[H. A. HAROON]



*Enclosure to No. 151*

*H. Abdoola Haroon to John Haynes Holmes<sup>1</sup> & Others<sup>2</sup>*

*F. 274/160-61*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
30 December 1940

Dear Sir,

Mr. S. M. Ahmed, Investment Economist, 120, Broadway, New York City, has sent me a cutting of the *New York Times*, dated November 15, 1940, in which appears your article on India's situation. It shows to me that you are taking interest in this country's affairs.

With a view to acquaint[ing] you with full particulars and also to enable you to study the other side of the picture, I have sent you this day, under a separate cover, some literature dealing especially with Muslim point of view. I hope after going [through] this literature you will be able to gauge the true position.

I am expecting your views by the return [of post] after your having gone through this literature.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,  
H. A. HAROON  
Chairman,

*Foreign Sub-Committee, All India Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Chairman, Board of Directors, American League for India's Freedom, New York.

<sup>2</sup>The letter is addressed also to Frances Gunther and Holmes Smith, Executive Chairman and Executive Secretary, respectively, of the American League for India's Freedom, New York.

152

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/162*

BOMBAY,  
3 January 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th December 1940.<sup>1</sup> In the

first instance, let me thank you for all the kindness and hospitality you showed to me during my stay with you and also for all the help and assistance you and Mr. Yusuf gave me.

I am glad that you entertained the Turkish Mission during their stay in Karachi, and I am pleased to hear that they were very sympathetic towards our progress and working.

Please let me know what final decisions were taken with regard to the District Local Boards election in Thar Parkar District.<sup>2</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Abdoola Haroon,  
Seafield, Karachi

<sup>1</sup>No. 143.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 157.

## 153

*M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad*

*F. 199/51*

BOMBAY,  
3 January 1941

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd December<sup>1</sup> and also of the 26th December.<sup>2</sup> I thank you for your good wishes on my 64th birthday.

As regards your letter of the 26th, I think the best course for you is to keep Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in full touch with you as he is so close to you in Delhi and deal with the various matters mentioned in your letter in consultation with him.

I wish you a happy and a prosperous new year.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,  
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,  
Aligarh

<sup>1</sup>F. 199/46-50, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 140.



## 154

*M. A. Jinnah to Siddique Ali Khan*

*F. 352/8*

BOMBAY,  
3 January 1941

Dear Mr. Siddique Ali Khan,

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 28th December 1940,<sup>1</sup> and I am distressed about your position and I really do not know what to say. I fully sympathise with you in your having suffered in health and am sorry to hear that your wife is not well and that you lost your child.

I have no power to interfere with the decision of your Provincial League under the constitution. You can only appeal to the Working Committee if you so desire. I would like to understand the position when we meet at Delhi next.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan,  
Amraoti

<sup>1</sup>No. 142

## 155

*M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq*

*F. 281/19-20*

4 January 1941

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th of December 1940.<sup>1</sup> I was not able to reply to it earlier as I was pressed with work and was moving about.

I really do not know what I can say with regard to this matter. I think you have seen what the press has been writing about this move. You have recently issued a statement from Poona saying that you are misunderstood. Well, I cannot blame the people because I [had] said from the very beginning that it was a very unwise move.

I am quite sure that you did not intend to bring about a disruption in

the Muslim League. I quite appreciate your desire for peace and settlement and nobody desires it more than I do but the question is how? When the other party has declared a war and is holding a pistol to your head, what do you propose that I should do? What do you think is the aim and the object of the Congress in launching civil disobedience? Is it not obvious that they want to bend the British Government to surrender or yield to their demands? At whose cost? Over our head and at our cost.

An old and experienced politician like you and a veteran fighter that you are, what do you expect me to do in these circumstances?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 132.

## 156

*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/8*

242 STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
5 January 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter which I sent home [England, that is] on December 28th.<sup>1</sup> I trust that you will find it reflecting the substance and spirit of our discussions. If there is any point on which you feel that I have slipped up, will you please let me know about it.

As telegraphed to you,<sup>2</sup> I sent the cable off on the arranged date, the 30th,<sup>3</sup> and I was rather hoping to have had confirmation of your having sent yours to Mr. Churchill on the 31st.<sup>4</sup> My cable was somewhat delayed, I gather, as it was held up by the censor and submitted for action to the Government of Sind; I had a very roundabout message from Mr. Clee, the Home Member [of Viceroy's Council], indicating that my action was not compatible with my position in the army. He does not appear to be aware of the number of MPs in the British army. But, of course, my obvious retort will be to draw attention to the lack of success of the civilians in finding a formula.



Trusting that you are continuing to enjoy the best of good health and hoping to hear from you very shortly,

Very sincerely yours,  
W. H. P. GARDINER

[PS.] I have had no indication that my letter has been held up. Should it be, I feel the only course will be to give a copy to the press.

<sup>1</sup>No. 141.

<sup>2-3</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 147.

## 157

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/163*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
6 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have duly received your letter of the 3rd instant<sup>1</sup> for which please accept my thanks.

As already arranged I went to Mirpurkhas on the 3rd instant. A Parliamentary Board of five was formed and also three members of Appeal Board of the Province were selected. So far, the position seems to be very bright. I am again going to Mirpurkhas on the 13th instant when final decision will be made.

The activity against joint electorate has been started and I find that we will secure [a] large following. I am writing a letter to the Chairman, Advisory Committee of the Sind Legislature, and enclose a copy for your perusal.

Pledges have already been sent to League Ministers to secure the signatures of the MLAs, but [I] regret to find that they are not at all active. However, I shall do my best to expedite the things.

The [Muslim] League activity, all over India, for Pakistan is very appreciable, but the Punjab and Bengal are not doing their duty. Kindly think over this matter and consider how to make them active. I suggest a tour by your goodself to the Punjab and N.W. Frontier [Province], which I consider very essential, if it is possible. I hope

that people will rally round you in great numbers.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. A. HAROON

*President,*

*Sind Provincial Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 152.

*Enclosure to No. 157*

*H. Abdoola Haroon to Mir Bundeh Ali Khan*

*F. 274/164-5*

NAPIER ROAD,

KARACHI,

6 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of the Muslim League Resolution<sup>1</sup> regarding the question of introduction of joint electorate in the local bodies in Sind. I had issued a circular letter to the present members of these bodies and other leading Muslims ascertaining their views on the said question. I have received replies from numerous persons as also copies of the resolutions passed on the subject at Muslim public meetings, which all clearly show that the Muslims are stoutly opposed to joint electorate and regard it as an invasion of their rights—the rights which they have secured after an arduous struggle and which they are never prepared to forego under any circumstance.

The propaganda which is being carried on in the Hindu press, especially in the *Sind Observer*, for this purpose is another factor which is agitating the minds of the Muslims. The vernacular press is resorting to a type of propaganda which is at once objectionable and is unnecessarily arousing the suspicions of the Musalmans regarding the purpose behind the Hindus insisting on the introduction of joint electorate.

The history of the joint electorate in India is known to you and you are also aware of the reasons for which the Muslims have been opposing it throughout India.

In Sind, much of the communal trouble has been due to the impression which exists among the Muslims that, taking advantage



of their backwardness, the enlightened Hindu minority, especially Congressites, have been trying to impose their will on the majority community. They very rightly argue that introduction of joint electorate, in the teeth of opposition by 75 per cent people, cannot be interpreted to be a measure to restore peace and communal amity. It is with considerable difficulty that we have just been able to restore peace in the disturbed areas and an effort to thrust joint electorate on the Musalmans at this juncture would be most unwise.

The Muslim League has stood by the Azad arrangement but it would be most difficult for the Musalmans to give up their fundamental rights if they are encroached upon in the name of that arrangement.

I have clearly fathomed the Muslim mind and I find that the Muslims are prepared to make every sacrifice in order to frustrate the object of this move.

Under these circumstances, I would beg of you to advise the Government not to hold elections in the Borough Municipalities, on the basis of Joint Electorates Act already passed, and to drop altogether the proposal to introduce joint electorate in the Local Boards also. This step would reassure the Muslim majority and will ease the situation which is being worsened by the unhealthy Hindu propaganda.

Yours faithfully,

H. A. HAROON

*President,*

*Sind Provincial Muslim League*

PS. Kindly place this letter before the meeting of the Advisory Board as soon as it meets.

<sup>1</sup>Annexure.

*Annexure to Enclosure to No. 157*

*F. 274/166*

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL  
MUSLIM LEAGUE

[KARACHI,]

22 December 1940

This meeting authorises the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League to make the following declaration on behalf of the

### Musalmans in this Province:

That the Council of the Provincial Muslim League conditionally endorsed the 21 points demanded by the Hindus as accepted by the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party on the assumption and in the hope that the Hindu members, including the Congress Members of the Assembly, will stand by the Ministry then formed for the remaining term of the Assembly and co-operate with it for the peace and progress of the Province. But the Hindu Members, supported by their vociferous press, raised a storm against the Ministry despite the fact that the Ministry had done every thing possible within its powers to implement the Hindu demands, including the introduction of the joint electorate, and to bring all the culprits and suspects to book in any way connected [with] or suspected with [*sic* for of] the murders of some Hindus in the Rohri Division. The vigorous opposition and propaganda carried on culminated in the demand for the withdrawal of the support of the Hindu Ministers and members from the Mir [Bundeh Ali Khan] Ministry which has since then been reshuffled, resulting in the resignation of one Muslim League Minister and the remaining two to continue on the mercy and sufferance of the Hindu Members. It is absolutely clear from the above that the settlement then arrived at on the basis of 21 Hindu demands has been violated by the Hindu Members of the Assembly and the Muslim League cannot put any reliance upon the support or alliance of the Hindu Members of the Assembly; some of them still continue to sit in the opposition. The Muslim League Council, therefore, is clearly of the opinion that it can no longer advise the Musalmans of this Province to surrender their cherished right of separate electorate in favour of any form of joint electorate in the local bodies unless and until the Hindu representatives agree to enter into an amicable permanent settlement with the Muslim League. Even on principle, the Musalmans of Sind are stoutly opposed to the introduction of joint electorate in local bodies and the Council has been receiving representations from the Muslim residents of the Borough Municipalities to boycott the forthcoming elections under the proposed system of joint electorate without adult franchise.

We sincerely advise the Muslim Members of the Assembly not to enforce joint electorates in the Borough Municipalities, much less



extend them to the remaining local bodies, thus making it easy for everyone concerned to promote good-neighbourly relations and avoid any communal tension or bitterness which are bound to arise as a result of the enforcement of joint electorate against the wishes of the Musalmans.

158

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/52-3*

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
6 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks very much for your kind letter.<sup>1</sup> I have already [written] to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan [about] the matters to which I drew your attention in my previous letter. In fact, I wrote to him about the same time as I wrote to you. As you have suggested, I do keep in close touch with the Nawabzada. But I also consider it my duty to keep you fully posted with the situation as it develops from time to time in the [Aligarh] University, so that when the time comes for you to take some step with regard to Aligarh, you may already be in possession of all the information about Aligarh. We are, as you know, working under tremendous handicaps as the present regime in the University is definitely unsympathetic to the Muslim League. But we mean to fight on with a stout heart.

We are now anxious to know as to when your postponed visit to Aligarh is likely to materialise. Could you kindly give me some indication as to the probable week in February when you would like to visit Aligarh? Your visit, may I venture to say, is now overdue. The students are very anxious to hear you on the present situation.

We are now concentrating on constructive work according to your advice. I am enclosing a leaflet<sup>2</sup> which will show what we are doing by way of publicity and education of public opinion.

With regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 153.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 159

*M. C. A. Hassim to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 676/12-3*

RESERVOIR ROAD,  
DEMETAGODA,  
CEYLON,  
6 January 1941

Sir,

I have been instructed by my Committee responsible for the control of this [Demetagoda Muslim] League to offer you the League's congratulations on your sixty-fourth birthday. Even in this small isle of ours, the majority of the Muslims are happy on your birthday and thank the Almighty *Allah* for giving an individual to our brothers across the seas, who, by his selfless devotion to his religion and to his duty and also by his altruistic living, is a beacon light amongst the Muslims of India, and, in fact, the whole Muslim world. May the Almighty *Allah* bless you with long life to serve particularly the Muslims in India and others as well, though they be miles apart.

As you will see from the letter-head, this League was only started early this year. This step was taken owing to a majority of the Muslims being rather backward politically and educationally and the position today is that, as time goes on, the Muslims here will be wiped out from every sphere of activities and the voice of the Muslims will be a voice in the wilderness.

The Ceylon National Congress, which is composed of 98 per cent of Sinhalese only, had its session in Mirigama (a village out of Colombo Town) at the end of the year—a cutting of their proceedings is attached for your information<sup>1</sup>—and you will see that the Sinhalese are gradually endeavouring to dominate the life of the minorities and, if they do, they will overwhelm the Muslim aspirations, however small they may be, by their prepondering [*sic* for preponderant] majority, if the Muslims do not stir themselves up and fight for the cause of justice and liberty.

The State Council, which is the central assembly like the [Legislative] Assembly in Delhi, is composed of seven homogenous [*sic*] Ministers, who are responsible for governing this island. Out of the total of 56 members, not a single Muslim was able to contest and win a seat—although many tried and all failed—and only two of the Musalmans



were nominated by the Governor.

In the Municipal Council, too, the position is the same and I attach a latest cutting<sup>2</sup> from the local newspaper relating to the Colombo Municipal election which was held in November last year. Therefore, you can judge for yourself that by being dormant, the Muslims are, figuratively speaking, digging their own graves. This so-called National Congress—to our minds actually self-national! [*sic*—has aroused the Sinhalese as a result of Pandit Nehru's visit to this island a few years back and also our Ministers' unofficial conferences in India with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders towards the latter part of this year.

There is a Ceylon Muslim League here corresponding to yours in India and they have achieved something but nothing much! Our duty is to call the Muslims in Demetagoda, a District in the Town of Colombo, to rally round the flag of freedom and be a voice which could be heard even in [the] Whitehall. Our object is also that each town or district should form Leagues of our nature [*sic*] and, finally, affiliate all semi-Leagues with the League proper—that is the Ceylon Muslim League—so that the Muslims may express their point of view through their respective Leagues to the main League and be a voice that could be heard by the ruling Government or even by our benign King through the House of Parliament which stands for fair play, liberty and justice.

I shall be glad, therefore, if you will honour us with your blessing so that it may be an encouragement and also an incentive to the Muslims, particularly in Demetagoda, and others in general to follow, and also at the same time may I ask you to be good enough to notify us whenever any distinguished members of your League visit Ceylon or issue instructions to your officials to advise this League of any intending departures [*sic*] of members of your League to this island?

While apologizing for intruding upon your most valuable time, I shall thank you for a reply.<sup>3</sup>

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Yours truly,  
M. C. A. HASSIM  
Joint Honorary Secretary,  
Demetagoda Muslim League

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 197.

## 160

*M. A. Jinnah to S. K. Burhanullah**F. 874/2*BOMBAY,  
6 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th December 1940,<sup>1</sup> and I am pleased to know that you are doing some constructive work. I wish you all success.

I cannot emphasise too much the need of education and of organisation of the Musalmans wherever they may be. That is the first step towards the collective uplift of the Musalmans economically, socially and politically. But education is the foundation which may be well and truly laid among the people.

It is only by educating our people that we will mould them into thoroughly disciplined, trained and organised people.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. K. Burhanullah, Esq.,  
General Secretary,  
Baitul Irshad,  
Secunderabad

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 161

*C. M. G. Ogilvie to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1025/52-3*GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
DEFENCE DEPARTMENT,  
NEW DELHI,  
7 January 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In reply to your letter of the 26th November,<sup>1</sup> I said that I entirely agreed with you that the affairs of the 'idgah at Burhanpur required further investigation and promised to let you know the details when



this was completed. I have waited some time for further information from the Central Provinces Government but I think the full facts are now before me. They are as follows:

When the adjournment was tabled, the local military authorities were asked for an explanation by telegram. The Brigadier replied that the camping ground site had been approved by the civil authorities and that the trouble had, in his opinion, arisen owing to the close proximity of the Burhanpur '*idgah*' to the camping ground both of which adjoined and were situated on the Government land. On the 18th November, he wired again to say that the accusations were baseless except that tents were pitched on the ground owned by the Muslim community outside '*idgah*' limits.

In consequence of this report, I stated in the Legislative Assembly, in objecting to the adjournment motion, that the site occupied by the troops was in proximity to the '*idgah*' but did not impinge upon it.

Visits to Burhanpur were subsequently made and the information resulting has shown that the original reports, and hence my reply in the Legislative Assembly, were incorrect. It appears that four tents for officers were, in fact, pitched upon the brick platform of the '*idgah*'. This was done entirely inadvertently. The pediment on which the tents were pitched appeared to be a part of the camping ground. The officer in charge of the detachment specifically asked whether there was any objection to pitching tents upon it. He was told by the Sub-Divisional Officer, who was the senior civil representative present, that there was none. The Sub-Divisional Officer had previously consulted the *Naib Tehsildar*—a Muslim—who also agreed. There were several other Muslims present at the time, including the custodian of the '*idgah*'; they lodged no objection. Had they made any objection, the tents would not have been pitched on the platform and, had they objected at any time later, the tents would at once have been removed.

In the circumstances, I think that you will agree that no blame can attach to the military officer concerned. The whole affair appears to have been a complete misunderstanding.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
C. M. G. OGILVIE  
*Defence Secretary*

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/31. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>For Jinnah's reply, see No. 191.

## 162

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah**F. 281/20**7 January 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter.<sup>1</sup> I quite understand your viewpoint but certainly something will have to be done. However, I am doing nothing at the present moment and I am allowing things to simmer. As a matter of fact, I am watching developments. If there is anything particular, I shall let you know.

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

<sup>1</sup>See No. 155.

## 163

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan**F. 383/70*

BOMBAY,  
*7 January 1941*

My dear Amir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 31st December 1940.<sup>1</sup> I have already got in touch with your friend Sayyid Ahmad Safi and his sister's son, Sayyid Sulaiman al-Mawalidi. They came and saw me this morning and I hope to see them again as I have invited them to tea and hope to have a long talk with them.

I am sorry to hear that this year has been a bad one for you and you have been attending to your affairs in the villages. But what about the Muslim League? What about your plan that a deputation should go round India?

I think I must tell you that things are going on fairly well so far, but a good deal has yet to be done and we must not go to sleep. The whole world is moving fast and this is a moment when every nerve must be exercised [*sic* for strained] by Muslim India to avert the



dangers that are hovering over us all from all quarters.

I am doing my bit, and I want every Musalman to take off his coat and work really seriously and honestly.

Many thanks for your good wishes and personal references to me.

When are you likely to be free? I would like to see you as soon as possible either in Bombay or in Delhi. I shall have to go to Delhi about the 10th of February.

With our best wishes and regards,

Yours affectionately,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 146.

## 164

*M. A. Jinnah to Gulamali Jamal Mistry*

*F. 874/5*

BOMBAY,  
8 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your kind invitation<sup>1</sup> to participate in your function on the occasion of the 'Id, which is to take place on Saturday, the 11th January 1941.

I regret my inability to accept your kind invitation owing to my other commitments.

I need hardly say that I have been constantly impressing upon the Musalmans to enter more and more in[to] business and in[to] industrial and economic activities of the country as in this respect we have been lagging behind other sister communities.

Let me most heartily wish you every success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Gulamali Jamal Mistry, Esq.,  
606 Haines Road,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 165

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/122-4*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
8 January 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*'Id Mubarak!*

The speech of Sir Nazimuddin,<sup>1</sup> the full text of which is in Muslim League circles in Calcutta [*sic*]. The Muslims wonder how long these knights and *Jo-hukms* of the British *Sarkar* will be allowed to dominate Muslim League high command and play a double game. They should be 100 per cent loyal to either the League or the British. They cannot serve two masters.

Its impression on the minds of the Muslims has been very demoralising. The reason why the British are not caring for the League demands is the dual and divided loyalties of these knights who are riding the two horses of the League and the British Government at one and the same time.

The Muslims are solidly behind you in your fight for Pakistan. Particularly, your speech at Ahmedabad,<sup>2</sup> defining the Pakistan ideal as the rule of Islamic laws, has infused a new life and soul in[to] your movement. The *'Ulama* and the masses have alike been galvanized by this new note. Even Jamiat-i-'Ulama Secretary, the late Maulana Sajjad (who recently died), confessed in private that no Muslim could oppose Pakistan because that was the real goal of the Muslims. He only said that it was premature.

In my humble opinion, at least the following measures should be taken to make a consistent and persistent propaganda for Pakistan:

- i. Immediate steps should be taken to found a press and newspaper in English and Urdu. Publicity and propaganda is our first and foremost necessity. In a word, we cannot have Pakistan unless we have an English daily. For heaven's sake give us a fighting Pakistan daily from Delhi.
- ii. A central Pakistan union should be formed directly under your guidance and supervision to carry on a literary, scientific, political, economic, legal and cultural study of the Pakistan problem. Its main function should be to produce Pakistani



literature according to a plan and to serve as the brain's trust and moving spirit of the movement.

- iii. Our movement requires a Fabian Society,<sup>3</sup> for as Iqbal rightly said in his presidential address at the League session at Allahabad in [December] 1930, no nation can live without a vision.
- iv. An all-India day should be celebrated with the greatest preparation and strongest propaganda to carry the message and meaning of Pakistan to every Muslim soul in every village of India.

How can it be done? I have hit upon a plan. Let me explain to you how:

#### WHAT IS BAI'AT? ITS PLACE IN ISLAM

The concept of *Bai'at* [pledge of fealty or allegiance to the ruler or religious guide] is of the highest importance in the genesis of Islamic State. Every caliph used to take *Bai'at* for his caliphate. Similarly, every *Soofi*, *Peer* or *Mujahid* used to take *Bai'at* from his *murids* (disciples) or soldiers before initiating them in[to] the order. *Bai'at* has got the deepest religious, political and legal significance in Islam. The Prophet of Islam always used to take *Bai'at* from every new convert and on important occasions. There are many *Bai'ats* of the greatest historical importance related in the *Qur'an*, e.g. *Bai'at-i-Rizwan* taken at the time of Prophet's first attack on Mecca. *Bai'at* was taken for loyalty and devotion to persons and principles. The historic *Bai'ats* of the Prophet recorded in *Hadees* are all for great principles and missions.

In fact the Prophet used to take *Bai'at* for every new and important adventure [*sic* for venture] and new mission. He took *Bai'at* before migrating to Medina from Mecca. He took *Bai'at* from *Mohajirs* and *Ansars* in Medina while making them one brotherhood and one nation or *Millat* and founding the first commonwealth of Islam. He took *Bai'at* before attacking and conquering Mecca [Makkah]. He took *Bai'at* after conquering Mecca [Makkah]. These *Bai'ats* or covenants, preserved in records of *Hadees*, are great historic documents and are of primary importance in the genesis and foundation of the Islamic nation.

The Muslim nation in India is also passing through a cycle of rebirth. It is being reborn. It is in the process of self-knowing, self-asserting and self-realizing. It is on the parting of ways. It is on the threshold of being and becoming.

Let the nation formally enter upon this epoch-making enterprise

with a solemn pledge, firm faith and resolution. Let every Muslim, man and woman, young and old, take the solemn and supreme vow of his life and independent Islamic State in India—the vow of Pakistan.

The day should be named the All-India Pakistan *Bai'at* Day or simply All-India *Bai'at-i-Islam* Day.

It should be emphasised that the central idea and object of the *Bai'at* is that the Muslims are religiously, solemnly and irrevocably resolved to open a new chapter of their life in India—the chapter of their freedom, nationhood and statehood.

The form of the *Bai'at* should be issued from the All India Muslim League in your name as Quaid-i-Azam and President. The provincial, district and town Leagues should be directed to print millions of its copies and broadcast it through [party] branches, *Imams*, mosques, *Madrasahs* and *Khanqahs*. The *Bai'at* form must contain the *Kalima* as its heading and should end with a suitable quotation from the *Qur'an* with translation.

One *Bai'at* form must contain blank space for 50 or 100 names of subscribers to the vow with [their] addresses.

RAGHIB AHSAN  
General Secretary,  
Calcutta District Muslim League

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 115-6.

<sup>3</sup>Society of socialists founded in 1884 for the introduction and spread of socialism by employing a cautious strategy of gradual reforms.

## 166

*M. H. Saiyid to Mohammad Sharif Toosy*

F. 465/1

8 January 1941

Dear Mr. Toosy,

I must apologise for not having replied to your letter of the 21st instant[?]<sup>1</sup> earlier, which was mainly owing to pressure of work. I also received your letter of the 25th<sup>2</sup> enclosing cuttings from the *Civil & Military Gazette*, which I placed before Mr. Jinnah. He has appreciated them very much and has asked me to express his thanks for them to you.

I am collecting all your articles very carefully and as soon



as Mr. Jinnah gets time, I will place them all before him. As a matter of fact we have not been able to realise the cost of our booklet yet and, therefore, Mr. Jinnah feels that some time must elapse before another one is issued. I will, however, let you know when the occasion arises.

Your essays are very much appreciated by all who have read the booklet. In fact there was a gentleman at Karachi who told Mr. Jinnah that M. R. T.<sup>3</sup> was capable of writing a book which would be the book of the revolution just as *Mein Kampf*<sup>4</sup> is that of the Nazi revolution, or *Das Kapital*<sup>5</sup> that of the proletariat, or *Rights of Man*<sup>6</sup> that of the French Revolution. I think you should be satisfied with this appreciation for the present. I am sure you are doing a much greater service to the community, by placing before them the correct interpretation of the viewpoint of the All India Muslim League, than you could in any[other] way. All of us cannot take part in active politics and your services will be appreciated more and more as time advances.

I sent you a copy of the article that appeared in one of the southern India magazines—*Federated India*—the underlined portions are to be marked and commented upon. I think the article shows the typical trend of the Hindu mind. I had also sent a copy each to every Muslim paper and specially to *Khyber Mail* of Peshawar. The article must be an eye-opener to the people of Peshawar and NWFP and to the Frontier Gandhi [Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan].

Mr. Jinnah will be going to Rawalpindi by the end of the first week of the next month in connection with a legal case. If possible, we could meet each other on the way or at a proper place. Mr. Jinnah has not yet decided whether he will break journey at Lahore. I will inform you of his future programme as soon as it is settled.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
[M. H. SAIYID]  
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>*Nom de plume* of Mohammad Sharif Toosy.

<sup>4</sup>Means *My Battle*; title of Adolf Hitler's book describing his political ideology and mapping out his strategy for the domination of Europe by Germany.

<sup>5</sup>Book written by Karl Marx (1818-83), German revolutionary socialist.

<sup>6</sup>The Declaration of the Rights of Man spelled out the high ideals of the French Revolution (1789-99).

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*H. Abdoola Haroon to Abdul Hamid Khan  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 274/167-8*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
8 JANUARY 1941

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated 3rd instant.<sup>1</sup> Following are my brief replies to your questions in the same sequence as in your letter:

- i. There are 150 Muslim League branches throughout Sind.
- ii. About 10,000 are enrolled members of League branches in Sind. (Due to slackness on the part of workers, the number of members could not be increased). Apart from that, almost all Musalmans of Sind are sympathisers and followers of Muslim League.
- iii. There are 32 members of the Executive Committee of Sind Provincial Muslim League. Two of them are office-bearers—one President and one General Secretary. The total strength of members of the District Executive Committee would be 70.

2. Following works worth importance [*sic*] have been done by the Provincial League:

- a. The Provincial League started *satyagraha* over the Manzilgah question<sup>2</sup> some one and a half year back, and about 1,500 Musalmans were sent to jail under this movement.
- b. Through our efforts a tribunal was appointed to inquire into the causes of the riots<sup>3</sup> in Sukkur District. In this inquiry all the affairs were conducted and handled exclusively by our Provincial League and, after 3 months' labour, the Musalmans were relieved from [*sic* for of] blame by the tribunal and responsibility of the riots was thrown on the other side and the Government.
- c. The Sind Government appointed a tribunal to inquire and ascertain if the Manzilgah was built originally as a mosque and has since been held as such. In this inquiry also, our Provincial League laboured for 4 months and conducted



- all affairs. The tribunal report will come out shortly and we very much hope that the decision will go in our favour.
- d. The popularity of our League organisation was so much stimulated in Sind that the Hindu opposition was compelled to give 3 seats to Muslim League in the Cabinet. Though we are not fully satisfied with the League Ministers' work, but even then they have proved to be useful to some extent and due to their efforts the lawlessness prevailing in disturbed areas has to a great extent been frustrated [*sic*].
  - e. In Tharparkar, there will be District Local Board elections next month. The Provincial League has taken up the election campaign in their hands with a view to sending [*sic*] all Muslim members on League ticket. We hope to win this election creditably.
  - f. The Sind Government has recently passed a Bill to introduce joint electorate in local bodies in Sind.<sup>4</sup> The Provincial League has started agitation against this measure as it is most harmful to the interests of Musalmans. It appears that all Musalmans of Sind, including Muslim members of local bodies, whole-heartedly support our move. We hope to be able to oppose this Bill successfully and frustrate its object by all our resources.

Yours faithfully,  
H. A. HAROON  
*President,*

*Sind Provincial Muslim League*

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan,  
General Secretary,  
B & O Muslim Chamber of Commerce,  
Bankipore, Patna

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2&3</sup>Masjid Manzilgah, a complex of buildings on the bank of River Indus at Sukkur, was taken over by the British in 1839 to house their military and political officers. The Muslims of Sukkur had been demanding and agitating for its restoration, which led to communal riots in October 1939. See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, Lahore, 1998, 169-92.

<sup>4</sup>A legislative bill for the introduction of joint electorates in local bodies in Sind was sponsored by Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, M. A. Khuhro, G. M. Sayed, and Shaikh Abdul Majid.

## 168

*M. A. Jinnah to Malik Barkat Ali**F. 215/66*BOMBAY,  
11 January 1941

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I received your letter of the 25th December,<sup>1</sup> with a copy of the correspondence that passed between you and the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly. I regret very much that owing to pressure of work I could not reply to your letter earlier.

With regard to the various points mentioned in your letter, I really do not know what I can do in the matter. I think you can only place the matter before the Working Committee through the Secretary. You know I have no power to take action. It is only the Working Committee which can deal with the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 139.

## 169

*M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah**F. 261/10*KARACHI,  
11 January 1940 [1941]

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I met one of the two gentlemen connected with the newspaper who was responsible for the talk about Sir Abdoola Haroon and requested him to confirm it in writing. I am glad he was unable to do so. It is clear, therefore, that what you were told by Sir Abdoola was correct.

The first meeting of the committee for organising League work in Sind has been called at Sann, Mr. G. M. Sayed's native place, on



11th and 12th instant. Also final meeting of Parliamentary Board for nominating District Local Board candidates for Thar and Parkar District (Mirpurkhas) has been fixed on 12th and 13th instant. As I am a member of both, I consulted Sir Abdoola Haroon who asked me to go to Mirpurkhas. So I am proceeding there.

With best regards,

I am,  
Sincerely Yours,  
M. H. GAZDER  
MLA

170

*M. A. Jinnah to A. B. Tribhuwan*

*F. 673/69*

BOMBAY,  
14 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th December 1940<sup>1</sup> and regret that I was not able to attend to it earlier because I was moving about.

I cordially thank you for all the good wishes and your greetings on my birthday.

I need hardly repeat that it is the cardinal principle of the All India Muslim League's policy to see that every interest of the minorities is safeguarded fully in this country.

I know that Indian Christian community differs from the Anglo-Indian, but they are 6 million in this country and as such they are entitled to every consideration at the hands of the Musalmans to help them in every way so that they may play [their] full part in the national life of the country.

I am [at] one with you and regret that some members of your community are carried away by alluring slogans and catchwords; but I know and I feel reassured that they do not command the sanction of an overwhelming majority of your people. It is for your community to organise and speak through your recognised leaders who have real support and approval of your people.

Thanking you once again for your good wishes,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

A. B. Tribhuwan, Esq.,  
Ahmadnagar

<sup>1</sup>No. 136.

## 171

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/10-3*

PAKISTAN ROAD,  
BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
14 January 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I returned from Nagpur this morning after seeing the Governor in a deputation of the Provincial Muslim League. The most important subject for discussion was the remission of the punitive police tax imposed on the Muslim public of Burhanpur on account of the riots of January last. But in spite of the fact that all the Muslims, accused in the main riot case, were acquitted and other cases ordered to be withdrawn, and although there was a precedent in the case of Chandur Biswa where the amount of the punitive tax was allowed to be refunded, His Excellency the Governor was not prepared to consider the question or even to reopen it. His main contention was that the Police Constables were assaulted by the Muslims and hence he was not prepared to reopen it. I respectfully reminded him that a minor Muslim boy aged only 13 was hard hit with a bullet in his chest and the police firing was ordered without any previous warning. But His Excellency would not listen to anything except repeating that it was a closed chapter. Thereupon I had to remark that even the partition of Bengal<sup>1</sup> was a closed chapter and yet it was reopened.

As regards other matters referred to in the memorandum, His Excellency said that they would be considered. This was a mere formal reply.



I am, however, inclined to think that the deputation was a failure and the attitude of the Governor was neither sympathetic nor reasonable. Since he was sent from Bengal we were assured of his pro-Muslim sympathies but I doubt very much if he is strong enough to maintain that spirit even if it is in him.

[That] the only solution of our difficulties lies in Pakistan is now my very firm opinion. Neither any Government except our own nor the Hindu majority can be helpful to us hereafter. I came very disappointed from Nagpur and am only sorry to have waited in deputation before an unsympathetic Governor who is only guided by his Hindu Chief Secretary, who is a Gujerati and reputed to be rank communal in his outlook. His Personal Secretary is another Bengali Hindu civilian.

The question of *'Idgah* and its occupation by the military is still pending before the Government. I would request you to remind the Defence Secretary again in the matter. So also is the question of their playing music before mosques here contrary to the officially recognised local custom and agreement reduced into writing as far back as the year 1890. This is the matter where you can certainly pull the Government by its ears. For a little disturbance here, we were made to pay several thousands of rupees by way of police tax and it is now for the Government to compensate us through you.

The Musalmans are still very very anxious to know the result in the matter.

The affairs of the Muslim League in this Province are not allowed to go on smoothly. If you please rightly remember I had once told you that the whole trouble had started with the launching of unauthorised and unwarranted *satyagraha* on the question of the Vidya Mandir Scheme. This was done in defiance of Nawabzada Sahib's telegram and of the decision of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League. Those who honestly opposed it, reminding of the Patna decision of the All India Muslim League, were hooted down and insulted in public. Since that day onward the gulf of differences has widened and I fear it is now a terrible setback to those who sincerely want to adhere to the policy and programme of the Muslim League and maintain discipline within the rank and file of the great Muslim organisation in the Province.

I, of course, belong to the official side of the Provincial League but I have placed before you the honest view and the true picture of the whole [matter]. It is now for you kindly to mend the matters as best

as you can. Beyond that I am not in a position to say a word more.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

<sup>1</sup>Bengal was partitioned in 1905. Hindus of Bengal, feeling outraged and betrayed, mounted a violent campaign against the partition, which was annulled in December 1911, the announcement having been made in Delhi by King George V.

## 172

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/50-2*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
14 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We discussed Baluchistan educational scheme at some length when I met you last in Bombay. You preferred to approach the Central Govt. first in connection with establishing a college in Baluchistan. But as regards the schools, I want to bring the following facts to your notice:

We have already got an Islamia High School at Quetta where more than seven hundred Muslim boys receive their education. The local Musalmans managed to open this school immediately after the 1935 earthquake by erecting temporary huts over which they spent about ten thousand rupees. The huts have served us well for the last five years, and now we feel to have a permanent building.

As I had mentioned in my report on Baluchistan, the local Govt. has received a sum of rupees two lakh from the Central Govt. for the reconstruction of the denominational schools in Quetta. The condition laid down for the grant is that we should provide half the construction cost, and the Govt. would give us the remaining half. The money is to be distributed on the basis of 'first come, first served'. As there are ten denominational schools in Quetta and their total cost would be in the neighbourhood of eight lakhs of rupees, the Govt. under the conditions must provide four lakhs of rupees, which they cannot as they have only two lakhs at their disposal. For this reason they have put the clause of 'first come, first served'. All the other communities whose resources are greater than ours are hurrying up with their building plans. Time may come when they would withdraw all the money put aside for the



purpose, and we will be left out without any aid.

As has been decided in the meetings of Baluchistan Muslim League and the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, the cost of constructing 'Jinnah Islamia High School' would be about eighty thousand rupees, half of which we would get from the Govt. In the new building we can provide accommodation for opening an Inter-Arts College later on, if the Govt. failed to give us one.

As regards the girls school, every other community has their own school and we have none of ours. About six hundred Muslim girls receive their education in the non-Muslim schools. It is a disgrace for a purely Muslim province to be in such a deplorable condition. The Anjuman possesses an ideal site for a girls high school. The cost of this school would also be about the same as [that of] the boys school. Thus, if we somehow or other manage to get this sum of about eighty thousand rupees, the All India Muslim League, as a part of its constructive work, would establish two ideal schools in the heart of Baluchistan, where the League would live and shine for ever.

I leave the raising of this sum entirely to you. I am prepared to follow your instructions in the matter.

The next meeting of the League's Council is to take place in Delhi, about the middle of February; if you deem it proper I would raise the question on that occasion in the form of a resolution or in any other way you prefer.

I hope to get the notes on the Jamali case from you soon.

With best regards from me and my wife to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,

Q. M. ISA

173

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/181-4*

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
14 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very well. We have to have a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League some

time in February. I propose that we have it either on Sunday, the 16th, or the 23rd. I do not know when you will be coming to Delhi for the session of the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps the 23rd of February will suit you better. Kindly let me know which of the two dates you approve of for a meeting of the Council and also if you would like to call a meeting of the Working Committee a day earlier to the meeting of the Council.

I wonder if you had some luck with the people of Sindh. The accounts that have appeared in the press are not quite clear. Your referring to Pakistan persistently in your speeches has been of great value. I think people are beginning to realise that this proposal of the Muslim League cannot be lightly brushed aside. When I was at Allahabad towards the end of last month, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru came to see me. I had a quite interesting talk with him. His proposal was that the Muslim League being the next biggest party in the country should convene a meeting of the leaders of all the other parties to find a solution to the present political deadlock and should not allow the stalemate to continue because the Congress have taken up an impossible attitude. I put certain posers to him. He promised to communicate with me later regarding his proposal. When you come to Delhi, I shall tell you in detail about it. The Conference at Allahabad was quite successful.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

## 174

*L. S. Amery to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 1025/56*

*14 January 1941*

Many thanks from Prime Minister and myself for your telegram.<sup>1</sup> We heartily reciprocate good wishes and sincerely share your desire for an agreed settlement. Shall give promised copy of report close attention in conjunction with Governor-General.

AMERY  
[Secretary of State for India]

<sup>1</sup>See No. 147.



175

*Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/9*61 DHARMARAJA COIL STREET,  
BANGALORE,

14 January 1941

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib,

I have been out of touch with your noble self from the time you left for Delhi to attend the Legislative Assembly session. As per your kind advice, I am requesting Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib kindly to send me a collection of all your speeches for translation in several languages and publication. I intend to commence this work as soon as I find a little time from the activities of the Old Boys' Aligarh Association in Bangalore. I request you kindly to write a line to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib to send me a complete set of all your speeches connected with the All India Muslim League and of those delivered in the Assembly. I shall be extremely grateful if you are graciously pleased to send a letter to him and a copy of it to me.

You will be pleased to note that the above Association is celebrating an Islamic Week soon after the session of the All India Muslim League at Madras. On the eve of the commencement of the celebrations I am coming out with a publication containing messages from persons of note all over India. I enclose for your kind perusal a printed copy of the message received from the Director of Education, Kashmir (Prof. K. G. Saiyidain).

This activity of our Association is the result of your recent appeal to the Muslims of India to organize themselves not merely politically but also morally, socially, economically and spiritually. I, therefore, pray that you may be pleased to send a message to our Association regarding the importance of such celebrations nowadays. Your valuable message will always be preserved by our Association in letters of gold.

May I know if there is any likelihood of your finding an opportunity after the Madras session to visit Bangalore for a day in case an invitation is extended to your noble self to grace the Islamic Week

celebrations by your venerable presence.

Awaiting the favour of your reply and message.

With the greatest respect,

I remain,

Yours very respectfully,

SYED ABDUR RAHMAN

B. A., LL.B.

*Honorary Secretary,*

*The Old Boys' Aligarh Association*

PS. I am sending some important cuttings in a separate cover.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 176

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghiv Ahsan*

*F. 204/125*

BOMBAY,

*14 January 1941*

Dear Mr. Raghiv Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter<sup>1</sup> and the press cutting from the *Statesman*, dated the 7th of January, giving the report of the speech of Sir Nazimuddin which he made recently at Dacca. There is a great deal of force in your criticism. The position is becoming more and more difficult. I wonder how to deal with this class, as you say, who believe in dual and divided loyalties. I think the only corrective lies in the strengthening of the Muslim League and creating an independent and healthy public opinion. And this must, in the nature of things, take a little time. However, I am very thankful to you for making various suggestions and I am already considering how to improve the situation. I shall feel obliged if you will send me a draft copy of the form of the *Bai'at* as well as the amended goal of the League and it will receive my very close attention.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 165.



177

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon**F. 274/178*BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant.<sup>1</sup>

I am very glad to learn that you are progressing steadily and firmly on the lines that we chalked out in Karachi. Please keep me informed as to how the matters stand and about the various developments in Sind.

I fully appreciate your advice about the Punjab and Bengal and specially with regard to the N.W. Frontier Province. I am fully alive to the situation and let us see what we can do in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 157.

178

*M. A. Jinnah to Begum Habibullah**F. 270/7*BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

Dear Begum Sahiba,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th instant.<sup>1</sup> I was really glad to hear that your lead made the meeting of women at Allahabad a great success and I was still more pleased to read your letter, describing the enthusiasm that was shown amongst our women.

Personally, I see no reason why the meeting of women should not be arranged in the League *pandal* during the annual sessions.

I wish you write to the Chairman of the Reception Committee

direct after consulting your President, Begum [Maulana] Mohammad Ali, and the Secretary, Begum Hafizuddin, and you can make use of this letter of mine for the purpose.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 179

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammed Asghar*

*F. 228/1*

BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

Dear Mr. Asghar,

In continuation of my previous letter<sup>1</sup> regarding the affair of 'Idgah, I have now received a letter from the Defence Secretary,<sup>2</sup> a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

I would like to know whether you have anything to say in the matter before I formally reply to it. Please let me have your view<sup>3</sup> and of other leading Musalmans of Burhanpur before I deal with the letter further.<sup>4</sup>

As regards my coming over to Burhanpur, I hope you will not convey the idea that I have promised to come there. If I can fit [it] in my programme on my way to Delhi, I will come but I cannot yet be sure. Please, therefore, do not convey the idea that I have promised which will only mean the disappointment of many whose hopes may be raised by being sure of my coming.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/35. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 161.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 187.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 191.



## 180

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner**F. 494/14*BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

Dear Mr. Gardiner,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th instant,<sup>1</sup> along with a copy of the letter<sup>2</sup> which you have sent to Mr. Parker.

I think it is a fair summary although I cannot endorse everything in it. I am glad that you have sent the cable on the 30th<sup>3</sup> and so did I on the 31st,<sup>4</sup> and also I have posted a copy of the summary of my interview with you to both the Secretary of State for India and the Premier.

I hope that your communications and mine will reach them safely and we can but now await the reaction and result.

I hope you will let me know if any further developments ensue as a result of these efforts on your part.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 156.<sup>2</sup>No. 141.<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.<sup>4</sup>No. 147.

## 181

*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa**F. 302/53*BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

My dear Isa,

I have received your letter<sup>1</sup> about my opinion on Jamalis' case. I have taken it in hand and am going through it. I shall let you have my opinion as soon as I can. It is a very bulky business.

With regard to our conversation about your leading the deputation to the North West Frontier Province along with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Moulana Abdul Hamid Budauni, I am now able to tell you that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has agreed to go with you. As arranged, you must have got in touch with Maulana Abdul Hamid and if he is agreeable, as I hope he will be, then you lead the deputation to the North-West and you should start at the latest by the end of this month. I hope to be in Delhi by the 10th of February and on your returning from the NWFP wish to meet you in Delhi and then consider the matter further.

Of course, the main object of your deputation will be to explain to the people of the Province, the policy and programme of the [Muslim] League with particular reference to the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as the Pakistan [Resolution].

I think it will be too much of a sacrifice for Maulana Abdul Hamid to expect him to pay the expenses of this tour, and I shall be prepared to pay his expenses on your submitting the bill to me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 182

*M. A. Jinnah to W. Hoondraj*

*F. 495/6*

BOMBAY,  
15 January 1941

Dear Dr. Hoondraj,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant,<sup>1</sup> and I thank you for your good wishes for the new year.

The suggestion that you have made, I understand, emanates entirely from you and unless there is some basis and common objective defined, do you think any useful purpose will be served? I am always ready to meet any Hindu leader or leaders and Mr. Bose has often come to see me and discussed matters with me and he or any other Hindu leader is always welcome as far as I am concerned.



I hope that you will co-operate with the Muslim League party both inside and outside the Legislature and maintain friendly and harmonious relations with us.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 150.

## 183

*M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/179*

BOMBAY,  
16 January 1941

My dear Yusuf,

In the first instance let me thank you for all your kindness when I was in Karachi.

I am very anxious to know from you particularly as to how the things are going on in Sind and what is being done to carry out the line which was laid down by us while I was in Karachi.

I hope you have not forgotten about one or two properties we discussed in Karachi, and in particular the property belonging to a Parsee gentleman not very far from where you are living.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 184

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/180*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
16 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just received a letter<sup>1</sup> from the Honourable Mir Bundeh Ali

Khan Talpur, Chairman, Advisory Committee, Sind Legislative Assembly, in response to my letter of 6th January<sup>2</sup> on the subject of joint electorate. I enclose copies of both for your information.

You will kindly see the tone of the resolution<sup>3</sup> as well as of the letter and advise me what we should now do. However, I am calling a meeting of the Working Committee on [or] about the 26th January<sup>4</sup> at Shikarpur. In the meantime, I would like to know what sort of help the All India Muslim League would give us, in case we oppose this measure.

I suggest that this subject should be taken up and discussed in the forthcoming Council and Working Committee meetings to be held in February next. In the meantime, if you consider it advisable, kindly issue a statement on the subject.

I also enclose copies of letters<sup>5</sup> exchanged between myself and Mr. G. M. Sayed on the subject of ministerial affairs which are self-explanatory.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>F. 274/172-3, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 157.

<sup>3</sup>See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 157.

<sup>4</sup>See Enclosure to No. 210.

<sup>5</sup>See F. 274/174-6, QAP. Not printed.

## 185

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/185*

BOMBAY,  
16 January 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th<sup>1</sup> instant, and thank you for it.

Yes, I think 23rd of February will be a suitable date for holding a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, and I think we ought also to call a meeting of the Working Committee to consider the general situation. I hope to be in Delhi, according to my present arrangements, on or about the 10th of February.



With regard to Sind, I think we are making some progress and we must trust to luck for the rest.

With regard to Pakistan, I know that it is beginning to assume serious aspect. It has penetrated very deep, except for the few top men amongst us, who are still an obstacle in the way. But the caravan is moving fast and steadily.

Yes, I would like to get the full details of your talks with Sir Tej Bahadur [Sapru].

I gather that Allahabad [Conference] was a great success.

Hoping Begum Sahiba and you are well. With kind regards from us both and love to Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 173.

## 186

*M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Gazder*

*F. 261/11*

BOMBAY,  
16 January 1941

Dear Mr. Gazder,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th January.<sup>1</sup> I am glad that you are now satisfied that your information about Sir Abdoola Haroon was not correct. I note that the first meeting of the Committee for organising the League in Sind has been called at Sann, Mr. G. M. Sayed's native place, on the 11th and 12th instant. I also note that Thar and Parkar District (Mirpurkhas) Parliamentary Board for nominating District Local Board candidates for election is meeting on the 12th and 13th instant. I am very glad indeed that you are a member of both and are going to Mirpurkhas. Please let me know of the fullest report of the doings there.

Hoping you are well. All the kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 169.

187

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1025/58-61*

PAKISTAN ROAD,  
BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
17 January 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 15th,<sup>1</sup> enclosing with it a copy of the letter received from the Defence Secretary<sup>2</sup> about the affair of 'Idgah.

In reply thereto, I beg to invite your kind attention to the following points:

- i. From a spot inspection of the 'Idgah, even [sic] an impartial observer shall [sic for will] admit that the brick-platform upon which tents for military were pitched was not and could not be any part of the camping ground but was distinctly a part and parcel of the 'Idgah mosque proper. It is the place where the Muslims actually offer prayer on 'Id days.
- ii. The Sub-Divisional Officer—Mr. Permanand Chowbey—was fully conversant with the real situation. He is not new to the place and has put in 26 years of service in the Govt. He has acted here as a *Naib Tehsildar* (1917-1918), *Tahsildar* (1920-1921-1922) and Sub-Divisional Officer (1926-1927 and 1928) and is again posted here as Sub-Divisional Officer for the second time since last year. He, therefore, knows every inch of the ground thoroughly.
- iii. The *Naib Tehsildar*—Mr. Tahir Hussain—is quite new to the place and is most junior in service. Besides, he is a Shia gentleman (Shias offer their 'Id prayers elsewhere) and, therefore, he had perhaps no occasion to visit the place before and did not know the limits of 'Idgah. Being directly subordinate to the Sub-Divisional Officer, he is possibly made to admit things which are not facts and for which he is certainly not responsible. In fact, the Sub-Divisional Officer is now trying to shift the burden of his responsibility to others' shoulders.
- iv. It is a deliberate lie to suggest that the custodian of the 'Idgah was present on the occasion. In fact, he was not. He



had also raised serious objection to the occupation of '*Idgah* by the military when he learnt of it later on and further gave evidence before Mr. Syed Zakir Ali who was deputed by the All India Muslim League to enquire into the matter.

- v. No responsible Muslim was present on the spot when tents were being pitched on the '*Idgah*. Persons present were either motor drivers or owners whose lorries were engaged for the military and who had absolutely no voice in the matter. They would not venture to make any objection even if they had a mind to do so.
- vi. No notice appears to have been taken by the Government in the matter of the military playing music before mosques here during their march past in the town. According to the officially recognised local agreement, based on old custom, all music is stopped at all times before mosques in Burhanpur. Unfortunately, riots here in January last were only a sequel to the Hindus insisting on playing of music before certain mosques and ultimately the police had opened firing [*sic*] on the Muslim boys, of course without any warning—an act which was severely criticised by the Muslims all over India. It was fortunate, therefore, that no such incident again occurred here when the military played musical band before the mosques. Our strongest protest and most serious objection, however, is still there against the military and the Government for injuring religious feelings of the Musalmans.
- vii. From the letter of the Defence Secretary, I am inclined to think that perhaps efforts are being made to white-wash the whole matter without throwing any responsibility on the Government. I must, therefore, place before you a true account of the very critical situation on the day of the incident. No sooner the Musalmans in the town knew of the military occupation of '*Idgah* sometime late in the afternoon [than] they got very excited. I was then at Khandwa and was to return the same evening. The Musalmans, therefore, decided to await my return and, when I came back, I found them all in an extremely agitated state of mind. In fact, they were inclined to proceed to '*Idgah* and remove the tents themselves. Realising, therefore, the gravity of the situation, I used all my influence to pacify them by fully assuring them that the matter shall be referred to Quaid-i-Azam who will certainly take the most suitable and immediate action in the matter. This, of course,

had the desired effect on the Muslims' mind and they agreed to disperse after holding a very strong protest meeting the same night.

viii. It is now a matter of grave responsibility on me if the Government is not put to blame in the matter and no action is taken against it. The prestige of the Muslim League, I am afraid, will be seriously affected here and I shall certainly be put to strong criticism both by my friends and opponents alike. Believe me, please, that there are no two opinions among the Muslims of all shades and [sic for of] opinion here on the question of 'Idgah and its occupation by the military etc.

I, therefore, strongly request you to use your influence in the matter by bringing pressure [to bear] on the Government and, if necessary, to urge the importance of the whole question by moving a cut motion in the Assembly during the Budget Session. The Musalmans here are certainly getting very anxious to know the result of the enquiry and they have their fullest faith in you and your wonderful leadership.

You must have please [sic] read in the papers and it is also made clear in my last letter<sup>3</sup> to you that the Provincial Government is so unsympathetic in not refunding the Punitive Tax, levied only on the Musalmans of Burhanpur to the extent of rupees nine thousand and odd, in spite of the fact that all the Muslim accused were acquitted by the Sessions Judge. A similar acquittal of the Muslim accused at Chandur Biswa was responsible for refund of the Police Tax but Burhanpur is given quite a different treatment in a similar matter. What a pity?

In view, therefore, of the present unsympathetic and most unreasonable attitude of the C.P. Government towards the unfortunate Musalmans of Burhanpur, I can only request that you will please take a strong attitude against the military authorities and the Government in the Assembly and demand a much greater compensation than what is levied on us here.

As regards your kind and much-awaited visit to our place, I only beg permission, with all apologies, to say that the Musalmans here know full well that the day is not far off when you will immensely oblige them by paying a visit here only as early as possible. They are, in fact, growing so impatient now that nothing would satisfy them except [your] kindly visiting the place in the very near future. It is, however, fully realised that you will do so only when it is most



convenient to you and we are given at least a week's time before your proposed visit.

With sincere apologies for writing you [such] a long letter as this,

I am,

Yours most sincerely,

MOHAMMED ASGHAR

PS. I am leaving for Raver (Khandesh) this afternoon and for Indore tomorrow to address [Muslim] League meetings. I [will] return by the 21st.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 179.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 161.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 171.

## 188

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/54*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,

17 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you.<sup>1</sup> I have now completed my article and sent a copy of it to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali. It is a fairly long article and purports to be an exhaustive survey of the situation as it has developed since the outbreak of war upto date and a critical examination of India's constitutional problem, interim and final. If you like I will send you a copy of it.

There is one urgent matter to which I would like to draw your attention. The Congress are celebrating their independence day on January 26 and it appears they are going to hold meetings in Muslim localities. My suggestion is [that] it would be in the fitness of things if you issue immediately a statement appealing to the Musalmans to beware of it as it is a camouflage and to keep strictly aloof from it.

May I also know when you propose to visit Aligarh.

Yours sincerely,

JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 158.

## 189

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah**F. 302/54-5*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
17 January 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Received your letter yesterday.<sup>1</sup> Moulana Abdul Hamid is prepared to go—only wants a second class [railway ticket] and a servant's expenses—which can be settled. I am glad Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung is prepared to accompany us. Have you informed the President of NWFP Muslim League to accord us every help—have you to inform him or shall I do it? It would be better if the instructions are issued by you so that they may arrange a tour programme for us in the Province.<sup>2</sup> In order to give publicity to this, please release a statement to the press. I am prepared to leave at any date suitable to my other two colleagues and also [after] hearing from you about the necessary arrangements made for us in NWFP. The Frontier people must know at least a week before our arrival there.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Q. M. ISA

<sup>1</sup>No. 181.

<sup>2</sup>No. 198.

## 190

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/181*

786 NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
18 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed please find the latest despatch of Mr. S. M. Ahmed<sup>1</sup> and a copy of my letter to him.<sup>2</sup> I would request you to get into direct



touch with him, if possible, and to forward your views and statements to him to be published in the United States papers. Please return the papers after perusal, to be kept in my office file.

I enclose herewith two copies of leaflets<sup>3</sup> in connection with [the] census which I have got printed in thousands for distribution throughout Sind. You will realise from this that we are trying our best to give wide publicity to Muslim League affairs and give it fullest support.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure 1.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure 2.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 190*  
*S. M. Ahmed to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/137*

120 BROADWAY,  
NEW YORK CITY,  
28 November 1940

My dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I am sending you a copy of the *India Today*,<sup>1</sup> a monthly bulletin published by the India League of America. The League is organized by several Hindus and is carrying out the propaganda work of the Indian National Congress party in America. In this bulletin, a very unfair attack was again made on the Muslim League.

The situation is becoming very serious. Being one of the very few Muslims in this country, I am constantly asked by my friends—prominent Americans in educational and public life—to do something about this vicious propaganda released by the Congress party against the Muslims. I prepared a letter to the Editor of the *New York Times*, a copy of which is enclosed,<sup>2</sup> defending the Muslim League as best I could with limited information at my disposal. This letter will appear shortly and I will send you the clippings in the next mail.

I hope by now you were able to present my earlier letters to your Committee, especially to Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and were able to organize your work in America. There is very little information available in this country on Muslim League and recent political situation in India. I am very much handicapped in preparing articles or public speeches to counteract the Congress propaganda.

I will appreciate your sending me reports of Muslim League sessions, activities, comments on political situation, speeches made by Mr. Jinnah, grievances of Muslim community against the Congress, etc., etc. This will help [me] to present the Muslim League to American public in a favourable light.

As I wrote to you before, in these days of rapidly changing world, importance of closer relations between India and the United States is obvious. The Muslim League must immediately undertake to create a favourable opinion in this country. As America is actively aiding Great Britain at this time, undoubtedly some pressure from Americans will be applied to expedite self-government in India, and Congress claims so well-publicized in this country would receive public recognition.

It is a serious matter for the future of the Muslims in India, and you will use your good offices in the League to set in motion the proper machinery. I am eagerly waiting to hear from you.

With kindest regards,

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

S. M. AHMED

*Investment Economist*

*India Trade Consultant*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Annexure.

*Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 190*

*S. M. Ahmed to the Editor, New York Times*

*F. 274/133-6*

120 BROADWAY,  
NEW YORK CITY,  
27 November 1940

Editor, the *New York Times*,

The letter of the American League for India's Freedom in your November 15th issue, taking exception to realistic and searching editorial comments on "India and the War" in the *New York Times* of November 10th, gives a picture of the present political situation in India which is quite surprisingly distorted and misleading, coming as it does from a body which professes the cause of India.

Let me say, at the outset, that I am whole-heartedly one of the



large numbers in America, England, India and elsewhere who are eager for India's progress to the status of a self-governing democratic State. But the approach to this objective must be a practical one. It must include a solution of the so-called minority problem and, now more than ever, an administrative evolution within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

May I comment briefly on the attitude of the Indian National Congress party, whose [*sic* for the] cudgels [for whom have been taken up by] the American League for India's Freedom, towards the war and the All India Muslim League.

This Congress party, after fully recognizing the peril which the totalitarian states [Axis Powers: Germany, Italy and Japan] present to the freedom and independence of democratic nations, opposes that full aid to Great Britain without which India could not survive. The Congress leaders argue that it is not India's war. Yet in America, which has no similar affiliation with Great Britain, all possible aid, short of actual war, is being given for reasons well-recognized by everyone. By refusing to co-operate with the British nation in the emergency, the National Congress party is likely to alienate the goodwill and sympathy of the American people which India values very highly.

The war may appear to the American League for India's Freedom to be five thousand miles away from India, but the rapidly changing political situation, long-distance bombers and sea-raiders can, overnight, make a battleground of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. What is it that prevents them? At the recent Berlin Conference between Russia and Germany, the Axis redistributed the world and parcelled out India to Russia. Certainly, Russian Communism or German Nazism will not deliver to the Indian National Congress "the free India" to which it aspires.

You have rightly expressed regret at Nehru's arrest. The American League for India's Freedom is mistaken in stating that Nehru was not allowed to exercise the democratic right of free speech. From the dispatches received from India, it appears that Pandit Nehru openly urged people not to join the army, or to work in ammunition plants, or to give money towards the war. In any country, even in England at the present time, or for that matter in America under war conditions, such an offence would invite far harsher penalties than those prescribed in India. It was not a question of freedom of speech. The Indian National Congress, together with other political parties continues to enjoy full freedom of speech and assembly, but in India, no less than elsewhere, can anyone either hamper the war efforts of her [*sic* for one's] country or endanger its national safety?



Fortunately, the Indian National Congress can draw on the support of its own membership only, which is estimated at about six million at the most, or less than two persons for every hundred of the population. On the other hand, Indians of all classes are freely contributing men, money and material in increasing amounts to India's war co-operation. These are the people who, through British victory, will advance the cause of self-government for their country.

The attack on the All India Muslim League which the American League for India's Freedom makes is hardly a fair one. Had the officials of the American League taken pains to find out what the object and activities of the Muslim organization in India are, instead of becoming victims of the vicious propaganda released by the National Congress party—which is an over 90 per cent Hindu body—they would have known that the Muslim League does not "represent the reactionary vested interests, natural bed-fellows of imperialism," but is a popular nation-wide organization. Its creed is:

The establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution.

At its Patna session, the Muslim League programme declared:

That it secures to India the unfettered right of rising to its full political stature.

The All India Muslim League was formed in 1906 and since then it has continued to represent the Muslim interests, its membership increasing each year. As early as 1916, the Indian National Congress recognized the League and signed with it the Lucknow Pact. Anyone familiar with the Indian political situation knows that Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders have, in the past, dealt with the League as a representative of the Muslims.

At the first elections to the provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935, when the provincial and district groups of the League were not as well-organized as they are today, the League made an impressive showing. In Bengal, it secured 50 per cent of the seats and is the largest Muslim group. In the United Provinces, it put up 35 candidates for the Lower House and secured 29 out of a total of 66 Muslim seats. In Madras, the Muslim League put up 11 candidates for the Assembly and three for the Council, and succeeded except for one seat in the Assembly. In Bombay, the stronghold of National Congress party, the League achieved the greatest success. It secured two-thirds of the total of 30 seats.

Incidentally, at this election, the All India Muslim Conference,



which according to Dr. Holmes' letter represents a large section of the Muslims of India, was not even mentioned among the political parties contesting for [sic] seats. Very few Congress Muslims were put up as candidates, and even they failed. The case of Mr. [S.] Abdoola Brelvi, the Editor of the most influential Congress paper, the *Bombay Chronicle*, who with the active support of Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders failed to win the seat in the election, illustrates the extent of Congress influence on Muslim opinion and choice.

[At the] back of the Congress propaganda against the Muslim League lies the failure of the Congress leaders to assure the Muslims of their rightful place in the future self-government. For political purposes, the Congress party wanted the Muslim League to cease to be a parliamentary body and accept subservience to the Congress. In view, however, of their experience of the Congress party in the Provincial Government [of U.P.], the League leaders were obliged to decline to do this and, thus, not entirely lose their representative capacity.

Let me quote Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, on the subject:

The Congress have not the monopoly nor are they the sole custodians of Indian nationalism. As I have always maintained, the Muslim League is prepared to join hands with any progressive party in the fight for country's freedom, but to achieve this the question of minorities must be settled satisfactorily. Here I am not talking of only Muslims but [of] all minorities. Further, we are not prepared to merge ourselves into any organization, however great it may be, and however advanced its programme and policy may be, unless it is determined by common consent.

Again in 1938, Mr. Jinnah declared:

Congress had dashed every possible hope of arriving at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the rocks of Congress fascism. In fact it did not want a settlement with the Muslims on equal terms. Its claims that it alone represented the entire country were preposterous. The Muslims wanted to advance as a nation. The Congress might go on saying that it is a national body, but it is not a fact; it is only a communal Hindu body, and the Congress knows it. That a few Muslims had been misguided into joining its ranks did not mean that the Congress represented the Muslims.

As a result of the Congress policy, the Muslim League now welds together the various scattered Muslim groups, and focuses the

Muslim opinion throughout the whole of India. It has achieved a new unity and a new importance in current politics.

The so-called "minority question," which the Congress supporters dismiss so lightly as a "bogey", remains the key to India's complex problem.

S. M. AHMED

*Enclosure 2 to No. 190*  
*H. Abdoola Haroon to S. M. Ahmed*

*F. 274/182*

*18 January 1941*

My dear Mr. Ahmed,

I thank you for your letter of November 28th.<sup>1</sup>

I have read with interest your letter to the Editor, the *New York Times*, and I find that you have done your best, according to your knowledge, to present our side of the issue. For the future, I am arranging with a press cutting service to send you, at my expense, the cuttings regarding Pakistan and speeches and statements of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. I have already forwarded to you a certain amount of literature regarding the Muslim League and its demand.

I would request you to kindly send to me from time to time the cuttings of the news, which may appear in papers there, about India. We should also feel obliged if you could also send copies of the same to Mr. M. A. Jinnah at Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

For your information, I would like to point out that from a number of about 250 Muslim legislators throughout India only twelve at the most belong to the Congress parties [*sic*] and twelve more are their sympathisers for their personal gains. The rest are all either members of the League or its sympathisers and opponents to the Congress creed. In the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, Assam and Bengal the Premiers are under the discipline of the Muslim League.

Assuring you [of] the fullest co-operation on our behalf, and remaining ever thankful to you,

Yours sincerely,  
[H. A. HAROON]

S. M. Ahmed, Esq.,  
120 Broadway,  
New York City

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure 1 to No. 190.



191

*M. A. Jinnah to C. M. G. Ogilvie**SHC, C.P. & Berar I/36*

BOMBAY,  
18 January 1941

Dear Mr. Ogilvie,

In continuation of the acknowledgment sent to you by my Secretary with regard to your letter of the 7th instant,<sup>1</sup> I now beg to inform you that as a result of my having forwarded a copy of your letter to Mr. Moh[amme]d Asghar of Burhanpur, I have received the reply incorporating the views of the Musalmans regarding the 'Idgah affair.

In view of this information, I, therefore, am sorry to say that I cannot agree with you that no blame can be attached to the military officer concerned. As to the Sub-Divisional Officer and his conduct and the part that he played as a responsible officer, it cannot be passed off as you seem to think that "the whole affair appears to have been a complete misunderstanding".

It is difficult for one to believe that the *Naib-Tehsildar*—a Muslim—could have agreed willingly to the pitching of the officers' tents on the brick platform of the 'Idgah, and it is equally difficult for me, having regard to the fact now placed before me that "there were several other Muslims present at the time, including the custodian of the 'Idgah, [to believe that] they lodged no objection."

I think really the matter requires very serious consideration on your part and on the part of the Govt. and I cannot do better than to send you the original letter of Mr. Mohammed Asghar which I am doing herewith.<sup>2</sup> I earnestly hope that you will not allow the matter to be treated lightly under the formula "misunderstanding," but punish those who were responsible for creating a very serious situation.

Please return to me the letter of Mr. Asghar when you have done with it.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 161.

<sup>2</sup>No. 187.

## 192

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 321/47-8*

MADRAS,  
18 January 1941

My dear leader,

I am much obliged to you for your very kind letter<sup>1</sup> and for the message to the Muslims of South India to make the sessions a great success. The same will be broadcast widely and is sure to help us greatly in our work. I returned two days ago from a tour of the southern districts, where our brothers are very enthusiastic and the response is very satisfactory in spite of depression on account of the war. I feel confident that by the grace of *Allah*, and under your leadership, we are sure to succeed well.

I met Sir Arthur Hope, the Governor of Madras, who told me that he was meeting you in Delhi soon. He was speaking very highly of you. He is a good man and favourable to Muslim interests. He does not seem to be opposed to Pakistan. I feel sure that your talks with him will be very cordial and helpful to our cause.

I understand from Mr. Mehmood Hasan that the open sessions of the [Muslim] League will be held on the 12th, 13th and 14th April 1941. In view of the *Milad-i-Nabi*, falling on the 10th April, the Muslims from various parts are writing to us to commence the sessions from the 12th April. I hope this can be done without much difficulty.

I hope to attend the meeting of the Council on the 15th April and avail myself of that opportunity to invite members to the all-India sessions personally.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

<sup>1</sup>See F. 321/46, QAP. Not printed.



193

*Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah**F. 447/40*TELLICHERRY,  
20 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After our meeting at Delhi I went to Nagpur, Amraoti, etc. Nawabzada Sahib might have written to you of what I was able to do to settle some of the outstanding disputes between the Muslims of C.P. and their Provincial Government. I had occasion to meet Nawabzada Sahib after that and felt very happy to know that he approved the terms of settlement.

I hope you are well and happy. I am sure your visit to Karachi and to Ahmadabad has helped to swell the collections for the newspaper. Its appearance is impatiently looked for.

The preparations for the annual session are going on apace at Madras.<sup>1</sup>

Thank God I am well,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. S. H. E. SAIT  
MLA (Central)

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah noted with satisfaction that Sattar Sait had helped settle some disputes between the CP Muslims and the Provincial Government and that preparations for the Madras session of the League Council were progressing. See F. 447/41, QAP. Not printed.

194

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Mirza**F. 957/52*BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

I fully realise the importance of your conference but I am very

sorry to say that I cannot possibly commit myself to participate in the conference which you are going to hold on the 15th and 16th of February in Lahore.

I would, however, advise you not to call it by the name of 'Pakistan Conference'. You can call it as you propose to do under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim Students' Federation, and then you will be at liberty to pass a resolution supporting the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan [Resolution].

I would further advise you to go ahead and hold the conference and if I can manage to attend it, I will try and do so. I cannot explain to you the various commitments that I have already made. It is not that I do not consider the great importance of your Province which is destined to play a very important part in moulding the future destiny of the Musalmans of this country; but there is no need to despair. We must have patience and move on determinedly and steadily.

I am coming to Delhi, most probably, on or about the 10th of February, and if you and your co-organisers of the conference can conveniently come down to Delhi, I will be very glad to see you all.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 195

*S. A. Rauf Shah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 874/16-7*

AKOLA, BERAR,  
20 January 1941

My dear Raja Sahib,

Your telegram addressed to Nagpur was sent by post to Pandarkwada, the place of my residence, from where it was redirected to me here. I am sorry it reached me so late on account of my movements from place to place.

You must have learnt through papers that the Provincial Muslim League office has been shifted from Nagpur to Akola. Henceforth,



you may send any communication to Mr. A. S. Khan, Pleader, Joint Secretary in charge of Provincial League office, Akola (Berar).

Although my Province is solidly for Pakistan and there are no misgivings in the minds of the C.P. and Berar Muslims on that issue, yet your delegation will be very cordially welcomed and your speeches will go a long way to further strengthen the cause of the Muslim League and help substantially in cementing the Muslim solidarity and remove differences wherever they exist.

I am afraid some of the dates of your tour programme, as described in your telegram, might clash with the dates of the Council of the All India Muslim League [meeting] which is going to be held in the middle of February 1941, as announced by the General Secretary. You should take care that your tour time does not collide with the All India Council meeting time.

In view of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's expulsion from the League organisation under resolution of the Provincial Muslim League Council meeting held at Burhanpur on the 25th December 1940, I should like to request you either to postpone your tour of this Province until the final decision of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's appeal by the All India Working Committee or to not include him in your delegation while touring in order that nowhere should that warmth and enthusiasm suffer with which your delegation is expected to be received throughout the Province. His inclusion in the Pakistan delegation while it is touring after his expulsion from the Muslim League organisation, is bound to create an anomalous position and embarrass the local Muslim Leagues. I need not inform you that my Province is financially very weak, yet we will not fail to make suitable arrangements for board and lodging wherever your delegation will go.

I am leaving for Pandarkawada (Berar) where I shall expect an early reply from you.

We are thinking of holding a Provincial Muslim League conference on the issues of Pakistan and anti-joint electorate in the local bodies by the first week of March 1941.

With deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

196

*M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Abdul Majid**F. 385/1*BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Sheikh Abdul Majid,

I find from the various reports that the Congress leaders have started their manoeuvres to create trouble, and all sorts of misrepresentations are appearing in the press. I sincerely hope that you will, as a member of the League, stand by the resolutions passed on the 20th [22nd] of December by the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. That is the only honourable line on which the Muslim League can exist in Sind. I also feel that your colleagues, Mir Bunde Ali and Khan Bahadur Khuhro,<sup>1</sup> will be equally firm and will stand by those resolutions. Please do keep me informed<sup>2</sup> as to what is the position and how it is developing.

Any departure from the line that we have laid down by those resolutions will be disastrous, not only to the League but also to the Muslims of Sind, and its repercussions may even cause damage to the all-India Muslim cause. I hope you will keep me in touch with the situation as it is of very great importance at this juncture.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAHSheikh Abdul Majid Sahib,  
Minister of Education,  
Sind Government,  
Karachi<sup>1</sup>Jinnah wrote an identical letter to M. A. Khuhro. See F. 365/3, QAP. Not printed.<sup>2</sup>No. 207.



197

*M. A. Jinnah to M. C. A. Hassim**F. 874/19*BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant<sup>1</sup> and I am very glad to note that the Musalmans of Ceylon are organising themselves. I wish you every success in your efforts to organise the Ceylon Muslim League fully and efficiently so that the Musalmans may express their point of view through their representative organisation and their voice could be heard effectively. I shall be very glad to watch the development and I will certainly see that you are kept informed if any prominent Muslim leader happens to visit Ceylon.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

M. C. A. Hassim, Esq.,  
Reservoir Road,  
Demetagoda, Colombo, Ceylon

<sup>1</sup>No. 159.

198

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan**F. 329/131*BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Mr. Aurangzeb Khan,

I have arranged to send a deputation to the North West Frontier Province, consisting of Mr. Isa, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Moulvi Abdul Hamid Badauni. They will be reaching Peshawar about the end of this month and I hope that you will offer them every possible help and do your best.

They are sent with a view to explain[ing] to the people the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League and particularly the

Lahore Resolution which is popularly known as Pakistan [Resolution]. I hope that our Muslim League and the Muslim population of your Province will accord them a warm welcome. I am writing to Mr. Sadullah also to this effect.<sup>1</sup>

I should like to know the situation in North West Frontier Province and the progress, if any, made by Mr. Gandhi's individual Civil Disobedience Movement in your Province. From the newspaper reports it is difficult to follow.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Sahib,  
Advocate, Peshawar

<sup>1</sup>See No. 200.

## 199

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/184*

BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant.<sup>1</sup> I have noted the report you have received. In the first instance, I really cannot understand why you should have addressed the letter to Mir Bunde Ali, Chairman, Advisory Board, Sind Legislative Assembly. However, we cannot allow the resolution that we passed on the 20th [22nd] December to be treated lightly and I hope and trust that everyone of you, including Mir Bunde Ali, Khan Bahadur Khuhro, and Sheikh Abdul Majid, the three ministers belonging to the Muslim League, will firmly stand by the resolution.

I note that you are calling a meeting of the Working Committee on the 26th of January<sup>2</sup> and I hope that the Working Committee will, without hesitation, give effect to those resolutions. The All India Muslim League is bound to support you and we shall certainly take up the matter at the next meeting of the Working Committee in



February. But, after all, what can the Working Committee do unless you people and the Provincial Muslim League stand united by the solemn resolution that you have passed?

I received communications from [G. M.] Sayed, and I also note from your letter that he has written to you, which make it clear that he will not force his views on you and therefore it is for you now to be firm and [to] decide the matter. I have also written to Sayed. I do not agree with his point of view, but he is entitled to point out to us his difficulties, and finally I believe he will loyally abide by the decision of the League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 184.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 210.

## 200

*M. A. Jinnah to Sadullah Khan*

*F. 348/1*

BOMBAY,  
20 January 1941

Dear Mr. Sadullah Khan,

I have arranged to send a deputation to the North-West Frontier Province, consisting of Mr. Isa, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Moulvi Abdul Hamid Budauni. They will be reaching Peshawar about the end of this month and I hope that you will offer them every possible help and do your best.

They are sent with a view to explain[ing] to the people the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League and particularly the Lahore Resolution, which is popularly known as the Pakistan [Resolution]. I hope that our Muslim League and the Muslim population of your Province will accord them a warm welcome. I am writing to Mr. Aurangzeb also to this effect.<sup>1</sup>

I should like to know the situation in the North-West Frontier Province and the progress, if any, made by Mr. Gandhi's individual Civil Disobedience Movement in your Province. From the newspaper

reports it is difficult to follow.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Sadullah Khan Sahib,  
Umarzai, Dist. Peshawar

<sup>1</sup>No. 198.

## 201

*M. A. Jinnah to S. Azam Husain*

*F. 874/20*

BOMBAY,  
21 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I very much appreciate your bringing out a *Moharram* number of the *Sarfaraz* and am glad to give the following message as desired by you in your letter, dated the 2nd January 1941<sup>1</sup>:

Let unity be our watchword. At this juncture, the Musalmans must sink their differences, political and sectarian, and must [remain] within the fold of the All India Muslim League, which is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India.

We all must swim together. With united effort and co-ordinated activity, we should try to concentrate and work for the achievement of our goal—Pakistan.

Time demands us to shake off our lethargy and take up some constructive programme for the building of our nation and for the social, economic and educational advancement of our people.

Wishing you all success in your venture,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. Azam Husain, Esq.,  
Editor,  
The *Sarfaraz*,  
Nadan Mahal Road,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



## 202

*M. A. Jinnah to Akram Uddin Ahmad**F. 874/22*BOMBAY,  
22 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th January 1941.<sup>1</sup> I have already made it clear in my speech in Delhi, while addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Arabic College Students' Union on the 30th November 1940, that the Musalmans should keep aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. I quote below the relevant portions of a report that appeared in the *Statesman* on the following day:

I am unable to accept that the Hindus and the Congress are fighting for the independence or freedom of the people of the country. We know why they have launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The British Government know why. It is to coerce the British Govt. to recognise the Congress as the only authoritative and representative organisation of the people of India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, after he had an interview with Mr. Gandhi, is reported to have appealed to the Muslims and other non-Congressmen not to put any obstacles in their way. He said in effect: 'Let the Congress fight this out in its own way'. May I ask the Congress high command of which Mr. Desai is a member—he is also leader of the Congress Party in the [Central] Assembly—to tell us what are the war aims of the Congress against the British Government? (Cheers). We feel that the war aims of the Congress are to put all the pressure that they can on the British Government and coerce them, so that they may coerce us and let us down and throw us to the wolves. That is the war aim of the Congress. I ask them, why follow this ostrich policy? How can we possibly be deceived?

*Muslims' anxiety*

The whole effort of the Congress seems to me to be like that of a bat which has entered a room and flies round and round knocking against the walls but will not [and] cannot see that the door is wide open. That is what the policy of the Congress is like. It is, therefore, not possible for us to view this Movement with

equanimity. We must view it with serious anxiety. I say to the Muslims: Please don't get mixed up or involved in this terrible situation for which the Congress alone is responsible. But if we find at any time that our interests are at stake, we cannot remain onlookers and spectators but we shall play our part and intervene, if necessary. Let that be understood.

I hope that the Muslim students will not participate in any strikes, protest meetings, or any other activities, directly or indirectly, to support the Congress in this Movement, as their avowed objective is to force the British Government to surrender to their demands which are highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Musalmans in this country.

You can make use of this letter of mine.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Akram Uddin Ahmad, Esq.,  
C/o Ali Uddin Ahmad, Esq.,  
Bar-at-law,  
50 Jagat Narain Road,  
Lucknow

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 203

*Raghib Ahsan & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/126-7*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
22 January 1941

Dear Sir,

We, the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League from Bengal, intend to move the following resolution<sup>1</sup> in the next February session of the Council of the All India Muslim League, which will be held at Delhi. Please include it in the agenda and oblige.

We, also, request you to kindly give it due publicity through your printed notice to the members of the Council and through the press to elicit public opinion on the topical subject which is at present exercising the mind of the Muslims.



Our object in moving this resolution is to strongly voice Muslim feelings on the subject of Islamic lands and the present war, and to show the firm determination of Muslim India to play an equal and independent part in the future reconstruction of the world's political map.

I solicit your sympathetic study of the draft resolution and the favour that if you agree with its main idea, you may move it from the chair with such modifications as you think proper.

Yours most sincerely,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*General Secretary,*

*and ten other members of the Calcutta District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 204

*M. A. Jinnah to Mudabbir Husain*

*F. 874/21*

BOMBAY,

*22 January 1941*

Dear Mr. Mudabbir Husain,

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 21st instant<sup>1</sup> and am glad to hear that Assam Provincial Muslim League is holding its second session on the 30th and 31st January 1941 at Habibganj.

I take this opportunity to appeal to the conference to organise our people and take up constructive programme for their advancement socially, educationally, economically and politically.

The All India Muslim League has hitherto enlisted the loyalty of almost all the Musalmans because our cause is just and right and I am confident that our people are solidly behind the League. The time has, therefore, come when we should begin to translate our ideals into practice and set ourselves to work fearlessly and vigorously. We should prepare our people for the struggle which is bound to come in our onward march for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. The task before us is now comparatively easy, and when we are assured of the co-operation and loyalty of our people there is no power on earth which can stop the progress of 90 million strong.

The Musalmans of India have made up their mind to assert themselves. The world has begun to realise this fact and recognise our right for self-determination. Let us, therefore, prove to the world once again that the Musalmans have always done what they said.

With this short appeal I wish the conference all success.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 205

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 281/20*

*23 January 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already sent you a wire yesterday<sup>1</sup> about incorrect reports in the press regarding our Hindu-Muslim unity move. As I have already wired to you, I know nothing about these mis-statements in the press nor have I yet seen them. You say that they emanated from Calcutta. I made enquiries but I cannot lay my hand on any one who may be guilty. I can have no objection to your publishing the whole correspondence, but I would ask you to consider if that will not worsen matters. It would be much better if you made a fresh statement pointing out the inaccuracies and stating what the real facts are. I feel more and more convinced that this unity move is bound to be a fiasco as the non-Muslim communities do not show the slightest inclination to be friendly. In these circumstances no useful purpose will be served by our publication of the correspondence that passed between us at a time when I was full of hope. I am still anxious for a compromise but it is impossible to work for a compromise when the other parties are unaccommodating. Hope you will consider my point of view before you decide anything.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

<sup>1</sup>See F. 281/20, QAP. Not printed.



206

*Shaikh Abdul Kather to Chief Secretary, Madras*  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 902/1-3

NO. 2 KAZIAR TOPE,  
MADURA,  
23 January 1941

Sir,

The 27th All-India Hindu Mahasabha conference was held in Sethupathy High School at Madura from the 28th December to 30th December 1940. Mr. V. D. Savarkar and other leaders arrived on the 27th morning and they were taken in a procession through the important streets of the city to the conference *pandal*. The processionists carried along with them flags and posters, written in bold letters, denouncing Pakistan, the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, the Muslims and the British Government. They also shouted slogans such as 'down with Pakistan, down with the Muslim League, down with Jinnah, down with the Muslims and down with the British imperialism'. The above-noted actions of the Hindus have sharply wounded the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims and also helped to widen the gulf of Hindu-Muslim unity [sic] which is the deciding factor in the political advancement of India. In the proceedings of the conference, many speeches were made by responsible leaders directly attacking the Muslim community and its leaders in an absurd manner which openly challenged the Muslims for a deadly strife. At the close [of] the conference, resolutions were passed, vehemently denouncing Pakistan and the Muslims. On the morning of 5th January 1941, black flag demonstrations were held at several places and stones were thrown at the Muslim League processionists with the idea of creating provocation and confusion among the Muslims, but all in vain. The most irreligious atrocity committed by the Hindus was the burning of the *pandal*, which was erected for the purpose of 'Id prayers. On the night of 8th January 1941, more than 5000 sq. ft. of thatched sheds were burnt. As the communal-minded national dailies have published contradictory news, we don't know how the Police have recorded the incident. Further, stones and mud pots were thrown at the Muslim processionists from the District Jail, Madura, on the 9th of January 1941. Numerous assaults were made on undefended

Muslims at various centres of City, causing serious injuries to some and loss of properties to others, for which Police reports can be referred to. The Hindu leaders have also asked the Hindus to sever all connections whatsoever [sic] with the Muslims. Many Muslims were threatened with grave consequences for joining the Muslim League. There is a strong rumour as regards boycotting of the Muslims in every walk of life, for which we have authentic records and facts to prove the evil intention of the mischief-mongers. The resolution, passed at the Holy *Qur'an* Conference on the 10th November 1940 in support of Britain's war efforts, made the Hindus and Congressites suspect the Muslims as the agents of the British Government which is the root-cause of all these troubles. Throughout these unfriendly and undemocratic acts of the Hindus, the Muslims were calm and non-violent. All these incidents were duly reported to the authorities concerned with facts and figures and were recorded. The so-called national dailies of the Province have tried to hide the facts by writing some nonsense which had no connection whatever with the above-mentioned incidents, because all these papers are owned by the Hindus and also the correspondents who report matter are Hindus. From the time of Hindu leaders' visit to South India, there is a growing tendency among the Hindus to take vengeance on the Muslims for the imaginary tortures of centuries [by the] past Muslim kings. And they are biding their time to pounce upon the innocent Muslims for no other reason than the supposed tortures. All sorts of preparations are ahead [sic for afoot] to carry out this sacred task. From that time onward the Muslims in Tamil Nadu are living in perpetual fear of their lives and properties. Under these circumstances, the Muslims have taken all lawful measures that lay in their power to defeat the evil intention of their bigoted Hindu brethren. Not a day passes in Madura with[out] the ceremonial hoisting of the Hindu Mahasabha flags and a few communal skirmishes now and then. Foremost aim of our Association is to find a way of settling the Hindu-Muslim problem in a peaceful manner with the co-operation of the Government and other communal leaders. As the Muslims have already suffered a good deal at the hands of the Hindus, we beg to inform the Government that the situation will become uncontrollable if the Government delays taking immediate action.

SHAIKH ABDUL KATHER  
Secretary,  
*Sanmarka Valiber Sangam*



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*Sheikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah**F. 454/1-3*

KARACHI,  
24 January 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After returning from Madras, I felt somewhat indisposed and was confined to bed and still find myself not strong enough to cope with the work. I received your letter, dated the 20th January 1941, yesterday.<sup>1</sup> I think similar letters must have been written to my other colleagues. I will discuss the situation with Mir [Bunde Ali Khan] Sahib and K. B. [Ayub] Khuhro within a couple of days and further let you know their views in the matter, and I have no doubt that all of us will stand by the resolutions of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

K. B. Allah Bakhsh has also issued a statement from Shikarpur, the sum and substance of which is that he met Moulana Azad after ascertaining my views and those of Mr. [G.M.] Sayed and K. B. Khuhro and that he will not remain in a cabinet in which a Muslim Leaguer will be the Premier.

Mr. Nihchaldas met me immediately after my arrival in Karachi, and he pressed me very much that I should acquaint you with his views regarding the secret understanding. His statement was that he, along with Mr. G. M. Sayed and K. B. Khuhro, were the authors of the secret understanding and under that understanding, Sir Ghulam Hussain was to be taken in the Cabinet in place of Mir Bunde Ali Khan. He further stated that since my view was that no Muslim Leaguer will remain in the Cabinet unless the Premier was also a Muslim Leaguer, Mr. Nihchaldas suggested that he would so manage as to allow Mir Sahib to continue as Premier provided K. B. Khuhro resigned in favour of Sir Ghulam Hussain being taken in. My reply to him was that this proposal will not be acceptable to the Muslim League. Nevertheless he insisted upon me that I should acquaint you with his proposal and showed his eagerness to meet you personally and prevail upon you to agree to that proposal in view of the peculiar conditions that exist in the Province.

You will be glad to know that all the members of the Restoration Committee<sup>2</sup> who were prosecuted have been honourably acquitted. There was a further good news for me on my arrival in Karachi when

I went through the Report of Mr. Weston on the Manzilgah question [in which] he has given his decision that the disputed Manzilgah building was constructed to be used as a mosque. We are now preparing a note for the mosque being handed over to a Board of Trustees.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

A. MAJID

*Sind Education Minister*

<sup>1</sup>No. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Abdoola Haroon, President, M. A. Khuhro, Vice-President, Sayed Ali Muhummed Rashdi, Secretary. Other important members of the Committee were G. M. Sayed, M. H. Gazder, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi, Shaikh Wajid Ali and Naimatullah Qureshi.

## 208

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/126-27*

CIVIL LINES, ALIGARH,

*24 January 1941*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Recently, a meeting of the Council and of the Working Committee of the [All India Muslim Students'] Federation was held in Aligarh. The various important resolutions that were adopted are being enclosed herewith for your perusal. As regards the proposal to send a deputation to explain the Lahore Resolution, I had a talk with Nawabzada Sahib and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib, both of whom have very much appreciated it and have promised to give the necessary help. I hope that you will also like the idea. Of late, we have been watching that some of our leaders start with great enthusiasm but after sometime the whole enthusiasm evaporates and the Muslim public is simply left to wonder over it. Muslim nation needs consistent work and not ephemeral things. I may be excused for this criticism but I assure you that I am voicing the feelings of youngmen. I have been touring a lot and wherever I have gone I have heard similar criticism. I wish they could realise their responsibilities. We have, therefore, taken upon ourselves the responsibility of preparing our masses for this goal. In the Punjab, elections are going to be held in the coming winter and we want to fight the elections on this basis, for we know well that our opponents



will put up opposition to the scheme in their programme. Let us prepare our masses too. It is a pity that Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad has resigned from the presidentship of the [All India Muslim Students'] Federation and for the last three months is not taking any interest. The Council has requested him to reconsider his decision. I am in a great fix. The whole burden is upon me and I do not know what to do. I hope to place the whole matter before you when you are in Delhi. Every day I receive encouraging reports of the progress that our organisation is making. You will be glad to hear that the membership has gone up to eighty thousand in the different provinces. On hearing that I am coming to Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi has invited me to see him at Sevagram. I have written to him that I am prepared to see him but he must bear in mind that I am a staunch Muslim Leaguer and Muslim League is my only religion [*sic*] and Mr. Jinnah is my only leader.

I hope to see you in Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

With respects,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah advised him to leave Gandhi alone and that he would meet him in Delhi. See F. 398/19, QAP. Not printed.

### *Enclosure to No. 208*

#### RESOLUTIONS

*F. 769/128-9*

This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim Students' Federation declares that the present *Satyagraha* Movement, launched by the Congress, is clearly inspired by motives of forcing the hands of the British Govt. to let down the Musalmans and coerce them [into] submission to the designs and dictates of the Congress. The Council is definitely of the opinion that the only aim of the *Satyagraha* Movement is to bring about Hindu domination over the entire country under the protection of the British arms. The Council is, therefore, glad to note that the Musalmans, as a body, are keeping aloof from the Movement, but the Council emphatically declares that if at any time the interests of the Musalmans are in jeopardy as a result of the Movement, they will not hesitate to intervene to safeguard their interests.

Resolved that, in the opinion of the Council, time has come when

a vigorous propaganda for Pakistan is to be launched. Realising the immense value of the scheme, Muslim Students' Federation Council resolves to send a deputation in May 1941 to the majority provinces with a view to explain[ing] the scheme and popularising it in these provinces. The Council requests the President and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League to kindly write to the provincial organisations to give all the facilities. The Council appoints a committee, consisting of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib and Mr. Moh[amma]d Noman, to select the members of the deputation.

Resolved that the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad be requested to reconsider his decision regarding his proposal to relinquish [*sic* for relieve] him of his responsibility as the President of the Federation and assures him that by accepting our wish, he will do an immense favour to the young Muslim India.

Resolved that the next session of the Federation be held at Nagpur in Sept. 1941.

Resolved that the resignation of the Secretaries be accepted and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Qadeer Chowdhry be elected General Secretary and all the powers of Organising Secretary be vested in Mr. Noman, Deputy President.

MOHAMMAD NOMAN  
Deputy President,  
*All India Muslim Students' Federation*

## 209

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/59*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
26 January 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I received your letter of the 23rd<sup>1</sup> yesterday in which I read [Sardar Mohammad] Aurangzeb's message to you. It is, indeed, surprising that he wires you one thing and to me [another], different from that. You must have received my telegram too. I am waiting for instructions. Cold or no cold, I am prepared to travel from one end of the Province to the other, though it may be inconvenient to the



people of the Province. The month of February is indeed a cold one; therefore, if you agree, we would start after the [Muslim] League Council meeting at Delhi, i.e. after the 23rd of Feb. Aurangzeb and others from the NWFP would be present too at the Council and [Working] Committee meetings. You can give them some verbal instructions about our tour. I understand that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung is coming to meet you in Bombay. If you decide to send us after the Council meeting, then please inform him about the decision. In any case, I shall be sending him a telegram to Hyderabad.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Q. M. ISA

<sup>1</sup>See F. 302/57, QAP. Not printed.

## 210

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/188-89*

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,  
28 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letters.<sup>1</sup> I am making enquiries about the Manora affair and will send you a detail[ed] report with[in] a few days.

My letter to the [Chairman], Advisory Committee<sup>2</sup> was written for the purpose of propaganda and creating public opinion against the joint electorate election to be held in the Borough Municipalities. In future I shall be more cautious. I am forwarding to you the copies of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council held at Sukkur on the 26th instant.

Mr. G.M. Sayed has gone to his native place [Sann] to recuperate from his illness and the Organising Committee seems to have gone with him. I am doing my best to organise the League as far as possible. I have written letters to Muslim MLAs to join the League party in and outside the legislature.

The election work in the District of Tharparkar is being carried on very satisfactorily. Even Larkana District has applied for permission to nominate members on the Muslim League ticket. Because of these

elections there is great stir in the masses and great propaganda is being carried on for the League indirectly.

If the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee takes up the joint electorate issue together with the Sind Ministry tangle and only passes a resolution, it will be a great moral help to us.

Leaflets for the [population] census<sup>3</sup> have been distributed in thousands all over the Province, the subject-matter being the same as in the All India Muslim League leaflets. The census week will be held all over the Province, commencing from the 31st January.

I shall keep you informed from time to time about the Sind politics.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>Nos. 177 and 199.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 274/169, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Refers to the population census in India taken in 1941. The census was conducted after every ten years, the previous one having been carried out in 1931.

<sup>4</sup>Jinnah expressed the hope that Sind Muslim Leaguers would abide by the policy of the Sind Provincial ML Council and that the AIML Working Committee would endorse and back it. See F. 274/190, QAP. Not printed.

*Enclosure to No. 210*  
*Resolutions passed by Sind Provincial Muslim League*

F. 274/185-87

A meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League was held at Dak Bungalow, Sukkur, on Sunday, the 26th January 1941. Sir Abdoola Haroon presided. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

*Joint Electorate*

This meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League considered the correspondence which has passed between the President and the Chairman, Advisory Committee, Sind Legislative Assembly, regarding the question of joint electorate in the Borough Municipalities and the Local Boards.

The Council, while appreciating the anxiety shown by the Advisory Committee in their resolution for the re-establishment of better relationship between the two communities in Sind, the only ground on which the League has been requested to accept joint electorate, is fully convinced of the fact that introduction of joint electorate would be highly injurious to the very cause of Hindu-Muslim unity in this



Province.

Opposition to joint electorate is one of the main planks of the Muslim political platform and at no cost were they prepared to give it up. The Muslims of India genuinely feel that this system of election is bound to cause grievous injury to their political rights and will make Muslim representation in the public most ineffective.

The Council regrets that the Advisory Committee presumes that by raising and supporting this highly controversial question, it is helping in bringing about communal harmony, although the experience in certain other provinces, where joint electorate is in vogue, has shown that joint electorate has never been helpful in bringing about better understanding between the two communities.

The Council further cannot act in contravention of the mandate of the All India Muslim League and its own Resolutions of 22nd December 1940 and, therefore, it is bound to oppose the introduction of joint electorate wherever it is introduced. The Council requests the Government to withhold introduction of joint electorate in the Borough Municipalities and to drop altogether the Bill for joint electorate in City Municipalities and Local Boards as their enforcement at this juncture and in the teeth of Muslim opposition would not be conducive to the welfare of this Province.

The Council appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen to evolve a scheme to enforce the decision contained in this Resolution.

1. Rasulbux P. Munshi
2. Vajidali Shaikh
3. Ali Mahomed H. Rashdi

#### RESOLUTION NO. 2

*President All India Muslim League [Conference] at Madras*

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah [is] unanimously proposed for the presidentship of All India Muslim League Conference at Madras.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

##### *Census*

The Council authorises the President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, to select persons in each division and to send them necessary introductions [*sic* for instructions] regarding census.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 4

##### *Manzilgah Masjid*

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League understands

that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Weston has forwarded his report to the Government regarding the Manzilgah Mosque question. The Council requests the Government now to publish the said report and to hand over the Manzilgah buildings, grounds, etc., without any further delay to the Board of Trustees consisting only of the representatives of the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative body of the Musalmans and has struggled for securing its restoration from the beginning up to the present moment. It is hoped that the Government will bear in mind that the Manzilgah Tribunal had acknowledged the Muslim League alone as the body which should present the Muslim viewpoint regarding the said Mosque.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

*Provincial Council Election*

The task of establishment of District Muslim Leagues and their election work was entrusted to the [Provincial] President, District League. Workers are requested to hold elections in their respective districts up to 28th February 1941, in default whereof the [Provincial] President will be entitled to select members for the Council from among the members of respective District Leagues.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

*Pir Sahib Bharchundi*

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League urges upon the Government of Sind to release Pir Sahib Bharchundi immediately for the following reasons:

- i. That the conditions which were made the reasons for internment of Pir Sahib Bharchundi have now changed.
- ii. That there is now prevailing peace and harmony throughout the Sukkur District.
- iii. That the feelings of the Musalmans are being injured by Pir Sahib being detained any longer for nothing.
- iv. That Pir Sahib has been issuing statements and declarations from time to time for restoring peace and harmony in the District with a view to bring[ing] better understanding, which [*sic* for and that] attempt clearly shows his purity of heart.

This Council appoints a deputation of the following gentlemen to see the Ministers of the Government of Sind at an early date in connection with the question of Pir Bharchundi.

1. Haji Abdoola Haroon      President
2. Ali Mahomed H. Rashdi      Secretary



3. Hissamudin Khan
4. Sardar Bahadur Kaiser Khan, MLA
5. Ghulam Mahomed Khan Isran, MLA
6. Pir Rasulbux Shah, MLA

In case the efforts of the above gentlemen prove fruitless and Pir Sahib is not released, this Council authorises the President to convene a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date, wherein the question of starting a direct movement for the release of Pir Sahib will be considered.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 7

##### *City Muslim League Sukkur*

This meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League heard the differences between two parties of the City Muslim League Sukkur in connection with recent election of office-bearers and decided that the elections held hitherto be considered void, that new members be enrolled up to 28th February, [and] that an organising committee, consisting of Mr. Vajidali Shaikh, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan and Pir Ghulam Mojadid, [be] appointed for keeping records and holding fresh elections of office-bearers again.

## 211

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 383/78*

LUCKNOW,  
28 January 1941

My dear uncle,

The letter received from the Provincial President of the Muslim League, C.P., must have reached you by now.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry that due to oversight no covering letter was sent with it.

As the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council is going to be held after our tour programme was [*sic*] to start, i.e. on the 15th February 1941, the wishes of the Provincial President of C.P. Muslim League regarding Nawab Siddique Ali Khan cannot be fulfilled unless the tour is postponed to some time in April. Of course, we do not think we can ignore Nawab Siddique Ali Khan and go on tour without him.<sup>2</sup>

Bengal has not yet intimated to me either its readiness in connection with our Pakistan tour or its unwillingness about it. I must say that it is a hopelessly run Province.

Punjab, as usual, has asked me to specifically mention the purpose of the Pakistan deputation. Can there be anything more confounding?

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>No. 195.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah advised him to wait until after the meetings of AIML Council and Working Committee had been held. See F. 383/80, QAP. Not printed.

## 212

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/55-56*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
28 January 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter<sup>1</sup> informing me that the suggestions I had made in my previous letter were under your consideration.

I learnt to-day from Dr. Sir Zia Uddin [Ahmad], who had met you in Bombay, that you are intending to visit Aligarh in the second or third week of Bombay [*sic* for February]. Nawab Ismail Khan has also been here and I have discussed with him many matters concerning the Muslim League vis-a-vis the University. Both Sir Zia Uddin and Nawab Sahib have urged me to see you in Delhi before you visit Aligarh. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan also approves of the suggestion. The University League is now faced with a new danger which I can best explain to you personally. The University itself is passing through a very critical phase and all well-wishers of the University, specially the Muslim Leaguers, feel concerned about it. There is a general feeling in League circles that you alone can set matters right. I have been asked by the gentlemen, named above, to place you in full possession of the real situation in the University, the factors operating against the League in the University, the difficulties under which we are labouring, and our suggestions for bringing about a wholesome change in the atmosphere.



In this connection I would submit that if you like to have a note on the relevant matters before you talk about them, I would have it ready before you arrive in Delhi. Or if you want to have the talk first, I will submit the written note later on if you so like.

As for the date of your visit, I would suggest that if you could arrange it before the meeting of the Council at Delhi, so much the better. I would further request you to grant me an interview on some Friday, preferably before coming to Aligarh in February.

Hoping to hear from you very soon,<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah told him that he would meet him in Delhi and discuss with him various matters. See F. 199/57, QAP. Not printed.

## 213

*M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Abdul Majid*

*F. 874/30*

BOMBAY,  
29 January 1941

Dear Mr. Abdul Majid,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I shall be glad to meet Mr. Nihchaldas [Chatumal Vazirani], but my difficulty is that I have not been able to find out from Mir Bunde Ali as to what this agreement was and between whom and whether he was a party to it.

I will, therefore, try to prevail upon Mr. Nihchaldas not to create all this trouble merely for the sake of one man, viz. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, for bringing him into the Ministry.

In my opinion it is absurd to expect any one of you three members of the Muslim League to resign in order to make room for Sir Ghulam Hussain and, therefore, none of you should countenance such a proposal. It is no use constantly and repeatedly emphasizing *ad nauseam* upon [sic] the peculiar conditions that exist in your Province. Every honest well-wisher of the Province should not disturb the present composition of the Sind Ministry and they should be given a reasonable chance. That [is] why I did not insist upon

Allah Bukhsh's going out also. But that is bad enough.

I have written to Mir Bundeh Ali<sup>2</sup> and Khuhro,<sup>3</sup> specially to Khuhro, but I have not received any replies from them yet. I have specially asked Mir Bundeh Ali to let me know something about this mysterious agreement.

I am really pleased that Manzilgah is held to be a mosque and that the mosque will [be] handed over to the Board of Trustees, and so also I am glad that the members of the Restoration Committee have been honourably acquitted. There only remains my deep sorrow for those who suffered and sacrificed for what obviously was a just claim and demand of the Musalmans, which the Sind Govt. should have bungled so badly. I also sympathise with those Hindus who suffered but it was entirely due to the machinations of their leaders, who were responsible for putting up most arrogant and unjustifiable opposition to the Muslim demand for a property with which they had nothing whatever to do.

In conclusion, I note with very great satisfaction indeed that you will all stand by the resolutions of the Sind Provincial Muslim League which were passed in my presence in Karachi. That is the only honourable course for us to adopt and face all the facts and consequences. If we stand united and firm, believe me, they will all melt away and we shall be able to live honourably in a Province where we are in majority.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 207.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>See note 1 to No. 196.

## 214

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/61*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
29 January 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On receipt of your letter yesterday,<sup>1</sup> I sent a telegram to Aurangzeb Khan:



Quaid-i-Azam's instructions deputation must reach before mid-February. Decided reaching thirteenth would return Delhi in time Committee meeting. Please make programme accordingly. Wire confirmation.

To this telegram, I got the following reply last night:

I beg you in God's name to accept first fortnight March. Audience winter not available. I cannot approach Quaid-i-Azam again. Wire acceptance. I am now replying him: Quaid-i-Azam insists deputation reaching before mid-Feb. Reaching thirteenth.

I do hope you would approve of it. Aurangzeb cannot approach you directly, but wants me to plead on his behalf, and I am not prepared to give the impression that it is I who is hesitating in undertaking [*sic* for to undertake] the task.

I have informed Maulana Karam Ali Sahib also to accompany us on the 12th from Delhi.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Q. M. ISA  
Barrister-at-Law

<sup>1</sup>See F. 302/60, QAP. Not printed.

## 215

*S. M. Ahmed to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*SHC, Sind I/2*

NEW YORK,  
29 January 1941

My dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I am eagerly awaiting answers to my letters, which I started writing you since October 24, 1940, and the bulletins I mailed you after that. I trust since then you have [been] able to develop your programme of activities for America, and you were able to present my letters to Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League. I have not written to them directly, depending on you to bring the subject to their attention.

You may be interested to know that the Congress party in this country has become organized. Its propaganda is being done through various sources. I have followed the whole development with keen interest.

I will like you to know that the Congress party is sending "special" people to speak and write in this or that "students" [sic]. Also, special material which ordinarily is not to be allowed to come through censors is being passed via special agents—some of them have been foreigners and some Indians. Likewise, information from this country as to the confidential and special activities of the Congress representatives is being regularly sent through the "special" people who are reaching India from time to time. I was amazed to learn [of] this whole network, a very organized system and smoothly operating.

One of the leaders or the "brains behind the scenes" is H. S. Malik, the Indian Trade Commissioner in New York. Although he has a perfect alibi that the Government servants are not allowed to enter into discussion on political and national affairs, he is secretly working with the leaders of India League of America, the organization about which I have written you before, and consists of several professional Hindu political agitators domiciled in this country. Malik, being a Sikh from Punjab, is on intimate terms with Anup Singh who is Director and Editor of the *India Today*, the monthly bulletin, published by the India League in this country. Also, J. J. Singh, another Sikh, who at one time was a member of the Provincial Congress Committee in the Punjab, acts as a liaison between Malik and the India League. There was no India League or any other organization, sponsored by the Congress in America and functioning in this manner, until Malik appeared on the scene about three years ago, and he helped to develop this group. Unofficially he keeps in touch with all Congress workers in this country and keeps them informed of the developments and official moves.

This is a serious matter and I am taking the liberty of writing you in confidence.

Malik's three years' term as Trade Commissioner expires this June, after which he returns to India for a while. His plans are to seek a higher post later on with the Government in America which is being considered under an empire's scheme and India's relations with the United States.

Malik, an I.C.S., has been known for his anti-Muslim activities as a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab, his attitude towards Muslims became well-known, and he was transferred to the Secretariat. In this country, he is behind the movement against the Muslim League and is active in the Congress propaganda which is even directed against the



British Government. In his post here as a Trade Commissioner he has not accomplished anything. If you are interested in his case, I will be glad to discuss his case with you at length, so you can present the matter to Mr. Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and other leaders.

Recently, a Madrased Hindu, who graduated from Madras University, and took his Master's degree in economics, arrived here, presumably to study at Columbia University. Actually he is sent here by the Congress party. He was carefully selected for his ability to speak and write and his knowledge of Indian political situation. Before leaving India, he toured the country and met all Congress leaders and committees. He familiarized himself with their plans. His name is S. Chandra Sekhor. He is also closely associated with several Congress newspapers for which he has started writing from here. While he did not carry any letter of introduction to any of the Hindus active in Congress propaganda, he knew every one's name, their activities and importance in the organization. On his arrival he immediately got in touch with them. Furthermore, these people here also knew that he was coming and soon took him into confidence. On [sic for at] a meeting, held in New York under the auspices of India League of America to celebrate India Independence Day on January 26, he was one of the speakers and was introduced as a man who has just arrived from India and could speak with authority. He delivered a very pro-Congress nationalistic, anti-Muslim and anti-British Government speech. He said that America should support India's cause, and specially Congress' programme of withholding aid to Great Britain.

I can only emphasize the importance of a strong Muslim League organization in this country and give you these examples to make the League people realize what is going on in America. As America is giving the greatest aid to Great Britain at this time, naturally American public opinion would exercise an important influence in after-war policy of the British Government in India. Having built up a very pro-Congress opinion, the Hindus' claim obviously will draw the most support.

Having learnt the inner working of the Congress machinery in this country, I have become quite alarmed and I don't know in what direction to turn. You seemed to me the logical person to approach and I have written you freely without any reserve. I should like very much to know your reactions to my letters and whether I can look forward to any support or co-operation from your side in this matter.



There is no pressing need for funds which could be raised in this country through my friends to carry on the work at the present stage. But our greatest need is information on the League's activities and Muslims' rightful claims in India's political picture, which we could present to the public in this country.

In my last letter<sup>1</sup> I made a request to send me Muslim League's reports, Mr. Jinnah's speeches and writings and other special committee reports.<sup>2</sup> All publications and books which will give us sufficient information to build up the League case will materially simplify our case.

Jawaharlal Nehru's new book *Towards Freedom*, a revised edition of his *Autobiography*, is coming out next month, and already advance publicity is being given to his works. Last year, *Atlantic Monthly*, a leading magazine, published two articles by Nehru and several others by Congress writers. There has not been a single article on Muslim League in this country, or any article written in the support of Muslims. Accordingly, the people here have strange and distorted ideas about Muslims and Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan seem to have been selected as Muslim leaders on whom the Congress has concentrated their attack. I hope you will inform these two gentlemen [of] what is being said about them in America.

It is highly important—I should say very imperative—if Mr. Jinnah prepared articles on Muslim League's stand and Muslim situation in India, and I will see that they receive the most worthy publication. I will appreciate [it] if you will approach Mr. Jinnah on this matter.

I am working on an article on the life and activities of Mr. Jinnah at present and sadly [*sic*] need material for that. If you can furnish me [material] about his political speeches and writings, so that [*sic*] I can tell the Americans what the Congress propagandists have been cleverly concealing.

The mail from India is very irregular and delayed. Fortunately, we have from America to India the facilities of American steamers which carry mail to India in thirty days. But mail coming from India is delayed. We have recently received letters mailed in India in August and September, and air mail letters sent in November and December. So you can imagine the anxiety I must be having about news from you and India. It will aid me extremely if you use air mail on urgent letters and specially in the beginning and send the publications by the ordinary mail. I wrote you my



first letter on October 24, and until now I am still [sic] in [the] dark about the result of my correspondence.

In the next mail I hope to obtain some of the recent publications and bulletins circulated by the India League for you. Their recent issue, I am told, is very anti-Government and supports the stand taken by the Congress on not taking part in India's war efforts. Fortunately, the American public opinion is so much in favour of giving all possible aid to Great Britain at this time that the Congress, instead of winning sympathy, is actually losing some of its following in well-informed quarters. In contrast to this, the attitude of the Muslims in supporting the British is being well appreciated. So this is an unusual opportunity when the Muslim League can take advantage and build up its support.

I will appreciate [it] if you can let me have the names of influential pro-Muslim newspapers willing to publish articles on this subject.

I hope I would have the pleasure of hearing from you soon. In the meantime, let me assure you of all my good wishes and co-operative efforts in the welfare of Muslims.

Most sincerely yours,  
S. M. AHMED

<sup>1</sup>See Enclosure 1 to No. 190.

<sup>2</sup>Abdoola Haroon duly provided S. M. Ahmed with supportive material and promised to supply such material in the future as well. See Enclosure 2 to No. 190.

## 216

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/62-3*

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
30 January 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In reply to my yesterday's telegram to Aurangzeb,<sup>1</sup> I received the following replies from him and Ziauddin (Provincial Secretary) jointly:

- i. Please postpone Frontier visit. Arrangements impossible in February, letter follows—Ziauddin Sec[retary] Provincial League.
- ii. Owing professional engagements we shall be absent in Punjab from

tenth till twentieth February. Reception and arrangements impossible. Earliest dates twenty-third February onwards possible—Aurangzeb [and] Ziauddin.

The above two telegrams were in reply to my telegram:

Quaid-i-Azam insists deputation reaching before mid-February, hence reaching thirteenth.

Under these circumstances, Sir, I do not know what to do.<sup>2</sup> First, it was the excuse of cold and rainy weather and now it is professional engagements. If you command me to go in spite of these excuses, I am prepared to proceed at any time, but if you think it would be better to meet these people personally in Delhi and then send us, I would be prepared to proceed even then, but I would not know about my other three colleagues. If the instructions are going to be to proceed after the Delhi Council meeting, then I would inform Aurangzeb that we shall be leaving Delhi on the 25th February and [that] he should make the necessary arrangements. He shall, therefore, have ample time at his disposal to make the arrangements. Please let me know soon, as in this case I would like to proceed for a few days to Palampur and from there to Delhi.

In to-day's *Times of India*, I read that you will be visiting Rawalpindi towards the middle of Feb[ruary] on some professional work and you may proceed to NWFP to strengthen the League there. How far is the statement true? If you are intending to proceed to NWFP, then if my humble services can be of any service [*sic* for use] to you, they shall be at your disposal.

I understand there is a rift between Aurangzeb plus Ziauddin and K.B. Sadullah, which was deepened at the time of recent elections to the Secretaryship of Islamia College, Peshawar. Aurangzeb tried to replace Sadullah. And for such petty differences the League is suffering.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Q. M. ISA  
Barrister-at-Law

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>No. 220.



217

*M. A. Jinnah to A. A. Sherule**F. 874/32*BOMBAY,  
30 January 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant.<sup>1</sup>

I am unable to appreciate how Moplahs will be put in a prejudiced position in certain important matters such as education and appointments under Govt. services for the advantages which you say they have secured as a backward class, simply because they describe themselves for the purposes of census as Musalmans. Unless I know how it is going to prejudice the position of Moplahs it is very difficult for me to advise.

Please let me know, therefore, in full details the advantages that the Moplahs are enjoying at present and under what rules and regulations; and [whether] they will be deprived of those advantages if for the purposes of census they describe themselves as Musalmans without the word Moplahs.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

218

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah**F. 365/4-5*SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,  
30 January 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of date.<sup>1</sup>

I have again looked up both the resolutions passed by the Provincial Muslim League on 22.12.1940<sup>2</sup> in your presence at the residence of Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon.

The first resolution refers to the formation of the Muslim League

party inside the Assembly by 31.1.1941 and I undertook to do so. Immediately after your departure, I started the work and wrote to all the MLAs to join the party of the Muslim League. I have, so far, secured fifteen pledges and I hope to get more shortly. I have also convened a meeting of the party on 12.2.1941 when a full stock of the situation will be taken and I shall then be in a position to communicate to you the exact number of MLAs who join the party inside the Assembly and the names of the office-bearers.

The second resolution refers to the subject of joint electorates in the Local Bodies, i.e. District Local Boards and District Municipalities, for which two bills already prepared by Government are pending. We have explained the entire position to the Advisory Committee yesterday that in pursuance of the resolution of the Provincial Muslim League, we will have to oppose the measures. The Committee, in order to meet our wishes, have, therefore, deferred the subject (these bills) *sine die* and thus there is no likelihood of these bills coming up in the next March sessions if we are in the Cabinet.

As regards the resignation of the Hon'ble Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur on 15.2.1941, which point you have referred to in his letter and not mine, we shall be sending you a reply jointly in a day or two.

Do pray let me know when you intend going to Delhi and whether there is any likelihood of your coming over to Sind in the near future.

With all best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHRO  
MLA (Sind); PWD Minister

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Annexure to Enclosure to No. 157.

219

*M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 261/12-5*

KARACHI,  
31 January 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to submit herewith two very important matters for your



consideration and very early disposal as suggested herewith.

### 1. PORT TRUST BOARDS

(a) The Government of India are considering amendment of the constitution of the Board under Madras Port Trust Act in the next session of the Central Assembly so as to provide for adequate Indian representation. I am herewith enclosing copy of a leading article from the *Deccan Times*, Madras, for your perusal in which a demand is made for assigning an adequate number of seats to Madras Muslim Chamber of Commerce (*vide* enclosure marked A).<sup>1</sup>

(b) I hope you are aware that in the constitution[s] of Madras, Bombay and Karachi Port Trust Boards, there is no provision for separate representation of Muslims and in that of Calcutta, it is a very meagre one indeed. Complete absence of Muslim members on the Boards has resulted in grave injury to Muslim interests, particularly in the matter of appointments where Muslim interests have been completely ignored.

(c) I am not aware of the position of Muslims in the services of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Port Trusts. But that in Karachi has been set forth in a concise note attached herewith (marked B).<sup>2</sup> You will be pleased to observe that paucity of Muslims in the services there is evidently appalling. It is to be remembered that this port serves North-Western India comprising Muslim majority provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and also Afghanistan.

(d) Every demand from the sister community for Indianisation has in practice invariably meant Hinduisation both in the constitution as well as [*sic*] the services. The Chairman of Karachi Port Trust is retiring shortly. Now there is a vocal demand from the Hindu press and the Mercantile Association that an Indian should be appointed to succeed him. The Chairman is nominated by [the Central] Government. In the past he has been selected from Engineers in the Bombay Service, including the present one. Last time when the Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust retired, a similar demand was made for Indianisation with the result that Mr. H.K. Kripalani, I.C.S., was appointed. He is a Sindhi Hindu and we have a sad experience of his extreme communalism as Bombay Municipal Commissioner and Chief Secretary, Sind Government.

(e) I, therefore, most respectfully request you to kindly write to His Excellency the Viceroy at your earliest convenience to amend various Acts of these major ports so as to provide for an adequate representation of Muslims in their constitution and also urge upon him to make an

appointment of a Muslim to the Chairmanship of the Karachi Port Trust. Many Muslims will be found in India both from the civil services or engineering services and from public life who will creditably fill in this important appointment, carrying Rs. 3000 per month. As the Government of India will be nominating the Chairman, perhaps in February 1941, it is strongly urged that you will be pleased to do the needful immediately.

## 2. HAJ PILGRIMAGE AFFAIRS

(a) The administration of Haj affairs is a central subject. I am herewith enclosing 3 resolutions of Karachi Port Haj Committee (marked C, D and E)<sup>3</sup> in which Government of India is requested to take over directly the control of Port Haj Committee, appoint a Muslim officer in the Imperial Secretariat to deal with *Haj* affairs, and lastly to place the *Haj* Department under the Muslim member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. I have worked for the last 7 years on the Karachi Port Haj Committee and find that these reforms are urgently needed for improving the lot of *Haj* pilgrims by securing quick and sympathetic consideration of all matters submitted to the Government of India. We have been requesting for these radical changes for all these years. I now solicit your personal intervention in this matter. If you will be pleased to take a little interest and write to His Excellency the Viceroy, the changes will be effected without much loss of time. One Mr. J. A. Rahim, I.C.S., has been appointed to report on the necessary reforms required in administration of *Haj* affairs. He is likely to make his report by the middle of February 1941. I, therefore, request for an early disposal of this matter also.

With best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,  
M. H. GAZDER  
B. E.  
MLA (Sind)

<sup>1</sup>See F. 261/17, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, 18-20, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>See *ibid.*, 21-3, QAP. Not printed.



## 220

*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa**F. 302/64**1 February 1941*

My dear Isa,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th Jan[uary]<sup>1</sup> and have read it carefully. I have come to the conclusion that it will be better if we wait till the meeting[s] of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League which is [sic for are] going to take place on the 22nd and 23rd of February, [respectively]

I hope you will inform your colleagues accordingly. The deputation may now start on the 25th February and you can inform [Sardar Mohammad] Aurangzeb [Khan] about it.

As regards my going to Rawalpindi it is not yet definitely settled. I am awaiting the final reply from my professional clients and I shall let you know.

I do not think that I shall go to N[orth] W[est] Frontier Province until the deputation has toured and made a report to me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 216.

## 221

*M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung**F. 319/44**1 February 1941*

Dear Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,

I received your message through Mr. Calcuttawala. I have already written to you suggesting that the deputation may start on the 15th February. I have received further information from Mr. Isa which makes me feel that perhaps it will be better if the deputation may wait till after the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League which is [sic for are] going to take place on the 22nd and 23rd of February, [respectively]. I have written to Mr. Isa, and I hope it will be convenient

to you all.

Thanking you for your taking a great interest in the deputation,  
[and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

222

*Syed Murtuza Pasha to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 826/47*

MUSLIM LEAGUE,  
ARCOT, NORTH ARCOT,  
1 February 1941

Sir,

On behalf of the Muslim League, Arcot, I am directed to request you to kindly include, in your Southern India tour, the ancient historic town of Arcot, which stands on the River Palar, and is on the way to Vellore. Besides, as you know very well, Arcot was the capital of Nawabs before the British rule and even to-day the Prince of Arcot is the first citizen of this Presidency. There are over three to four thousand Muslims and a few years back, strange to say, all of them were Congressmen. To-day they are, as a body, staunch Leaguers and only seven persons are in the Congress. The Hindus of this place are staunch Justicites<sup>1</sup> and naturally, therefore, we anxiously wait to welcome the great Indian leader and also the saviour of Indian Muslims. I hope that you will not disappoint us and even a fifteen minutes' stay will certainly enthuse [sic] high patriotism, which the League very much cherishes. Once more I extend a hearty welcome and invitation and hope to receive an early reply accepting my request.

Yours faithfully,  
S. M. PASHA  
General Secretary,  
Arcot Muslim League

<sup>1</sup>Members of the (non-Brahmin) Justice Party of South India, led by *Periyar* E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, which stood for Dravidistan.



223

*W. H. P. Gardiner to M.A. Jinnah**F. 494/15*STAFF LINES, KARACHI,  
1 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A. H. Q. [Army Headquarters] have now asked me to submit my reasons as to why I should not be dismissed from the army for taking part in politics. It seems a trifle drastic to be classed with forgers and men who act dishonourably, when I have merely been striving to the utmost to do something really useful. You will remember my asking you if it was your opinion that my action could be so classed and you were definitely of the opinion that it could not. I have read the rules in K.R. [*King's Regulations*] and R.A.I. [*Regulations of Army in India*] which are quoted and I find nothing which does not completely bear out your viewpoint.

It would appear that both my letter and cable to Mr. Parker have been held up, on what military or other grounds I am at a loss to understand. It would appear that your communications have met with the same fate. I cannot imagine that H.E. the Viceroy would wish to impede any effort to reach a settlement but rather help it on in every way he could. I should be very interested to hear your views and to know what course of action you suggest. A reply<sup>1</sup> by return will greatly oblige to confirm that you have received that letter.

Sincerely yours,  
W.H. GARDINER<sup>1</sup>See No. 235.

224

*A. A. Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/34*14 AZIZ MANSION,  
GRANT ROAD, BOMBAY,  
2 February 1941

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me thank you very much indeed for the honour that was so

graciously done to me by you in granting me an interview the other day to offer my humble honorary services to your personal self.

Placed as I am in life as a medical practitioner, I am sorry to say [I am] not able to take an active part in public affairs, but even then I do not desist from what little help I can render to our people; but I am keenly busy in doing, what I am worth—a work, however humble, is by no means of little account—in a spirit of which, undoubtedly, you are the source of inspiration.

About your selfless and valuable service to the country in general and to the Muslim nation in particular there can indeed be no question. You have raised the Muslims not only in their own estimation but also in the eyes of others. But single-handed as you are, I feel that we all, specially the young men, should gather together to assist you in every way, directly or indirectly, as may be possible.

It is with this intention, therefore, and more so actuated by a sense of duty that I place my honorary services at your disposal as you are our leader who has restored the honour, pride and position of the 90 millions of Musalmans of India. I do so as a token of extreme loyalty and hope that you will honour me by accepting this humble token.<sup>1</sup>

Praying for your good health and long life, which I think is very valuable, coming as it does from a medical man,

Your devoted follower,

A. A. QURAISHI  
M.B.B.S.

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah accepted his offer with thanks. See F. 874/43, QAP. Not printed.

## 225

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/191*

*2 February 1941*

Dear Sir Abdoola,

Conflicting reports are appearing in the newspapers and I cannot understand the situation in Sind regarding the ministry. I also had a talk with Mr. Yusuf [Haroon] and I hope that you will all stand together and abide by the understanding that was arrived at [in] Karachi.

With regard to Mir Bundeh Ali's resignation I have not been able to ascertain what the agreement was. I understand from



Mir Bunde Ali that he was not bound to resign on the 15th of February as he has not committed himself to do so.

If that is correct, in that case no question arises of anyone of the members of the Muslim League in the ministry resigning and the present ministry must continue, and if the Congress or Hindus wish to break the ministry in order to get Sir Ghulam Hussain in, we must face the consequences, and let them break it. It will be far more honourable to sit on the opposition benches than to be dictated by a few individuals.

If Mir Bunde Ali is bound to resign then [Mohammad Ayub] Khuhro and Sh[eikh] Abdul Majid should also resign and if they cannot form the ministry without Mir Bunde Ali, as what the Muslim League considers proper, then let others form the ministry and we shall, as honourable men, occupy the opposition benches.

If anyone, merely for the sake of keeping his ministership, tries to come to some other arrangement, the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League should declare publicly that he does not represent the Muslim League and disciplinary action must be taken against him for having acted in his individual capacity over the head of the Muslim League.

Please be firm and I am confident that the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim [League] will stand by it. Also please let me know as soon as possible the correct position. I had fully discussed the matter with Sheikh Abdul Majid and he had agreed that this is the only honourable course for us to adopt.

I regret I have not received any reply, either from Mir Bunde Ali or [M. A.] Khuhro, to my letters. I am still waiting for their reply.

Hoping your are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

226

*Abdul Wadud to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 826/34*

CHITTAGONG,  
3 February 1941

Extracts from the proceedings of the general meeting held on 19 January 1941 at 1 p.m. at the Muslim Hall, Anderkilla, for

constitution of the Sadar Sub-Divisional League and the City League:

10. Resolved unanimously that the Muslims of Chittagong, assembled today to constitute the Sadar Sub-Divisional League and the City League, express their full confidence in the leadership of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League, and pray to God for his long life to lead the Muslims at this critical time.
11. Resolved unanimously that the Muslims of Chittagong, assembled today, declare that the Pakistan scheme is the only solution to the Indian problems and the Muslims are ready to make any sacrifice for it.

A. WADUD  
Joint Secretary,  
District Muslim League

227

*Amtul Salam to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 874/35-8

EASTER VILLA, 7TH ROAD,  
SAUTA GUZ,  
[BOMBAY,]  
3 February 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I came to Bombay on the receipt of your kind letter of the 4th January,<sup>1</sup> in reply to my telegram on your birthday. As desired by you on the telephone, I met Mr. [Ismail Ibrahim] Chundrigar and explained to him that it was your appeal in Karachi to all the communities to join hands and work whole-heartedly for improving inter-communal relations that [had] encouraged me to offer my services to you for this laudable object.

Mr. Chundrigar very kindly promised to place before you the substance of our conversation at a suitable opportunity. As you were rather busy at the time, I returned to Wardha.

Last week, I came here again and met Mr. Chundrigar. He explained that it was not possible to use my services until I joined the [Muslim] League and that after joining the League I could help it by carrying on its propaganda. This is a political work. I do not belong to any political party nor do I know anything about politics. To bring about



cordial relations between the Muslims and Hindus, the work should be kept apart from politics.

In passing, I may mention that during our conversation, Mr. Chundrigar and I touched upon the larger question of Hindu-Muslim unity. At the outset, both of us made it clear to each other that neither of us was speaking on behalf of or at the instance of anybody. I was, however, delighted that although you think Pakistan is the best solution, but [*sic*] you have an open mind to study any other solution that will protect the Muslims; and that you and Gandhiji could reach a settlement if Gandhiji will represent the Hindus. Gandhiji's Hinduism is, evidently, not that of an average orthodox Hindu; hence he could not represent the Hindu point of view. To me it appears a tragedy that two great leaders and ardent lovers of their country like yourself and Gandhiji could not meet without any conditions attached and explore avenues for a settlement that will give satisfaction to all.

Let me, in closing, assure you that my services are always at your disposal for any work that will help to restore the brotherly relations between the communities; such relations by themselves will make a settlement easier. On the other hand, if the tension is allowed to grow, even Pakistan will not help us, spread as we are all over the country.

With my *Aadaab*,

Yours sincerely,  
AMTUL SALAM

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 228

*Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 218/2-3*

SIND SECRETARIAT,  
KARACHI,  
3 February 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I hope you have received my previous letter.<sup>1</sup> As promised I am writing this, conveying to you the information you wanted.

When Maulana Azad came here he apparently tried to combine our party (Government party) and the Opposition—Allah Bakhsh

and Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah] party—with the object that if these two parties formed an all-party Government, the Congress will lend their support. His object, firstly, was that we should take both Sir Ghulam Hussain and Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh in the Cabinet and then make one of them Premier. The primary object of his visit to Sind was to make Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Premier and also to form a Government, on all-parties basis, in which he did succeed to some extent by bringing in Allah Bakhsh in place of G. M. Sayed, who resigned only when Shaikh A. Majid declined, having previously voluntarily placed his resignation in my hand. However, that having been decided, it was also agreed upon by the Muslim League Ministers and myself (at that time I was a non-Leaguer) on one side and Maulana on the other to bring in Sir Ghulam Hussain also at a later stage.

In between these negotiations, which were being carried on by the League Ministers, Maulana proposed to me to resign at that time to make room for Allah Bakhsh and make him the Premier.

I, of course, declined to do so, but told him that I might at some future date do this myself without being asked by any one. Taking this clue Maulana Sahib entered into negotiation with Khan Bahadur [M. Ayub] Khuhro, G. M. Sayed and Nihchaldas, and an undertaking from the former two was taken in writing that I had agreed to resign by February 15th and [that] either Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain will have to be made the Premier, but if Mir Sahib chose to remain as a Minister, he could remain as such and in that case other League Ministers must resign to accommodate Sir Ghulam Hussain. This, in brief, is the secret arrangement between the above parties, but since I have become a Muslim Leaguer I shall have to go by your decision, and on this I must have your guidance.

You may please rest assured that we will always remain a good team, having always the prestige of our organization in the forefront, and [that] nothing that will damage the cause of the Muslims of India [will] ever be done by us.

We are trying to have more members in the League and have also called a meeting of the Muslim MLAs for the 12th February when all the future courses will be decided, and also more members will be enrolled in the League.

My personal opinion will be that the retention of League Premier and some Ministers in the Cabinet is very necessary to consolidate the party for the remaining period of the life of the present Assembly, which is only one year from now, so that, in the ensuing elections of



1942, the League candidates are returned in majority.

I shall be grateful if you acquaint me with your views soon.<sup>2</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
MIR BUNDEH ALI  
*Premier*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 218/1, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah advised Mir Bundeh Ali not to resign from the Premiership but to work with others for Party unity and solidarity. He also wrote to Majid and Haroon accordingly. See F. 218/4, QAP. Not printed. Also see No. 225.

## 229

*M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan*

F. 353/43

3 February 1941

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,

I am sending you cuttings<sup>1</sup> from a newspaper—the *Bombay Chronicle*—and I find that the same report appears in the *Times of India*, Bombay, reported by the same agency—A.P.

If this report is correct, then I must say that it is very harmful as it clearly gives the impression that you are against the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as the Pakistan [Resolution]. If, however, it is not correct, then I think you should not allow it to remain without contradiction. I am drawing your attention to this because you repeatedly requested me not to believe press reports and re-affirmed your complete agreement with the Lahore Resolution on more than one occasions; and at the same time you were good enough to pledge your complete loyalty to me as the President of the All India Muslim League. You were also kind enough to ask me, without hesitation, to draw your attention to anything which seemed to me likely to harm our cause by any pronouncement that you may make. That is the reason why I am drawing your attention to this speech of yours and am sending the cutting. You can judge for yourself how the press has made a feature of it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 230

*Sheikh Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 454/5-8*

KARACHI,  
4 February 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It gave me very great pleasure to have received your reply<sup>1</sup> on the 1st February 1941, for which I am indeed very grateful.

There was a meeting of the Advisory Committee of our Party on the 29th [January 1941] before which K. B. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro declared that he was in possession of the original understanding, but it was not produced before the Committee, [a meeting of] which is again fixed for the 16th of February.

You may perhaps be knowing that the Advisory Committee consists of 16 members: six Ministers, two members each of the Congress Party, the Hindu Independent Party, the Muslim League Party, the Allah Bakhsh Party, one European member and one Labour member. It is fully representative of the whole Assembly in which opposition party as such does not exist. According to the settlement, necessary legislative measures have first to be considered and passed by the Committee before being introduced in the Assembly.

At the meeting that was held on the 29th, Mr. G. M. Sayed's letter was read [out] in which, among other things, he had confirmed the existence of the understanding in pursuance of which Mir Bunde Ali Khan was to resign his premiership by the 15th of February and Sir Ghulam Hussain was to be taken in[to] the Cabinet, and then either Sir Ghulam Hussain or K. B. Allah Bakhsh was to be elected as Premier by the Muslim Members of the Assembly with two other Ministers, Khuhro and myself. Mr. G. M. Sayed has suggested in his letter<sup>2</sup> that K. B. Allah Bakhsh be made Premier.

Several speeches were made in the Committee's meeting by [the] Congress representatives and others, including K. B. Allah Bakhsh, all appealing for the maintenance of unity and fulfilment of the terms of the agreement.

I had to speak on behalf of the Muslim League when I had to answer many allegations and arguments. The sum and substance of my speech was:

1. That the Congress Party and the Hindu Independent Party



- concluded an agreement with us on the basis of 21 points on the assumption that they will maintain the Mir [Bundeh Ali] Ministry for the remaining period of the Assembly.
2. That the Congress Party began to behave treacherously towards the Mir Ministry immediately after the agreement was signed and up to this time there has been no change in their attitude.
  3. That the Hindu Independent Party adopted the same attitude after some time under the cover of murders in the Rohri Division.
  4. That in view of their above conduct and also in view of the Muslim League's Lucknow Resolutions of 1937, we must oppose the resolution for the introduction of joint electorate.
  5. That even in Borough Municipalities, for which Joint Electorate Act has been passed with our assent, the measure should be withdrawn or at least postponed for twelve months as recently demanded by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.
  6. That I was not a party to the secret agreement.
  7. That all that Mir Sahib says is that he had talked to the Governor [Sind] and Maulana Azad about his desire to resign for attending to his private affairs within a couple of months, that this casual conversation was embodied in a written understanding against his knowledge and that he warned Maulana that if the understanding would be made public he would publicly repudiate it. Mir Sahib had not affixed his signature to it and, further, it is Mir Sahib alone who can speak for himself. But that is how he has explained the position to me.
  8. That in case the number of the Muslim League Ministers is reduced to two, the [All India] Muslim League Council will call upon us either to resign from the Muslim League or from the Ministry even though one of them may be made the Premier.
  9. That according to the [Maulana] Azad agreement, any Muslim Member of the Assembly, securing the majority of votes of Muslim members, can become Premier and not necessarily Sir Ghulam Hussain or K. B. Allah Bakhsh.
  10. That Quaid-i-Azam has expressed no opinion on the agreement as he has not been supplied with a copy of it.
  11. That my personal opinion is that in case all Muslim League Ministers resign from the Ministry, the Muslim League Party, in the interest of peace in the Province, should not break the new Ministry.

The meeting of the Advisory Committee adjourned till the 16th



February without discussing the agenda. Thereafter, our Premier has come out with a statement. The relevant cutting of the newspaper, containing that statement, is appended herewith.<sup>3</sup> He did not consult me at least while issuing that statement, although previously I had told him that in case he issues any statement, he may do so as indicated above in point No. 7 of my speech.

Subsequently, I met Mir, Khuhro and Allah Bakhsh collectively and referring to Mir's interview, I told them that I had no objection to resign[ing] if they all held the view expounded by the *Sind Observer* subject, of course, to the approval of the Muslim League.

K. B. Khuhro, in consultation with Mir Sahib, has convened a meeting of the Muslim League Party of the Assembly on the 12th instant at Mir Sahib's residence to decide, perhaps, that I should resign in favour of Sir Ghulam Hussain. It is against my habit to canvass the support of the members, but I will place the Muslim League view before the Party when it meets.

K. B. Allah Bakhsh met me at my residence on the 2nd February and told me that he himself must become Premier, as he was promised to be made Premier by K. B. Khuhro, G. M. Sayed and Mir Sahib collectively and severally, by the 15th of February. I told him that the Muslim League view was that all Muslim Ministers should be Muslim League Ministers and Quaid-i-Azam really wonders why K. B. Allah Bakhsh should not become Muslim League Premier since he would allow all his supporters also to join the Muslim League Party. His reply was that constructive programme was the main thing in which he agreed with the Muslim League. He would not allow joint electorate to be further extended. He would not allow any resolution against Pakistan to be passed by the Assembly. He would throw no obstacles in the way of Muslim League being organized and strengthened. But beyond that he could not go at the present moment. I advised him that he should acquaint you with the promises made by Mir Sahib and others.

One thing is absolutely true, Sir, that in our Assembly any resolution or bill can be passed if it is supported by Allah Bakhsh's party. One resolution condemning the Pakistan movement is pending since long; it stands in Mr. Sidhwa's name.

Mr. Nihchaldas [Chatumal Vazirani] met me this morning at my residence and told me that his party had decided to stand by the Azad arrangement in pursuance of which Mir Sahib must resign and K. B. Allah Bakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain should become the Premier. He, however, said that it was for the Muslim members to decide as to who should become the Premier. I communicated to



him the sum and substance of your letter to me and he would probably write to you about the situation as he sees it.

It affords me no pleasure to continue as a member or a Minister in Sind, but faith in the future and hope for the better have sustained me throughout. There is no doubt our condition is most miserable and pitiable, but what cannot be cured must be endured. May God guide and help us all.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
A. MAJID  
*Minister, Sind*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 454/4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 274/174-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 231

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdur Rehman Ganai*

*F. 874/40*

*4 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without date and beg to inform you that at present it is not possible for me to undertake the establishment of a newspaper in the Punjab. It is up to the local leaders to do so and I have always been urging upon them, but to my regret the matter is not yet taken by them seriously. I agree with you that the value of an efficient and energetic press cannot be overestimated.

As regards my efforts, they are confined only to the Western Zone—Bombay Presidency. We have made some progress but the requisite amount is not yet subscribed. The well-to-do Musalmans have not yet realized how essential it is to have a press to fight for our cause. As to my efforts, reports have been appearing from time to time. It is not a question of a small help, as you seem to think, and a capital of at least five lakh is necessary for the establishment of a first-class English daily.

At present I am looking forward to each province to make their effort.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

## 232

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghieb Ahsan**F. 204/128**4 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Raghieb Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd January 1941<sup>1</sup> but I find that you have omitted to enclose the text of the resolution, which you intend to move in the next meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League. In the absence of the text of the resolution, it is not possible for me to express any opinion.

With regard to your previous letter of the 8th of January,<sup>2</sup> you made a certain suggestion which is worth considering, and I had requested you to send me a copy of the *Baiat* form as well as the amended goal of the League for my consideration. Please let me have them all.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 203.<sup>2</sup>No. 165.

## 233

*M. A. Jinnah to Mukhtar Ahmad**Telegram, F. 769/439**4 February 1941*

Mukhtar Ahmad  
Government College  
Lyallpur

Report my going Rawalpindi incorrect. Many thanks. Will gladly see deputation end February Delhi.

JINNAH



## 234

*Nihchaldas C. Vazirani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1085/12-20*

CAMP MIRPURKHAS,

4 February 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I have read your letter to Hon'ble Sheikh Abdul Majid.<sup>1</sup> I find therefrom that you are not in possession of correct facts. I, therefore, think it only fair to you and to my Province that I should acquaint you with full facts which I know personally and on which you can safely rely. It is, of course, open to you to act as you think best in the interest of your Muslim League consistently with the welfare of our Province. I am mainly confining myself to facts with regard to the arrangement arrived at during the presence of Maulana Azad in Karachi.

2. Long before Maulana Azad arrived in Karachi or even intimated his intention of coming over to Karachi, G. M. Sayed, Sheikh Abdul Majid and [M.A.] Khuhro — all the three of them—were very anxious to bring Allah Bakhsh in[to] the Cabinet. They had been requesting him for some months to come in[to] the Cabinet but Allah Bakhsh was not prepared to come in. Again and again, efforts were made to bring him in and again and again both Sheikh Abdul Majid and G. M. Sayed had volunteered to resign in his favour. In fact, about 20 days or so before the arrival of Maulana Azad, Sheikh Sahib had actually written out his resignation and handed it over to the Premier. Not only that; Sheikh Sahib had even gone and told the Governor<sup>2</sup> of this move on his part. You may also be interested to know that as a matter of fact Mir Bunde Ali was anxious that Allah Bakhsh should come in[to] the Cabinet and that he went to the length of requesting the Governor to interest [sic] himself and induce Allah Bakhsh to accept the offer. But even H.E.'s attempts had failed.

3. Maulana Azad at the time of his arrival in Karachi was of the opinion that the then existing Cabinet should be overthrown and Allah Bakhsh should form his Government; but I was almost the first man with whom Maulana Azad had a long discussion and I acquainted him with the conditions of the Province and gave him my very considered opinion that it would be inadvisable to resort to that method. I told Maulana Azad very firmly that I would not be a



party of any no-confidence motion against my colleagues. I further put forward before him my very strong opinion that the Muslim representatives in the Cabinet should represent all Muslim parties in the Assembly and also urged him to exercise all his influence in bringing all the Muslim members of the Assembly together. I believe my arguments convinced him completely and I must say that thereafter his entire endeavour was to bring both the Muslim parties together. Maulana Azad, as you know, is a shrewd politician and he even frankly asked me as to why I was anxious that the Muslim parties should unite. I could see that he for some moments even doubted the sincerity of my advice; but I then convinced him that even the good of Hindus lay in both the Muslim parties coming together, as otherwise if only one Muslim party is in the Government and the other in the opposition then the party in opposition appeals to the fanatic[al] sentiments of the Muslim masses and carries on virulent propaganda through its party papers and holds up the Muslim party in Government as pro-Hindu. In the days of Allah Bakhsh Ministry, the Muslim Leaguers did so and in the days of the Muslim League Ministry, the newspaper *Islah*, which was originally started by Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, a member of the previous Cabinet, did so. I must, however, in all fairness say that Allah Bakhsh himself was against the agitation carried on by *Islah*. The net result of this was that the entire Province suffered. There was hardly any progress in the Province and Hindu-Muslim relations became estranged. In fact, if I might be excused, I might say that the Muslims of Sind earned for themselves a very bad reputation throughout India; of course, as the result of tension, the Hindus also suffered. I do not mean to say that no Hindu leader contributed to this sorry state of affairs.

4. After Azad came [round] to my view, he held a meeting of all Muslim members of the Assembly, and all Muslim members were unanimously of the view that out of the four Muslim members in the Cabinet, two should represent the Muslim League and the remaining two should be K. B. Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain. This was not of the making of Maulana Azad nor had I any hand in that solution. This solution was voluntarily reached by all the Muslim members of the Assembly.

5. By this arrangement, one of the gentlemen who had to go out was Mir Sahib and the second gentleman was Sheikh [Abdul Majid], whose resignation was already available. Mir Sahib then represented that he may be allowed to continue as Premier till the 15th February 1941, on which date he agreed to resign. This he told Maulana Azad,



me and everybody else. He also requested K. B. Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain to give him respite for that short time.

6. At that time it was also very definitely settled that one of these two gentlemen—K. B. Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain—was to be the Premier. At that moment, G.M. Sayed had some objections to Allah Bakhsh becoming the Premier. He had his own '*Zid*'! So he said that in case Allah Bakhsh came in[to] the Cabinet at that time, he should become a junior Minister but in case Sir Ghulam Hussain came at that time he should be the Premier immediately. However, Sayed, Sheikh Sahib, Khuhro and myself were definitely of the opinion that as long as Allah Bakhsh was not inside the Cabinet, the matters would not smoothen out and, therefore, all of us joined hands to see that Allah Bakhsh came in as junior Minister. Sayed and I, between ourselves, partially succeeded in inducing Allah Bakhsh to come in[to] the Cabinet. But I must admit that without Maulana Azad's intervention, Allah Bakhsh would not have come in as a junior Minister. The final arrangement, therefore, was that Sheikh Abdul Majid's resignation be got accepted by the Governor; by this arrangement two Muslim League Ministers, Sayed and Khuhro, were to remain. Mir Sahib was to continue as Premier until the 15th February 1941 and then resign and if Sayed and Sheikh, by the 15th February felt that Allah Bakhsh was working harmoniously, he would be made the Premier, otherwise Sir Ghulam Hussain would be the Premier. At this stage, Maulana Azad wanted things to be reduced to writing. I do not mind telling you that I did not like the idea of such things being put down in writing and I told Maulana Azad that a gentleman's word was more sacred than his writing; but I find now that he was wiser than myself.

7. All along, my Muslim League colleagues were fully alive to the risk of the Muslim League organization taking offence at their conduct. Therefore, they felt that if they gave anything in writing to Maulana Azad directly, that might in itself be taken as a breach of discipline and they might be expelled from the Muslim League. We, however, got out of the difficulty. The undertaking was addressed to me and I passed it on to Azad with my endorsement. Mir Sahib did not agree to give anything in writing. He said he belonged to a noble family and his word must be accepted. He assured me privately, and so did Azad privately, that he would stand by his word and resign on the 15th February 1941. He also undertook to acquaint the Governor of [sic for with] his promise so that our doubts may be set at rest, and he actually did so. However, thereafter there was some sort of a talk



between Khuhro, Sayed and Mir Sahib; so by the time the agreement was drawn up, they had modified the arrangement slightly and the slight modification was to the effect that Mir Sahib might continue to be a junior Minister, if he so wished, after the 15th February; that in that event, one of them—Khuhro or Sayed—would resign. The draft of the writing was dictated by K. B. Khuhro himself and then both Sayed and Khuhro signed the document with open eyes.

8. Mir Sahib did not want that arrangement to be made public and Azad very reluctantly agreed to that. On that account Azad did not show that document even to the leader of the Congress Party, Mr. Sidhwa, or any other Congress member or, for that matter, to Allah Bakhsh. Sayed and Khuhro had copies of that document.

9. I must make it absolutely clear that Sheikh Abdul Majid was not at all privy or party to that document. The main reason for not making him a party to the document was that he was, for all practical purposes, considered to be out of the Cabinet; but Sayed that evening went and showed the copy of the document to Sheikh Sahib. Sheikh Sahib did not like the idea of the writing and did not approve of the conditions in the writing and the document became public property. In that original document, it was very definitely written that the Premier should be either Allah Bakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain. Sheikh Abdul Majid and some others felt that it would be a breach of the League discipline to agree to any such thing. According to him, Sir Ghulam Hussain had already been expelled from the Muslim League and Allah Bakhsh might not be acceptable to the high command of the League. Ultimately, we got out of the difficulty as our object was not to create any difficult position for our colleagues and, to be frank with you, not to give any handle to the Muslim League organization to expel them. So again we put our heads together and drew up another writing in which we modified the condition of premiership by saying that on the 15th February, Mir Sahib was to resign his premiership and then both Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain shall be eligible for premiership, thus making the matter vague. Other conditions in the document remained intact. Ali Muhummed Rashdi was privy to this latter document. In fact we were sitting up to 01 a.m. that night in Sayed's house. I must make it quite clear to you that although we changed the writing, our Muslim League friends, Sayed and Khuhro, very definitely told Maulana Azad that they would not go back on their word. So another document was drawn up and handed over to Maulana Azad in place of the original one. It was briefly to the following effect: that in order to bring about unity



between Muslim members in the Assembly it was decided that one of the three Muslim League Ministers should resign immediately, that Allah Bakhsh should come in and that on the 15th February 1941 Mir Sahib should resign his premiership, and in case he elected to remain a junior Minister, one of the signatories, namely Sayed or Khuhro, would resign and Sir Ghulam Hussain would come and Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain would be eligible for Premier's post.

10. Again, thereafter, some complication arose. Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon, who was absent from Karachi, returned to Karachi. He issued a mandate to Sheikh Sahib not to resign. So Sheikh Sahib told Maulana Sahib his difficulty that he could not resign without clearing the matter further. In that meeting, Mir Sahib, Sayed, Sheikh and Khuhro were present. My colleague, R. S. Gokaldas, and I were also present. It was there that Sayed said that if Sheikh was not resigning, he was doing so and there and then he wrote out his resignation and we went to the Governor with him and Allah Bakhsh. The Governor did not pass any orders that day and he kept the matter for the next day. But Sayed was firm and went out of the Cabinet.

11. I might also mention that Mir Sahib's becoming a Muslim Leaguer afterwards was not a surprise to us; in fact, at the time of writing of the document, it was hinted that the option to him to remain a junior Minister would arise only if he agreed to join the Muslim League. We were fully aware of this fact. You probably also know that once before this also, Mir Sahib was a Muslim Leaguer when he was in opposition, but then as soon as Allah Bakhsh offered him ministership, he left the League and joined the Cabinet. You might also be interested to know that Mir Sahib joined our Nationalist Party when the old Cabinet was still functioning and he, along with his two colleagues, Sir Ghulam Hussain and Allah Bakhsh, had been to the Governor the morning following his joining the Nationalist Party, and there Mir Sahib told His Excellency, in the presence of his two colleagues, that he would stand by his colleagues through thick and thin. After one hour when he was promised premiership by our party, he left his colleagues. His Excellency, I am sure, will never forget that incident and he has been mentioning it to me often.

12. The above are the facts. You can decide as you think best. As regards myself, I must tell you that I am very very slow to make promises but once I make a promise I stand by it. In this particular case, I enquired privately several times from Mir Sahib and he said that he would resign on the 15th February. I asked K. B. Khuhro,



Sayed and others. All assured me that they were voluntarily and honestly making this arrangement in the interests of the Muslims themselves and of the Province as a whole. It was only after these assurances that I and my colleague, R. S. Gokaldas, became a party to the pledged arrangement. Both of us have assured Maulana Azad that we would stand by the arrangement; in fact, even at that time we were feeling that some one from our Muslim colleagues might back out, but the idea was that in any case the Assembly was to meet in February and so it was not at all difficult to set matters right. Now Allah Bakhsh has already very definitely intimated that if this arrangement does not mature, he would resign from the Cabinet. I and R.S. Gokaldas had taken our party into fullest confidence at that time and they had agreed to the original arrangement, and in fact I might tell you that I then agreed to Mir Sahib continuing till 15th February, and on that account three of our party [members] left us and sat in the opposition. These three members were of the opinion that Mir would never resign and, therefore, this arrangement was an eye-wash; and at least one of these three suspected that I did not honestly mean to stand by the agreement in the event of Mir Sahib not resigning on the 15th February because he had reasons to believe that I was not favourably inclined towards Sir Ghulam Hussain. In short, I might tell you that I am a man of [my] word and that I and my colleague, R. S. Gokaldas, intend to stand by our promise. The way before us is easy, namely to slip out of the Cabinet along with Allah Bakhsh and allow full latitude to Muslim League friends.

13. I told you personally also that I am not against the Muslim League party. In fact, I am in favour of an organized party; but I know at the same time that the Muslim League party has hardly any support in the Assembly. I may be excused if I say that there is only one real Muslim League member in the Assembly, namely Sheikh Abdul Majid; and I do not think that you have enhanced the prestige of the Muslim League by putting Mir Sahib at its head as its leader in the Assembly. I might be excused this presumptuousness; though all I mean to say is that the Muslim League party by itself, without the co-operation of the other Muslim members, will not be able to carry on stable Government and will not be able to act independently if any crisis occurred in the Province. Further, in fact to be frank with you, it is not at this stage open to me to go back upon my promise. At this stage it is a question of gentleman's agreement to be executed. I would never like to get notorious as a politician who has no value for his promise. I have endorsed the letter of Khuhro and Sayed



addressed to me containing the conditions and forwarded [it] to Maulana Azad saying that I shall see that this agreement is implemented. I might mention that at the time of Azad's arrival, feelings were running very high and that if Azad had not changed his attitude, the Muslim personnel of the Cabinet would have changed. I feel that it would be a wrong step to go back on the arrangement arrived at with Azad. I still honestly feel that the agreement should be respected and that the gentleman who, according to you, should go out of the Cabinet should go out. The remaining two Muslim League Ministers should remain. After all there is only a period of less than 12 months to be gone through. There are so many measures which are pending before us and which we could push through during the remaining period. You know it for a fact that when unstable conditions exist there can be no progress. We want a very calm atmosphere for elections also and calm atmosphere can be maintained only if both the Muslim parties are in the Cabinet so that even at the time of the elections there might be no acrimony.

14. In conclusion, I am making it absolutely very very clear that if the Muslim members between themselves agree to modify the arrangement in anyway they choose, I shall not have the least objection. The question of my and my colleague standing by our promise will arise only when our Muslim friends among themselves do not agree as to which four Muslim Ministers should remain in the Cabinet and who would be the Premier. I am, and would still be, anxious to allow them to decide this question by themselves; but in the event of their not coming to any agreement, you yourself would advise me that I should stand by my solemn promise that I have made to Maulana Azad, Allah Bakhsh, my party and to the public. Here the Hindu question does not arise at all. My party will naturally urge me to stand by my promise. That is our position.

15. I know I have been dictating this note for some time and the letter is going to be a very lengthy one but the question is of great importance and I think that I should not keep back anything from you. I request you to treat this as confidential because I do not want to create any enemies among my Muslim colleagues or among the Muslim members of the Assembly.

Thanking you and wishing you best of health,

Yours sincerely,  
NIHCHALDAS C. VAZIRANI

<sup>1</sup>See F. 454/4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Hugh Dow.

## 235

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner**F. 494/16**4 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Gardiner,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I am extremely sorry to hear that drastic action is proposed to be taken against you. I am still of the opinion that there is nothing wrong in what you have done. As a matter of fact I told you from the very beginning that I did not want to keep anything from the Premier or the Secretary of State for India. I cabled to them and followed up with a covering letter, the summary of my interview with you, copy of which you were sending to Mr. Parker lest it should be misunderstood by the British Government, and have received a reply which is as follows:

Many thanks from Prime Minister and myself for your telegram. We heartily reciprocate good wishes and sincerely share your desire for an agreed settlement. Shall give promised copy of report close attention in conjunction with Governor General. Amery.

I would like to know what I can do in the matter; any suggestion from you will be welcomed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M.A. JINNAH

Major W. H. P. Gardiner,  
Karachi

<sup>1</sup>No. 223.

## 236

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed**F. 1009/110**5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to learn from your letter dated the 30th January 1941<sup>1</sup> that you are thinking of starting a paper in Tamil. As regards the financial help, I am sorry it is not possible for me at present to give you. Each province must cater [to] its own needs and I am sure



that if the Musalmans of your Province desire to establish a paper they can start more than one. Besides, as far as I know, there are two very powerful papers in Madras, viz. *Saiful Islam* and *Darul Islam*, and one in Tellicherry known as *Chandrika*.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 237

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Mohammad Abbas*

*F. 874/44*

*5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant<sup>1</sup> and I would suggest that, as a disciplined member of the community, your proper course is to follow the decision of Ittihadul Muslimeen and no individual action will serve any useful purpose.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Mohammad Abbas, Esq.,  
82 Lamington Road,  
Bombay

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 238

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdus Sattar Khan*

*F. 326/1*

*5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant<sup>1</sup> and while wishing you every success, I regret to say that I shall not be able to participate in your conference that is to take place on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of March 1941.

As regards Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, as far as I can see, he will be quite free by the 15th or 16th of March. The proposed Frontier tour will start on or about the 25th of February and will last for a week or ten days.

I thank you, however, for your kind invitation and the honour that

you have done to me in requesting me to go to Akola, but having regard to my previous commitments, it is not possible for me to make any promise.

Yours faithfully,  
M.A. JINNAH

Abdus Sattar Khan, Esq.,  
Secretary-in-Charge Office,  
Akola Muslim League

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 239

*M. A. Jinnah to Mahbubur Rehman*

*F. 769/441*

*5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th January 1941<sup>1</sup> and regret to inform you that I cannot accept the responsibility to be a member of your Advisory Council. I believe you must be aware of the existence of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. May I venture to suggest that you should form the Muslim Students' Federation of your Province and affiliate it to the All India Muslim Students' Federation? You can obtain the constitution of the Federation from Mr. Moh[amma]d Noman, Civil Lines, Aligarh, who is the Deputy President of the Federation. It will, I think, be better to have one organization instead of various unions and societies of different groups of students.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 240

*M. A. Jinnah to Shakir Husain Khan*

*F. 769/440*

*5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of February 1941<sup>1</sup> along with a copy of the report of the proceedings of the installation ceremony



of your Union Ministry. I was very pleased indeed to learn [about] the intensity of attachment of Aligarh students to the creed and programme of the Muslim League, and I have no doubt that the Muslim youth of India will play a very important part in the achievement and realization of our destined goal, popularly known as Pakistan Plan, as embodied in the historic Resolution of the All India Muslim League, passed at Lahore on the 22nd [24]<sup>2</sup> March 1940.

Yes, I do intend to go to Aligarh as soon as possible, probably about the end of February, but I cannot fix the date at present; I shall do so on my arrival at Delhi.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 156, Vol. XV, 229-30.

## 241

*Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 364/19-20*

LUCKNOW,  
5 February 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A very delicate situation has arisen here. The Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad has written a letter to H.E the Governor in which he has informed him that he wishes to abdicate and to give away the *Taluqa* to his younger nephew. I am afraid the intrigues, which have been going on around him, have completely shattered his nerves and he has started acting on impulse in matters of serious consequences to himself and his family. He is a young man himself and may get a male issue in future. Besides, he has daughters, who have claims on him. To have thought of disposing of the property at this age is, to my mind, proof positive of the fact that due to sudden nervous impulse he has acted in this un-thoughtful way. If he is anxious to arrange for the future disposal of property he could have done it by way of will. In his own lifetime he could arrange for the management of the estate by the court of wards or by the trustees. Looked in this light, his action becomes wholly understandable. H.E. wrote to him to see him personally and

according to my information the Raja Sahib will meet him after the 13th of *Moharram*. Whatever H.E may have to say to him, it is obvious that unless his friends succeed in persuading him to reconsider the whole matter, the Raja Sahib may not agree to his advice. The Raja Sahib will now only listen to you and to no one else. If you think that the catastrophe has to be averted, you should come at once to Lucknow and save the young Raja from committing a folly which he would rue in future when better sense prevails. Jamal Mian will explain to you the situation in detail.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQ

242

*Tej Bahadur Sapru to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 188/37-40*

19 ALBERT ROAD,  
ALLAHABAD,  
6 February 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Since we met last in Bombay a few months ago, I have several times thought of writing to you but I have never been able, up to this moment, to make up my mind. Even now, when I have decided to write to you, I am writing this letter with considerable hesitation as if I cannot make things better than they are at present. I certainly do not, in all conscience, want to make them worse. But I believe that since 1916 when we came together in the old Indian Legislative Council, you have known my views on the Hindu-Muslim question, and I am, therefore, venturing to hope that you will not misunderstand my point of view.

Although I have not been taking active part in the politics of the country for the last few years, the old interest still survives and I follow fairly closely the trend of events. The trend of recent events has only tended to confirm me in my belief that the supreme necessity of the hour is a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims, or to put it in terms of party politics, between the Congress, the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League. It is my misfortune that, owing to some very strong convictions, I have found it impossible to join either of the first two and, for obvious reasons, I could not be a member of



## 235

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner**F. 494/16**4 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Gardiner,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I am extremely sorry to hear that drastic action is proposed to be taken against you. I am still of the opinion that there is nothing wrong in what you have done. As a matter of fact I told you from the very beginning that I did not want to keep anything from the Premier or the Secretary of State for India. I cabled to them and followed up with a covering letter, the summary of my interview with you, copy of which you were sending to Mr. Parker lest it should be misunderstood by the British Government, and have received a reply which is as follows:

Many thanks from Prime Minister and myself for your telegram. We heartily reciprocate good wishes and sincerely share your desire for an agreed settlement. Shall give promised copy of report close attention in conjunction with Governor General. Amery.

I would like to know what I can do in the matter; any suggestion from you will be welcomed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M.A. JINNAH

Major W. H. P. Gardiner,  
Karachi

<sup>1</sup>No. 223.

## 236

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed**F. 1009/110**5 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to learn from your letter dated the 30th January 1941<sup>1</sup> that you are thinking of starting a paper in Tamil. As regards the financial help, I am sorry it is not possible for me at present to give you. Each province must cater [to] its own needs and I am sure

the [Muslim] League of which you are the President. Yet I feel that so long as the three big organised bodies of public opinion in India remain in their present state of relationship to each other, the future of this country cannot be, by any means, bright. It is not my purpose to discuss in this letter which of these three parties is to blame. I think that a discussion of this character can never lead to any good; indeed, I think, instead of doing good, it may do positive harm. You will remember that even in August last when we met at Bombay, I told you that if the Congress and the Hindu Sabha would not or were not prepared to call a conference for the purpose of settling differences, there was no reason why you, as the President of a great and influential League, should not take the step forward. Since then I have been giving this matter my constant attention and at last I have made up my mind to make a personal appeal to you. I do not, however, pretend to sail under false colours. I represent neither one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you in my individual capacity; in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent and speed of the progress of the country. I am deliberately avoiding all references to the controversial issues that divide the one from the other, as it is not for me to settle them but for you and leaders of other parties who can influence opinion and speak for others to raise these issues and to come to a settlement in regard to them. As a realist, I feel that not only you but Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha, particularly Dr. Savarkar, are the men on whom the primary responsibility for a settlement of those issues lies. Neither speeches on public platforms nor statements and interviews given by leaders can really help the situation. I think conversations or, if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations may possibly lead to some satisfactory results. In any case, even if they do not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that everything has been done, which could be done, to bring about a better state of feeling and understanding. I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account, without committing any other person or any other party, to my views or suggestions that (1) you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi and then the process of private talks could be extended to others. (2) If you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. I can assure you of my personal



support and co-operation in this matter. If your reply to my suggestions is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope, very strongly, that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you. I think you two should meet first, for if the country is dear to him, I believe, it is no less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I have no kind of prejudice against the League or anyone connected with it, and so far as you are concerned, I still prefer to look upon you as I used to in the days gone by when other people also looked up to you for your guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

If you are willing to see Mr. Gandhi and to discuss things, I hope you will permit me to take him into confidence about what you write to me.<sup>1</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

<sup>1</sup>See No. 257.

## 243

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, C.P. & Berar 1/38*

BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
8 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The District Magistrate, a European, who is [*sic* for has been] recently transferred to this District, made enquiries here about 'Idgah affair and the play of military band before mosques on 6.2.1941. He also submitted his report to the Local Government, the same day.

The District Magistrate had also invited me to see him and discuss the whole case with me. He was, of course, sympathetic in his talks but held the view that it was a case of *bona fide* mistakes and that we should forget the past. I, of course, told him plainly that the matter now rests with you and the Government must approach you.

I, however, beg to submit that the attitude of the Government with the Musalmans in C.P. is very unsympathetic still. There is, therefore, little force in asking us to forget the past and to take a lenient view of the case. I hope your strong attitude as against the Government will give us much relief here. The Government has punished us doubly for the last unfortunate communal riots here by prosecuting us and also by levying police tax on the Musalmans alone to the extent of nearly ten thousand rupees. The tax would not be refunded in spite of the acquittal of the Muslims accused in the main riot case.

I am much worried these days owing to the very serious illness of my brother, suffering from advanced stage of T.B.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

244

*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/17*

STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
8 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter<sup>1</sup> just received has been most welcome. It's most comforting to know that our efforts are at least being appreciated in England. But the holding up of my letter by the authorities out here is leading to tragic and most unnecessary delay. I am perfectly certain that H.E. the Viceroy would wish to do all he could to speed [up] matters if only he knew about them. Perhaps you would be able to find time to drop him a note. In any case, I feel that another cable to London, to Mr. Amery, is absolutely essential, asking him to cable the Government of India to forward the report with all speed. There appears to be no intention of letting it go at all, and I have this morning received from Mr. Parker a cable to the effect that the letter has not arrived. To my mind, any course, no matter how hopeless it might appear, should be given every consideration and assistance instead of obstruction, which to my mind is most highly to be deprecated.

I have now been given until February 17th to submit my reply, but in the meantime, I feel that when the Govt. of India become



aware of the real situation they will adopt a different attitude. It is possible that you may meet the C-in-C by then when I should be interested to know what he thinks of my action. The present case against me was initiated by his predecessor.

I think that the Secretary of State [for India] should be asked by you to institute a full enquiry into the reasons why this report has been held up. His telegram<sup>2</sup> to you is most hopeful.

Most sincerely and hopefully yours,  
PAT GARDINER

<sup>1&2</sup>No. 235.

## 245

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro*

*F. 365/6*

*8 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th January.<sup>1</sup> I am very glad that you are earnestly giving effect to the resolutions,<sup>2</sup> passed by the Sind Provincial Muslim League on the 22nd December 1940, and I note that you have, so far, secured 15 pledges and that you hope to get more shortly. That is the only way to build up a solid Muslim League Party. I am waiting to know the result of your Party meeting, which is going to take place on the 12th of February, when you will let me know the exact number of MLAs who join the Party inside the Assembly and the names of the office-bearers.

As regards the second resolution, I am glad to learn from the press reports that the Government have decided to drop the bills that were likely to come up before the Assembly in your next session. I also want to impress upon you that the Borough Municipalities, where Joint Electorate Act has already been passed, should be suspended or withdrawn because the Muslim League can never accept it.

With regard to the resignation of Mir Bunde Ali [Talpur]—a point which I have referred to him in my letter—you promised by your letter under reply that “we shall be sending you a reply jointly in a day or two.” I am still waiting for that joint reply. If necessary, I may come to Karachi at any moment because I am very anxious that the Sind muddle must be put to an end. It has now reached a state when it has become intolerable. I hope that you four, viz. Mir Bunde Ali,

[Sheikh Abdul] Majid, Haroon and yourself will stand together, no matter what the consequences may be. I am sure that if you stand together and united as honourable men and remain firm, all difficulties and opposition will melt away and you as well as the Muslim League will be free from the most humiliating position. I, therefore, request you all to serve selflessly and fearlessly the cause for which we all stand.

I have issued a statement to the press, a copy of which is enclosed herewith,<sup>3</sup> and you will gather from it that the so-called "Azad Pact" is a pure manoeuvre and no such arrangement between some individuals can, by any stretch of the imagination, be called a pact and I am sure that you, along with your other colleagues in the Ministry, will stand loyally by the instructions of the League. In conclusion, I hope you will all act on the lines of my statement without hesitation and without faltering in any way.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 218.

<sup>2</sup>See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 157.

<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 142-4.

## 246

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/194*

*8 February 1941*

Dear Sir Abdoola,

In continuation of my letter of the 2nd February,<sup>1</sup> I am enclosing a copy of my statement<sup>2</sup> that I issued to the press on Sind situation. You will gather from this that the least I expect is that the personnel of the present Ministry should not be disturbed and, in the meantime, the Muslim League should be organised as a party in the Assembly and it should be consolidated in the districts and primary Leagues should be formed throughout the Province of Sind.

I am waiting to hear fuller reports of further developments from you and I am also anxious to know how Mirpurkhas elections are going on.

With regard to the papers that you have forwarded to me about America,<sup>3</sup> I am still looking into them. I will then get in touch with Mr. [S. M.] Ahmed.



Lastly, I hope that you all will put your heads together and carry out the line indicated in my statement, issued to the press.

I am sure that if Mir Bundeh Ali, Khuhro, Majid, Sayed and yourself stand united and work as comrades and as a team, you will retrieve the prestige and reputation of the Muslim League and very soon you will find that all the opposition and difficulties have melted away.

Mir Bundeh Ali, Sheikh Majid, Khuhro and Sayed have given me their definite assurance that they will do so, and I am sure that you all and other leaders will put your heads together and pull yourselves out from this quagmire and rehabilitate the prestige and the reputation of the Muslim League of Sind.

Hoping you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See No. 225

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 142-4.

<sup>3</sup>See Enclosures 1, 2 & Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 190.

## 247

*M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bundeh Ali Khan Talpur*

*F. 218/5-6*

*8 February 1941*

Dear Mir Bundeh Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant<sup>1</sup> and also of your previous acknowledgment of my letter.

I have already sent you a wire, which runs as follows:

Your letter. My opinion you not bound resign. I have written already fully Majid, Haroon. Posting letter reply Khuhro yours. Stand united.

I am glad to note that since you have become a Muslim Leaguer, you will go by my decision and seek my guidance. I thank you for this assurance. I am definitely of the opinion that neither the Provincial Muslim League nor the All India Muslim League is bound by any hole and corner arrangement by a few individuals, as neither of the two bodies were a party to it, and I gather from your letter that you also were not a party to this mythical arrangement. I have come to the conclusion that no change should be made in the Ministry and if

you are forced to do so and you cannot maintain sufficient strength and support for your Ministry, [then] the only honourable course for you all will be to resign together and let somebody else form the Ministry rather than have two members of the Muslim League as puppets and discredit and exploit the name of the Muslim League without any solid party inside the legislature or any sanction from outside.

I was also pleased to note when you say, "You may please rest assured that we will always remain as good team, having always the prestige of our organization in the forefront, and nothing that will damage the cause of the Muslims of India be ever done by us." Let me tell you that if Sheikh Abdul Majid, Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Haroon and yourself stand together, united and work as comrades I feel confident that all your difficulties and opposition will disappear. Establish a solid Muslim League Party in the Assembly. That is the foundation.

I am glad that you are calling a meeting of the Muslim MLAs on 12th instant and that more members will be enrolled in the League Party in the Assembly.

You need have no fear as to the future elections. It is by your taking up a firm, united and honourable stand that you will win the public support. At present, if the Muslim League Party formed in the Assembly will be in a minority or small in number then it will be much better and the only honourable course to sit in the opposition rather than be a puppet on the mercy of a coalition of two Hindu parties and their allies, Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah].

I have, I think, made my views clear to you. I have also issued a statement<sup>2</sup> to the press, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

Finally, I request you that you must meet together along with Haroon and some other leading men and give effect to what I have written above.

I have written to Khuhro, Majid and also to Haroon to the same effect.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH



## 248

*M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Abdul Majid**F. 454/9**8 February 1941*

Dear Sheikh Abdul Majid,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it.

Mr. Nihchaldas has written to me a long letter<sup>2</sup> which confirms me in the view that I have taken, viz. that the whole business is a clear device to manage to dominate the Assembly by the Hindus and keep the Musalmans divided and create disruption among them. If they succeed in these machinations, you and [M. A.] Khuhro will be mere puppets. I think you understand fully as well as I do, as I gather from your long letter. The conclusion that I have come to is that either the present Ministry should be allowed to continue for the rest of the term of the Assembly without change or reshuffle or else the only honourable course for Mir Bunde Ali, yourself and Khuhro is to resign together. But one thing is certain that any change in the Ministry as contemplated at present must lead to the result that either you will have to resign and refuse to be a member of the Ministry or resign the membership of the [Muslim] League because I am quite convinced that the present move, if carried, will be a discredit to the League and we cannot allow two individuals to pass off as League Ministers and exploit the name of the Muslim League without any Party behind them in the Assembly which could be responsible to the Provincial Muslim League.

I have written to Khuhro<sup>3</sup> and also to Mir Bunde Ali<sup>4</sup> in reply to their letters, and I am enclosing a copy of my statement<sup>5</sup> that I have issued to the press. I hope you will act according to it.

Do not be despondent, as I gather from the last few lines of your letter a note of despair. If Mir Bunde Ali, Khuhro, yourself and Haroon work in a team, united and selflessly, believe me all the opposition and difficulties will melt away.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 230.

<sup>2</sup>No. 234.

<sup>3</sup>No. 245.

<sup>4</sup>No. 247.

<sup>5</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 142-4.

## 249

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 365/7*

CAMP HYDERABAD, SIND,  
8 February 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I have already replied to your letter on the 30th instant<sup>1</sup> [ January 1941], which I trust you have received. I have also seen your letter, dated the 30th January 1941<sup>2</sup> to Sheikh Abdul Majid and of 2nd February 1941<sup>3</sup> to Sir Haji Abdoola Haroon. I am afraid the letter of Mir [Bundeh Ali] Sahib has not conveyed to you the full implication of his understanding. In fact Mir Saheb, of his own free choice, had given a verbal understanding to Maulana [Abul Kalam] Azad that he intended to resign, of his own free will, on account of some of his private affairs by the middle of February 1941 and he conveyed this fact to His Excellency the Governor as well.

Mr. G. M. Sayed and myself wrote a letter to Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, which makes a mention of this and I enclose a copy<sup>4</sup> of it for your perusal. This will give you complete information as to what is being styled as an 'agreement'. I have read the correspondence passed between you and Mr. G. M. Sayed and looking to the conditions obtained here. I fully agree with the views of Mr. Sayed that the unity of the various Muslim groups in the Assembly is most essential and should be achieved and preserved at all costs.

We have called a meeting of the [Muslim] League Assembly Party on the 12th instant where we will discuss these matters fully and I will let you know the decisions arrived at there.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHRO

<sup>1</sup>No. 218.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 454/4, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 225.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 365/8, QAP. Not printed.



## 250

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/192-3*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
8 February 1941

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter, dated 28th January,<sup>1</sup> for which I thank you. Kindly excuse me for not having replied earlier.

I feel glad that you have issued a statement<sup>2</sup> on Sind Ministry, which I read in the press this morning. This will greatly help the Working Committee to come to some definite conclusion when it will meet on the 12th instant.

Your guidance and advice, which [you] give from time to time, are of immense value to me but my difficulties are such that the influence of [M. A.] Khuhro and others did not allow me to act according to my views. You fully know the ideas of Mr. G. M. Sayed which instead of helping us [are] creating difficulties. However, we are trying to the best of our ability to meet your desires and I assure you that we shall be doing everything honestly but, after all, we are human beings and there is [a] possibility that we may commit any weakness [*sic*] or mistake. We have convened a meeting of the Working Committee on the 12th and 13th instant to consider finally the question of Sind Ministry and I shall let you know its decision as soon as possible.

On the 14th instant, I am going to preside over the Punjab District Educational Conference to be held at Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] and after two days, I shall proceed to Delhi and reach there on the 17th instant. We shall meet and discuss the matter there personally.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 142-4.

## 251

*M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Chittagong District Muslim League*

*F. 566/19*

*9 February 1941*

Dear Sir,

I thank you for forwarding to me a copy of the resolutions<sup>1</sup> passed by the general meeting held on the 19th January for the constitution of the Sadar Sub-Divisional League and the City League of Chittagong. Please accept my grateful thanks for the expression of confidence of the meeting and the good wishes embodied in the resolutions.

I am also very happy to note the resolution declaring that the Pakistan scheme as embodied in the Lahore Resolution passed in the historical sessions of the All India Muslim League is the only solution for the Indian problem and that the Musalmans are ready to make any sacrifice for its achievement.

I wish your Sub-Divisional League every success.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,  
The District Muslim League,  
Chittagong

<sup>1</sup>No. 226.

## 252

*M. A. Jinnah to Nihchaldas C. Vazirani*

*F. 924/150*

*9 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Nihchaldas,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. It is a very sad reading indeed. I really do not know, in the maze of contradiction and conflicting views, what to believe and what not to believe. But I have tried my very best to understand the situation and the conclusion that I have come to has already been released to the press in the form of a statement, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

I am firmly of the opinion that you should exert your influence not to disturb the personnel of the present Ministry, whatever it is,



on the strength of some such arrangement which was arrived at between some individuals. The very account of this arrangement is somewhat conflicting and mysterious. It has been denied by Mir Bunde Ali [Talpur].

I hope that you will rise above everything and not create a crisis merely for the purpose of finding a place for Sir Ghulam Hussain and instal Allah Bakhsh as the Premier.

You will gather from my statement that if the so-called arrangement is forced, it will be impossible for the Muslim League to allow its name to be exploited and discredited for the sake of two members of the Muslim League, who happen to be the members of the Ministry.

Let the Muslim League in the Assembly form itself into a properly organised party and let them also secure and win the confidence of the Musalmans and the sanction of the Muslim League outside the legislature and work in a spirit of co-operation for the welfare of the Province.

You know my views. From the very beginning, I have held that there should be two Hindu Ministers who would command the confidence of the majority of Hindu members of the Assembly. I believe firmly in the principle that the minority community must be adequately safeguarded and in that respect my services will always be at the disposal of your community.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 234.

## 253

*S. M. Ismail to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*SHC (1499)*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
9 February 1941

My dear Nawabzada Sahib,

I am obliged to you for your kind letter and thank you for including my Resolution No. 1 in the agenda of the next [Muslim League] Council meeting. I have very good reasons for giving notice of that.

As regards [Resolution] No. 2, regarding Mr. Jinnah's election as

life President, I was not unaware of the constitutional difficulties in view of the rules and I am also aware that changes and intended changes can only be made at an open annual session. I have grown old enough in politics to know all that. Yet I have reasons for this move and my intention was to recommend to the All India [Muslim League] Annual Conference to show our mark of respect to our revered President. However, I would request you to show this letter to Mr. Jinnah only with our considered wish to see him still further raised to that position, if possible. I shall attend the meeting. I make one more request to you to submit to Mr. Jinnah and in doing so I hope you will not consider me suffering from a false notion of prestige, if I submit that special arrangement be made on the platform at the annual session [of the Muslim League] for all those Provincial Presidents who are now members of the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee. The arrangement made at Lahore on the first day was most unsatisfactory and annoying. The poor Provincial President had to sit in [the] pit with ordinary members. Next day, everybody, even some delegates, sat on the platform. I hope and trust, we, Provincial Presidents should be allotted special seats on the dais. I hope you and the President will agree with me.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

ISMAIL

*President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

254

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/187*

*10 February 1941*

My dear Liaquat,

I shall feel obliged if you will send me at least 100 copies of the booklets containing all the resolutions passed by the Working Committee, the Council and the sessions of the All India Muslim League up to date.

I understand that 800 copies of my booklet were delivered at the Central Office as arranged. We have not yet received the cheque for it. Please, therefore, let me have it as soon as possible.

May I also draw your attention to the following points which may be considered by the Working Committee and the Council.



The question of fixing a date to be observed as Pakistan Day every year on the 23rd of March, being the date on which the Lahore Resolution was passed by the sessions of the All India Muslim League.

Once a month or at least once every three months, a Muslim League Week must be fixed during which period the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League should be explained to the people throughout India by the Provincial and District Leagues and a drive should be made to enrol more members of the League, and also various parts of India must consider and take up constructive programmes for the purpose of the uplift of the Musalmans in the matter of their economic, social and educational conditions.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

PS. I think the dates of the meeting of the Organising Committee are not convenient to the members as the meeting of the Council of All India Muslim League is also fixed on the 23rd instant.

## 255

*Burhanulhaq to Marquess of Linlithgow & Others<sup>1</sup>*  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

*Telegram, F. 570/96*

JUBBULPORE,  
10 February 1941

Despite repeated grave provocations Jubbulpore Muslims were most peaceful throughout *Moharram*. Yesterday after sunset police opened fire<sup>2</sup> on returning Muslim processionists without justifiable cause necessity without intimating responsible Muslim leaders with procession and without warning. Four Muslim deaths, several injured mortally. Situation critical. Judicial enquiry demanded.

BURHANULHAQ  
*President, Jubbulpore Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>The letter is also addressed to Governor, C. P. and Liaquat Ali Khan.

<sup>2</sup>The AIML meeting in New Delhi on 22.2.1941, strongly condemned the police firing. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 478.

## 256

C. M. G. Ogilvie to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, C.P. & Berar 1/39

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,  
10 February 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Will you please refer to your letter of January 18th?<sup>1</sup> I return herewith the letter from Mr. Mohammed Asghar, which you enclosed with it.

2. A new and detailed enquiry has now been completed by the Central Provinces Government to whom I forwarded Mr. Mohammed Asghar's letter. The facts, as now revealed, are as follows:

- a. The land adjoining the '*Idgah*' is described as presenting the appearance of a disused and abandoned area. The '*Idgah*' itself is just a wall and in front of it is an old encamping ground. There is nothing on the ground to indicate where the boundary between the '*Idgah*' and the camping ground is. The only circumstance which might have given rise to a suspicion that the plot, where the tents were pitched, was part of the '*Idgah*' plot is the fact that it is slightly raised. That the mistake, though due to carelessness, was a natural one is, I think, borne out by the passage in Mr. Mohammed Asghar's letter where he says "The *Naib Tehsildar*—Mr. Tahir Hussain—is quite new to the place and is most junior in service. Besides, he is a Shia gentleman (Shias offer their prayers elsewhere) and, therefore, he had perhaps no occasion to visit the place before and did not know the limits of the '*Idgah*'. It seems quite clear that the direct cause of the incident was the failure of the civil officers to examine the map and see where the boundary of the '*Idgah*' plot ran.
- b. The Officer commanding the troops (a company of the King's Own Scottish Borderers) asked the Sub-Divisional Officer (Mr. Chaube) whether he could have his tents pitched on the site in question as it was well shaded by large *neem* trees. The Sub-Divisional Officer consulted the *Naib Tehsildar* (Mr. Tahir Hussain) who said that there was no objection. There is no doubt about this at all, and it is not a fact that the Sub-



Divisional Officer is trying to shift the burden of his responsibility on to other shoulders.

- c. While the tents were being pitched, a considerable number of people, including [the] Muslims, were looking on and none made any representation. The enquiry has shown that the custodian of the '*Idgah*' was not among those present when the tents were actually being pitched, but he made a statement to the Deputy Commissioner that he was informed at about 3.30 p.m. that the tents had been pitched within '*Idgah*' limits and that he went to the '*Idgah*' at about 5 p.m. and saw the tents. He did not approach any officer on the subject.
- d. Among the lookers-on were, however, at least two Muslim gentlemen of standing, one of whom was Seth Nur Bakhsh, a member of the Burhanpur Muslim League and also of the Burhanpur Municipal Committee. He has stated that he saw the tents being pitched, but did not speak to the *Naib Tehsildar* about it.

3. From all this, I deduce that at the time the tents were pitched no one realised that the site selected was in reality a part of the '*Idgah*' plot.

The Officer commanding the troops did not learn of the facts until after his arrival at Asirgarh on the next day.

In the circumstances, I think that you will agree that he is not to blame.

4. As regards the civil officers, I understand that though they can be acquitted of the slightest intention of wounding the religious feelings of the Muslims, the Government of the Central Provinces has decided that they should have made enquiries before allowing the pitching of the tents and should at least have looked up the map and proposes to take suitable action against them for this failure. The Deputy Commissioner will also express regret to the '*Idgah*' authorities.

Yours sincerely,  
C. MCIVOR G. OGILVIE  
*Secretary, Defence, Govt. of India*

257

*M. A. Jinnah to Tej Bahadur Sapru**F. 188/41**10 February 1941*

My dear Sapru,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I have given to it my closest attention and consideration coming, as it does, from you.

The main purpose on which you have concentrated is directed towards trying to induce me to agree to see Mr. Gandhi. I am sorry to find that you are under the impression that I am reluctant and opposed to seeing Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community, for you say in your letter that I should agree first to see Mr. Gandhi. Then you proceed to say further, "if your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him I shall write to him and press it upon him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience." Please remove this erroneous impression from your mind. I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

As regards other matters in your letter, I cannot do better than to send you a press cutting<sup>2</sup> giving full text of my speech that I made in the course of the debate in the Assembly on the Supplementary Finance Bill last November as I fear that your attention, if at all, could have been drawn only to the A.P. summary that appeared in most of the papers at the time.

This will give you some idea of the position and the point of view of the Muslim League.

I thank you for your personal references to me which, I need not say, I appreciate very much.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 242.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable. However see Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches: Indian Legislative Assembly, 1935-1947*, Karachi, 1991, 474-500.



## 258

*M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur & Others<sup>1</sup>*

*Telegram, F. 854/53*

BOMBAY,

11 February 1941

Your last letter.<sup>2</sup> Any weakening or departure from lines indicated in my statement,<sup>3</sup> most disastrous. Please adhere strictly my statement. Don't accept any other proposal without first consulting me.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>The telegram had also been addressed to Sheikh Abdul Majid, M. A. Khuhro, Ministers, and H. Abdoola Haroon, President, Sind Muslim League.

<sup>2</sup>See Nos. 249 and 250.

<sup>3</sup>Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 142-4.

## 259

*M. H. Saiyid to Mohammad Sharif Toosy*

*F. 465/2*

12 February 1941

Dear Mr. Toosy,

I am sorry I could not reply to your letters<sup>1</sup> earlier, which I received intact. I placed all the cuttings that you sent to me before Mr. Jinnah, and he very much thanks you for all the work that you are doing.

He suggested to me that if you could write a small booklet giving a summary of what the Muslim League has done and what it stands for, he will give you all the help that you may require. I have a very great treasure of material and I can place that at your disposal in case you undertake the work. Mr. Jinnah has liked your article that appeared in the *Eastern Times* recently which you have called *Political Deadlock in India*. It is a fair summary, he says, of the recent events and, if in the same way, you could write a short account of the principal events during the period beginning from 1936 up to the present moment, I am sure it will be a very useful work.

In this connection I would suggest that if you can come to Delhi conveniently, please do so and have a talk with Mr. Jinnah concerning the way in which you would be required or you would like to do it.

As you know that Mr. Jinnah is no longer going to Rawalpindi, but may go to Lahore in connection with the Punjab Students' Federation [Conference] but he is not sure. I do not know who exactly are the persons responsible for the Muslim Students' [Federation] Conference and whether it will be worthwhile to go there. Please let me know at an early date if you know anything about it.

As regards the cuttings that you have sent to me,<sup>2</sup> I think I will, for the time being, retain them as they may be of some use to Mr. Jinnah but I will preserve them with much care and will return the same as soon as I have done with them. I am returning the cutting of Mr. Gandhi's article which you sent me previously and I thank you for it. We shall be leaving for Delhi on the 15th instant, as at present arranged.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. H. SAIYID

[*Private Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*]

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

## 260

*M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur*

*Telegram, F. 218/8*

BOMBAY,

14 February 1941

Khuhro coming Delhi, meet me 18th. Your presence consultation necessary<sup>1</sup> before final decision regarding Sind ministry.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur intimated his inability to come over to Delhi because the Governor of Sind was away. See F. 854/54, QAP. Not printed.

## 261

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro*

*F. 365/10*

14 February 1941

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I received your telegram<sup>1</sup> yesterday, the 13th February, and also I



was glad to receive your telephone call this morning informing me that you were coming to Delhi to meet me before any final decision regarding the Sind affairs is taken.

I confirm the appointment of your meeting me at Delhi on the 18th, and I have also wired to Mir Bunde Ali [Talpur]<sup>2</sup> to come to Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>In his wire, Khuhro had requested Jinnah to fix a date for a meeting with him in Delhi before 20 February. See F. 365/9, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 260.

## 262

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 361/7-9*

PAHARI IMLI,  
DELHI,  
14 February 1941

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On the first January 1941, I sent you a formal application<sup>1</sup> with a statement<sup>2</sup> about my brother Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M. A. through Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] Sahib, the Secretary, All India Muslim League.

But alas! right up to this date, I did not even receive an ordinary acknowledgment about it.

You had promised me to do your best for my brother. I am sure you must have been doing something, no doubt.

I think you know that from 29 December 1940 to about 7 January 1941, i.e. for ten days, about five hours a day, my brother was asked to answer about 300 questions, set by the Govt. He did not keep a copy of the questions nor that of the answers. My brother, however, is sure that all misunderstandings on the side of the Govt. must have been removed and his innocence fully proved and his release at hand.

On the 4th February, i.e. after about a month, in expectation of my brother's release, I wrote to Mr. Sloan, Adviser, Law and Order, to the Governor, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Marsh, the Chief Adviser, in the hope of hearing some good news. After 10 days, I received an

answer from someone, perhaps his Secretary. This was as cold as death. There was not a word about my brother! The letter indeed shocked me. It only mentioned that points 3, 4 and 5 will be considered. They were about the delays in delivery of letters, havoc of mice, etc., in the barrack[s] and about separate letters to his children enclosed with my letter to be considered as one letter or more. I wept for my brother and his family's future. But I have one consolation and that is you, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

Please do your utmost for his release. I propose to move a strong resolution for his release in the forthcoming meeting of the League and also to write forcibly [*sic*] to the Governor for my brother's immediate release and that of his wife. I am sure your voice will be heard. Further, it is my wish to permit me [*sic*] to see you<sup>3</sup> as soon as possible specially on Islamic matters.

I hope you will kindly accept my humble requests and acknowledge the receipt of this.

I am,  
the most insignificant thing,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI

<sup>1</sup>No. 149.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah asked him to meet him after 23 February 1941. See F. 361/10, QAP. Not printed.

## 263

*M. N. Roy to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 187/29-31

RATILAL MANSION,  
PAREKH STREET,  
BOMBAY,  
14 February 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It was realised by all present at the inaugural conference of the National Democratic Union,<sup>1</sup> held in Calcutta on 30 and 31 December, that the success of this movement was largely conditional upon the support of the Muslim League, and particularly your active co-operation. Therefore, I was charged to see you as soon as possible. But I thought that our conversation in this connection might be more fruitful if it took place after you had observed the development



of our campaign and judged its possibilities. Therefore, I delayed my meeting you. The trend of events and experience gained in the meantime, however, show that there should be no more delay. I shall not be able to reach Bombay before the beginning of March, and by that time you will be away at Delhi. Hence, I feel the necessity of writing to you as preparatory to our eventual meeting to discuss matters more conclusively and in greater detail.

I presume you are acquainted with the result of the Calcutta conference. The declaration<sup>2</sup> issued by it is enclosed herewith. I take the liberty of drawing your attention particularly to the paragraph in which the condition regarding the formation of the Union is stipulated. Given that clear stipulation, it is confidently hoped that the recommendations made in the declaration should secure the support of the Muslim League because they do not, in any way, contradict its general programme and present position as regards the War. As a matter of fact, all the major organisations, excepting the Congress, can be reasonably expected to endorse the recommendations and co-operate for enforcing them to their mutual benefit as well as the general welfare of the country. I am glad to say that generally, the response has been very encouraging.

Since our conference was held in Calcutta, repeated efforts have been made to bring about a reconciliation between the Congress and the Government. As no such reconciliation is possible except with the co-operation of the Muslim League, you have been favoured with advice from many wishful thinkers who do not realise the implications of the Congress totalitarianism. This anxiety to placate the Congress leaders is really absurd. Why should they be allowed to dictate or obstruct as they please? Their claim to represent the nation is utterly unfounded. Today they represent no more than a minority of the Indian people. A vocal minority coercing and eclipsing others with the aid of a mercenary organisation and controlled press is the essence of Fascism. That is exactly what the Congress is today. To combat the totalitarian claim of the Congress, therefore, must be a part of India's fight against Fascism, if it is to be honest and serious. That can be done successfully by a coalition (not only parliamentary) of all the other organisations and independent individuals together representing the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. The National Democratic Union is meant to provide the platform for such a coalition.

But an atmosphere of inertia prevails. It seems that the Congress totalitarianism has paralysed the leaders of all other groups opposed to the Congress programme and policy. They all wish an early end



of the present impasse. Yet, none dare take the necessary initiative, expecting someone else to do so. Meanwhile, they vie with each other in advising the Government and yourself to come to terms with the Congress. The Government, itself paralysed by Congress intransigence, takes advantage of the helpless attitude of the non-Congress leaders for retaining autocratic power as long as possible.

The movement for ending the present impasse, through a coalition of all organisations and individuals opposed to the Congress policy, evidently has the sympathy and tacit support of all concerned. But the general desire is that a major organisation like the Muslim League and an outstanding leader like yourself should take the initiative. I have been reassured from many quarters that once such an initiative is taken, they will all join in. That is the attitude of the Non-Brahmin movement of Southern India, for example. But my appeal to you is to judge the case on its merits and act accordingly.

A movement, representing the Muslim League, the Non-Brahmin organisations, the party led by Dr. Ambedkar, other Depressed Class associations, the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and many other lesser organisations, will show the Congress its proper place. The Government, on its part, will be compelled to recognise such a movement as the factor to be contended with. Finally, our party (the Radical Democratic Party) is not a negligible factor. Although new and numerically not very strong as yet, the skeleton of its organisation coincides with that of the Congress throughout the country. All reasonable Congressmen are inclined to our party and are gradually coming over. Our party derives its particular importance from its influence on the working class. This has been evidenced by a series of labour rallies, recently held under its auspices. The unions supporting our party together represent a much larger number of organised workers than the Trade Union Congress.

As regards the personal composition of the projected movement, nobody can deny that yourself, a representative of the Non-Brahmins, Dr. Ambedkar, a Christian like Sir Maharaj Singh, an outstanding intellectual like Dr. Paranjpye, a representative of the Sikhs and a representative of our party, can compose a government more representative than the national government of the Congress coterie. It is almost certain that the Hindu Mahasabha will fall in line with such a combination. To avoid misunderstanding, let it be mentioned that the question of the number of representatives is not treated here. Nothing serious stands in the way of such a combination which alone can save the country from the vagaries and fantastic claims of the Congress.



I believe that the Lahore Resolution<sup>3</sup> of the Muslim League should not be an obstacle. You have made that clear by the declaration that it should not interfere with the solution of the immediate issues. Moreover, the constitutional content of the scheme cannot be objectionable for any realistic political thinker. It is evident that the whole of India cannot have a centralised State. The structure of the inevitable Federation is bound to be determined by the internal conditions of its component units. And autonomy, to be effective, must imply the right of secession. All far-seeing and realistic advocates of Indian freedom are bound to accept that view sooner or later. The National Democratic Union can be expected to bring about that reasonable attitude.

For all these considerations, I venture to assume that the Muslim League will have no objection to joining the National Democratic Union, which will be formally inaugurated in an all-India convention to be held as soon as the preparatory work is accomplished. In any case, I hope that you will give serious consideration to the matter, and let me have the benefit of your advice and suggestions.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,

M. N. ROY

*Secretary, National Democratic Union*

<sup>1</sup>Others on the Standing Committee of National Democratic Union were Sir Sultan Ahmed, Dr. S. Sinha, Dr. Mohammad Yunus, Aftab Ali, K. C. Roy Chowdhury, Raja of Parikud, A. K. Pillai, M. Palat, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Jamnadas Mehta, V. B. Karnik, Dr. N. B. Khare, Kunwar Anand Singh, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Sir Henry Gidney and M. N. Roy.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>See No. 156, Vol. XV, 229-31.

<sup>4</sup>Jinnah expressed his inability to meet the request as already explained during the previous interview. See F. 187/28, QAP. Not printed.

## 264

*Malik Barkat Ali to Liaquat Ali Khan  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 215/67-8*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
15 February 1941

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

I am so glad to find that your Committee did take disciplinary

action against three of our Punjab friends. These three gentlemen are in the list of members, sent up on behalf of the Punjab Muslim League as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League for the coming year. In view of this disciplinary action taken against them, obviously they cannot continue as members of the Council of the All India Muslim League and, therefore, there are three vacancies in the Punjab list. I am not sure whether you are aware of the fact that in the new list, sent on behalf of [the] Punjab, I and practically all my friends have been excluded as inconvenient persons. I suggest that the three vacancies in the Punjab list may be filled by the election of the following gentlemen:

1. Myself
2. Mr. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi
3. Pir Taj-ud-Din, Bar-at-law

If there is any other vacancy, I should like to recommend the name of Pirzada Mohammad Zaka Ullah, President, District Muslim League, Simla. He is a most enthusiastic supporter of the League.

I wish that you had taken action against the entire Muslim League. I must say that as things stand, the League cause is at an absolute standstill in the Punjab.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
MLA

265

*Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 218/9-11*

PRIVATE

CASUARINAS,  
KARACHI,  
15 February 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I received your telegram<sup>1</sup> today desiring me to see you at Delhi along with Honourable K. B. [M. Ayub] Khuhro, who intends to see you there at an early date. The fact is that he has been deputed by the [Muslim] League Parliamentary Party to discuss with you various proposals for reaching an amicable settlement with K. B. Allah Bakhsh and his party inside the Assembly.



I might inform you that we are inducing K. B. Allah Bakhsh also to accompany him to Delhi and if that materialises, you will be fully acquainted with both sides of the picture. Your statement<sup>2</sup> has been read and re-read by me and my other honourable colleagues and that is what has necessitated Khuhro's visit to Delhi to see you. I am definitely of the opinion, and my other Muslim colleagues also share my views, that the solidarity of the Muslim members inside the Assembly should be preserved. At present, out of 34 Muslim members in the Assembly only 15 have, so far, signed the regular pledge of the League party but a few of them and some 7 or 8 other members are fluid element. K. B. Allah Bakhsh and Sir Ghulam Hussain's party consists of 12 members.

I am of the opinion that we should not sacrifice the solidarity of [the] Muslims in the best interests of the Province at this critical time for the sake of one post in the Cabinet. Even our numbers do not entitle us to [a] larger share than 50 per cent of Muslim seats in the Cabinet. The Hindu community is also very keen that there should be no rift in the two Muslim parties inside the Assembly as that state of affairs is bound to cause serious repercussions in the Province where the people are panicky and the international situation is already causing considerable anxiety at this stage.

The details and all the proposals will be discussed personally with you by my colleagues and I earnestly pray that you will kindly lend your fullest co-operation and support in reaching some solution satisfactory and acceptable to both the sides.

I may mention here for your information that taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of this Province, neither our Party nor the Provincial [Muslim] League desire to go into opposition and cause embarrassment to the Government. As regards my trip to Delhi, I am afraid it is not possible for me to leave Sind at this time when His Excellency the Governor has already left to meet the Viceroy and I must stay behind mainly on that account. Besides, all of us cannot leave at one and the same time for administrative reasons. If need be, I can get in touch with you and my colleagues by telephone after they have reached Delhi and discussed the entire pros and cons of this difficult problem.

Yours sincerely,  
MIR BUNDEH ALI  
[Premier, Sind]

<sup>1</sup>See No. 260.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 258, note 3.

266

*Mahomed Suleman Cassum Mitha to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/78*

27 KOLSA MOHALLA, PYDHONIE,  
BOMBAY,  
16 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is with regret that I am writing to inform you of my decision to resign my seat in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. This decision has been forced upon me for sometime past. The feeling has been growing in my mind and has now in fact taken a form of a firm conviction that I cannot subscribe to the present policy of the [Muslim] League. I do not wish to say anything more on the subject as I would like to avoid any acrimonious correspondence.

As I stood for the Assembly on the Muslim League ticket, it would not be right for me to retain my seat [any] longer. Now that I find myself in disagreement with your policy, I hope you would accept my resignation from the Muslim League Bombay Legislative Assembly Party, and with it the expression of my deep regret that this severance of our political relation should have become necessary. I have today forwarded my letter of resignation to the Government and shall communicate my decision to the press.

Yours faithfully,  
MAHOMED SULEMAN CASSUM MITHA

267

*M. A. Jinnah to Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur**F. 218/14-5*

NEW DELHI,  
19 February 1941

Dear Mir Bunde Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant<sup>1</sup> and I regret that Sheikh Abdul Majid was not able to come as he was not well. I hope he is well now. I note also that you could not come for the reasons



given in your letter.

I have considered your letter most carefully and have given my best attention to it. Hon'ble Khan Bahadur [M. Ayub] Khuhro, Sir Abdoola Haroon and myself discussed the whole situation and the question of Sind Ministry in all its bearing and aspects, and I have come to the conclusion that it will be most disastrous for you and for the party that you now represent as well as for the Provincial Muslim League, Sind, and the All India Muslim League to depart from the advice that I have already given, viz. that the present Ministry should continue. I have also examined the document that was signed by Mr. [G. M.] Sayed and Mr. Khuhro and it is absurd to call it a pact or an agreement between all parties. You yourself say that you were not a party to it, nor was the Provincial Muslim League, and when Shaikh Abdul Majid was informed about this document, he repudiated it. On the strength of this mythical arrangement which, on the face of it, is nebulous and no agreement between any party or parties, except that it is signed by two individuals, Mr. Sayed and Mr. Khuhro, and given to Mr. Nihchaldas [Vazirani] to remain as a secret document, and further as the very first condition, viz. that Shaikh was to resign, was not fulfilled, the Hindu and Congress press are parading this as a pact. On the strength of this, Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh threatens to create a crisis unless he is installed as Premier, and Sir Ghulam Hussain is included in the Ministry and one of you should go out and make room for him. The only answer to such an ultimatum is that we cannot surrender. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to you, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Khan Bahadur Khuhro to stand together and face the Assembly until you are obliged to resign for want of majority at your back. That seems to me to be the only honourable course for you to adopt.

It is argued that you should not embarrass the Government. But in the event of your Government being defeated and if you have to sit in the opposition, why is it assumed that the main business of the opposition would be to embarrass any other government that may be formed? Why should any government be embarrassed if the opposition attacks and criticises the government in power when it is the constitutional and legitimate function of the opposition?

You are asking for the moon that a parliamentary government should be run with complete unanimity in the Assembly. In the very nature of the constitution under which you are working, it is contemplated that the government can only be run on healthy lines by a majority plus a constitutional opposition.

In conclusion, I beg of you not to accept any proposal to change

the personnel of the Ministry without first consulting me and unless it is given to you in writing and is received from responsible quarters. I cannot put any reliance on verbal conversations and verbal proposals.

You must have noticed the interview of Mr. Nihchaldas where he has taken up a very pious attitude that so far as the two Hindu Ministers and their party are concerned, they are willing to co-operate with the four Muslim Ministers that may be acceptable to the Muslim members of the Assembly, and, therefore, now the quarrel and dispute is passed on to the Musalmans. If the Musalmans do not rise to the occasion and if the solid body of the Musalmans will not see what is obvious in their interest and if they do not support the Muslim League Ministers, then I think, in all honesty, the League Ministers should not thrust themselves upon the Cabinet but should sit on the opposition benches and let the public know that the Muslim League is not responsible for that Government.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 265.

## 268

*Ali Muhummed H. Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah & H. Abdoola Haroon*

*Telegram, F. 427/4*

*19 February 1941*

Reference press message.<sup>1</sup> Abdul Majid prepared obey mandate but latest position no danger ministry if Khuhro, Bunde Ali stand firm, reshuffle cabinet at once, remove undesirable elements, consolidate and face Assembly.

RASHDI

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 147-8.



269

*Mohammad Anwar Samadani to M. A. Jinnah**F. 434/1-3*

SHIBLI MANZIL,  
ALIGARH,  
20 February 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I had recently an opportunity of going to the Punjab and studying closely the conditions prevailing there. I stayed there about a week and came into contact with a number of young men who, I found, were greatly inspired by the ideal placed before them by the All India Muslim League. There was no local organization to bring them together but separately they had been doing their best to propagate and disseminate the fundamental ideas of the Muslim League. I succeeded to some extent in forming an association of these young men where they were to work together in the absence of a more organised and a recognized body of the Muslim League. For the coming Pakistan conference they have all united and are working with great enthusiasm. They, at this moment, need your personal encouragement, the most.

I had gone to Lahore with the express purpose of studying the conditions there and had been almost convinced on the point that I would meet with little enthusiasm for genuine political endeavour. But I had to revise my opinion after I had studied the conditions obtaining there. The young man of the Punjab has the shortcomings of the young man of any other place, but we have no reason to be disappointed altogether. If properly handled, he can prove to be a good soldier of the Muslim League. The universal complaint was that the Provincial body did not command their trust nor did it inspire any enthusiasm.

This complaint may simply be an admission of their own shortcomings but the deplorable fact is that real work for the Muslim League has not so far been possible in that Province. And it is a great irony that these regions for which the Muslim League is particularly working for amelioration should themselves be most lukewarm in support. It is not that the ideals of the Muslim League cannot find favour with those people; only a few high class people

are in our way, masses and young men are all with us, but the real fact is that honest efforts have not been made to propagate the message of the Muslim League.

We are now determined to end this state of affairs. I have a scheme in my mind (which I shall place before you when you are at Aligarh) for intensive work in the Punjab. We want to prepare a band of devoted workers who should carry out propaganda work and the constructive programme of the Muslim League. The band of workers shall consist of young men who have the enthusiasm of youth but who are sufficiently cool-minded to work out a definite programme, assiduously and persistently. We shall exploit the prevailing circumstances to our maximum advantage and work so unassumingly as to avoid conflict with other similar organizations and oust them only in a peaceful and tactful manner.

For this purpose, we shall make Aligarh our centre and pick out from here and from the Punjab as many volunteers as are available. These soldiers shall be entirely at your disposal and at the disposal of the Muslim League and shall work under your guidance and shall carry out your instructions. We are quite alive to the fact that the Muslim League needs, at this time, honest and dependable workers in large numbers. We hope to supply such workers. But what we need the most is your encouragement and guidance.

The students here are looking forward to your visit to Aligarh very expectantly. Our examinations fall in the next month. We shall, therefore, be much obliged if you fix up an early date for your visit to Aligarh.

Yours sincerely,  
MOH[AMMA]D ANWAR SAMADANI  
M.A., LL.B. (ALIG.)  
*Secretary, Muslim League, M. U. Aligarh*



270

*Siddique Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/52-4*

CROWN HOTEL,  
DELHI,  
20 February 1941

APPEAL AGAINST EXPULSION FROM THE MUSLIM LEAGUE (C.P.)

Sir,

I have already had the honour of placing before you my grounds of appeal against the decision of the C. P. Provincial Muslim League to expel me from the League organisation for two years. In that communication I dealt chiefly with the preliminary and legal objections to the constitution of the sub-committee to try the charge [sic] against me and my objections against the personnel of the Committee. These objections I had submitted to you, Sir, even at the time the Committee was constituted.

I have a great deal to say on the merits of the charges and I have a mass of evidence, both written and oral, to rebut the charges—written evidence from such unbiased and impartial quarters like [sic for as] the *Times of India* and communications from the President of the Provincial Muslim League and the Chairman of the Reception Committee which will exonerate me of all the charges levelled against me in connection with the disturbance in the Provincial Muslim League Conference.

Further, I should like to call your attention to the minute [sic for note] of dissent signed by one of the members of the tribunal which investigated the charges against me. That alone will go to show with what biased mind the Chairman and the members of the tribunal set to work against me when they sat on the tribunal and to what extent they were prepared to go to blacken my character. In his dissenting minute, Mr. S. K. Kazi, Advocate who is a member of the tribunal and who is one with the others in finding me guilty of the main charges levelled against me, nevertheless records the following protest against the unfair attitude of other members of the tribunal:

I have to submit that there is not a single allegation in the documents on the basis of which this enquiry was started; that the activities of K. B. Siddique Ali Khan are a result of the conspiracy between Mr. M. Y. Shareet and his co-workers.

How these facts have been enumerated in the charges is not known. It seems to me that personal knowledge in regard to these events has been introduced in the charge-sheet, otherwise there is no material on record to mention these facts. I am of the opinion that these facts, having been mentioned on personal knowledge, have to be discarded; when we are sitting as judges we have to forget our personal knowledge.

The above alone is sufficient to show how far this so-called judicial tribunal went to foist on me the ridiculous charge of conspiring with Congressmen to injure the League even though there was no evidence on record and no complaint about it.

The very first complaint made by 34 persons on the 3rd March about the unfortunate incident on the 2nd March is a very interesting document. This is by way of what may be called the first occurrence report. It makes no mention about my having anything to do with it. In fact my connection with this unhappy incident is only as a man whose intervention helped to smoothen the excitement of the people and bring order at the Conference so much so that after my appeal to the audience, the proceedings went on very smoothly for two days and never once was there any disturbance after that. No less a person than Moulvi Abul Hassan Sayed Ali, General Secretary of Anjuman Ittehadul Muslimeen, Hyderabad, and Mr. Mahmood Hassan of the *Deccan Times* will, I am sure, bear me out in this statement. In fact, I should have earned the praise and the approbation of my elders of the Provincial League and not this disciplinary action.

[One line illegible] as people of unimpeachable authority can be cited to prove the great work I did for the success of the very Conference which I am accused of having tried to disturb violently. My work as a volunteer, both before the Conference and in the Conference *Pandal* and in the procession of the President-elect, was noted and appreciated by many prominent people, including Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. In fact ever since this Conference was proposed, I have incessantly worked for the success of this Conference. I may respectfully remind you, Sir, that I came to you more than once to induce you to attend the Conference. Likewise I went to many important members of the Working Committee and the Central Legislature to request them to attend the Conference. And yet I am to be expelled from the League organisation precisely for creating disturbance at the Conference.

Coming to the evidence that has been recorded, permit me, Sir, to state that there is not one single independent witness among those who were examined. They were all partymen or subordinates of my



accusers. Even these witnesses have not said that I created the disturbance. All that they say is that the disturbance was created by my supporters which is rather a very difficult thing to prove, looking at the great number of people who were responsible for the disturbance.

Sir, I do not want to take up any more of your valuable time nor that of the members of the Working Committee. I hope I shall not be considered presumptuous if I may humbly suggest that the charge, on the very face of it, is ridiculous in the extreme. The investigation has been done by most prejudiced people and in a very arbitrary manner. I, therefore, appeal to you and the Working Committee to set aside the decision of the tribunal and exonerate me of all the ridiculous but heinous charges levelled against me. May I take this opportunity of assuring you, Sir, of my unwavering loyalty to the All India Muslim League and to you, Sir, and my preparedness to spare no sacrifice to forward the cause of the League under all circumstances.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN

271

*Ikram Alam to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 207/1-3*

URGENT

DELHI,

20 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am so grateful to you for the very frank talk you had with me this morning with regard to the choice of the League candidate to seek election from the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Muslim constituency. I was taken aback when you told me that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib too was a candidate and you were in his favour. On the 17th instant, I saw Nawabzada Sahib and he was good enough to invite an application from me then and there. He also published a notice in the *Statesman* of the 18th instant calling upon the candidates to send in their applications to you on or before today. Much labour

and expenditure would have been saved if the candidates had learnt already that the Secretary of the All India Muslim League was aspiring for the seat. I was feeling proud to hear your high opinion about myself and to learn that you were considering me quite suitable for the seat and preferable to other candidates. As the matter has not yet received your final decision, I take the liberty of inviting your attention to the following facts:

1. The Nawabzada Sahib in 1937 chose his sphere of activity by getting himself returned to the Provincial Assembly. Would it not be more dignified for him to stick to the same seat even when he has the advantage of being at the helm of League affairs? I am saying this without any offence. I have a great respect for the Nawabzada Sahib but to maintain the dignity of the League and save it from criticism must be our common object.
2. The League has hitherto followed the principle that in the case of a suitable candidate being available in by-election the cumbrous procedure of having recourse to double election, one for the Central Assembly and the other for a provincial legislature should be avoided.
3. It is not fair to public workers amongst the Muslim community, whose number is none too large, that the Secretary of the League, whose hands are already full with important work, should be allowed to supersede them.
4. The Nawabzada Sahib is representing the Meerut Division in the Provincial Assembly. That very division is being represented in the Central Assembly by Mr. Mohammad Ahmad Kazmi whose seat would be vacated sooner or later.  
Could not the Nawabzada Sahib kindly wait a little more to have a shift to the Central Assembly?
5. I have already suffered a misfortune before this with respect to this very constituency. When the seat was vacated by Sir Mohammad Yaqub, I was a candidate for it. But I was withheld by Sir M. Yaqub's friendly insistence to leave it open for Sir Raza Ali who was expected back from South Africa. The result was that I kept aside and the seat was usurped by the Congress.
6. I am a much older man than Nawabzada Sahib and I cannot expect to have a recurrence of many chances of election.  
During the past 32 years, I have faithfully served the Muslim community in political, educational and social spheres and I am anxious for a seat in the Assembly. Besides Mr. Kazmi's seat, the Nawabzada Sahib can hope to have many other



opportunities of coming in the Assembly.

7. By adopting me [as] a candidate, the League will adhere to the old practice of taking a candidate from inside the constituency and will not cause disappointment to the voters in the constituency.

I apologise for having encroached upon your time. I feel that in fairness to the cause of the League and myself I must communicate to you, before departing disappointed, my personal feeling and perhaps the feeling of my constituency. I do not mean any disrespect to the Nawabzada Sahib, on whom I look as a valued friend.

Till 6 p.m. I am staying at the Hotel Crown, Delhi: Phone No. 6421. After that my address will be 138 Civil Lines, Bareilly.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
IKRAM ALAM

## 272

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Ismail Khan & Secretary,  
Bareilly District Muslim League*

*Telegram, F. 339/7*

*20 February 1941*

Received in all nine applications. Fully considered. Decided give Muslim League ticket Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Rohilkhand Kumaon Muslim rural constituency.

JINNAH

## 273

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/19-22*

ALMANZAR,  
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
*20 February 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am ashamed to be so late in replying to your letter of the 10th October 1940.<sup>1</sup>

But what could I do? First and foremost my domestic and private circumstances since the demise of my elder son continue to be such as to prevent me from taking any active part in politics.

Secondly, only a determined effort on the part of an organized party or supreme sacrifice by a great individual can break the bonds forged for the Punjab Muslims by the present Unionist Govt.

To illustrate, only recently for more than four weeks, I was busy organizing a Muslim deputation that waited on the Premier on the 13th February in connection with the Urdu, Hindi [and] Punjabi question. The same day, an hour before he met us, he met a Sikh-Hindu deputation. The next day we found in the papers a Government communique about the latter [Sikh-Hindu] deputation, giving a vague assurance to the minorities, that, to my mind, is calculated to do as much harm in the long run. No reference was made to us, as we were supposed to be a private deputation. We were privately told that as a matter of fact no fresh Hindu or Gurmukhi schools will be opened in areas where none existed at present. And yet next morning we found that the Education Department was to continue to receive applications from any area for fresh schools. I tried to lodge a protest against it. But unfortunately our deputation, which met again at my house on the 17th instant, found that our leader and spokesman Sir Abdul Qadir differed from the majority of us even as to the fact whether the Premier had given us the private assurance referred to above. So for the present, we could do nothing.

I am told the Premier is annoyed with some of us as an unauthorized account of our meeting with him appeared in the press, which he had to contradict. This is what happened. It is an illustration of the state of affairs in the Punjab. When seasoned politicians behave like this, what can a literary man like me do? But as I have said above my present circumstances prevent me from taking much part in public affairs.

The Muslim students who intend to hold a "Pakistan Conference" here have consulted me several times and I have given them my humble advice.

May I pay my sincere compliments to you on the bold front you are putting up on behalf of the Muslim community? May God help



you. Only I cannot help expressing my regret that the Punjab Muslims have done little to help you in the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>See F. 197/18, QAP. Not printed.

## 274

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammed Asghar*

*F. 228/2*

NEW DELHI,  
21 February 1941

Dear Mr. Asghar,

I am in receipt of your telegrams<sup>1</sup> and also your letter, dated the 8th February 1941,<sup>2</sup> which was awaiting me for arrival at Delhi. I also received your letter of the 14th instant.<sup>3</sup>

Whether we agree or not with the information that the Government gathered by the enquiry, the fact now is, as I have been officially informed by the Army Secretary, that the Government of C. P. have decided that the civil officers concerned should have made enquiry before they allowed the pitching of the tents and should at least have looked up the map and propose to take suitable action against them for this failure. The Deputy Commissioner will express regret to the 'Idgah authorities. I do not know what more do you expect the Government to do.

However, I am sending to you a complete copy of the letter<sup>4</sup> that I have received from the Army Secretary for your information. You will see that it is a personal letter.

With regard to your suggestion that the camping ground of the military should be handed over or transferred to the 'Idgah authorities as it did belong to 'Idgah in the olden days and in the alternation the Government should erect a wall on the eastern side

to avoid future trouble, I am sending this suggestion to the Army Secretary and will let you know the result.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/37, 41-2. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 243.

<sup>3</sup>See SHC, C.P. & Berar I/43. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>See No. 256.

## 275

*M. A. Jinnah to C. M. G. Ogilvie*

*F. 501/2*

NEW DELHI,  
22 February 1941

Dear Mr. Ogilvie,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant,<sup>1</sup> which was awaiting my arrival at Delhi and thank you for it, but I have not received the letter from Mr. Asghar which I had enclosed in my letter, dated the 18th January.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps by mistake it was not enclosed.

With regard to the various statements made therein, it is not necessary for me to go into them as the Government have decided that suitable action will be taken against the civil officers concerned, as you put, "for their gross negligence" and further the Deputy Commissioner is asked to express his regret to 'Idgah authorities.

May I draw your attention to the fact that the camping ground for the military is close to the 'Idgah, and is very rarely used for camping purposes. Besides, this ground was part and parcel of the 'Idgah in the olden times. Would it not be advisable, therefore, if, to avoid any future trouble, it is handed over to the 'Idgah?

I thank you for your having gone into the matter so carefully and having made a thorough enquiry into the unfortunate incident and I hope that you will further fall in with my suggestion to allay the



wounded feelings of the Musalmans and secure their goodwill in Burhanpur.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 256.

<sup>2</sup>No. 191.

276

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 365/12-3*

CONFIDENTIAL

124 MUSLIM COLONY,  
KARACHI,  
23 February 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I reached Karachi on 21st and read out your letter to Mir Sahib and had also a talk with him. The other side are trying their level best to defeat us. Yesterday, K. B. Allah Bakhsh came to see me in the evening and he has now made a well-considered and serious proposal that he will agree to the Muslim League Premier and one Muslim League Minister remain[ing], provided one of the 3 Muslim League Ministers resigns and one in his place is taken up from the party of K. B. Allah Bakhsh. I discussed this question with Mir Sahib as well, and he is of the opinion that it will be quite a reasonable compromise looking at the conditions at this moment in this Province. We have only 16 members of the League out of 35 and, therefore, our strength is less than 50 per cent. But if they agree to retain our Premier, balance of power will be on our side. The Ministry is always of the Premier as he is the leader of the team and if this position is accepted, I am perfectly certain that in the course of next three months our party in the Assembly will be larger and we will get more than 20 members in our party. Not only that but our position in the future elections will also considerably improve and by remaining in office our party will be able to secure at least 25 seats in the coming elections and it will considerably enhance the position of the Provincial Muslim League. I will place this proposal of K. B. Allah Bakhsh before the parliamentary party meeting, which I have called for 2nd March and I will apprise you of their decision.<sup>2</sup> I will await your instructions. Meantime, however, I would request you kindly to give me clear indication of your mind so that I may be in a

position to successfully negotiate for our side.

I may also bring to your kind notice that the Hindu Ministers will not come in our way in the day-to-day administration, nor do I think the non-League Ministers will oppose any agrarian acts provided for the Muslim masses of the Province as they are the dire necessity to improve the condition of most backward Muslim population. We must show our work to our people and that is, which [*sic* for what] will make us successful in the polls. Our decision [of] handing over the Sukkur Mosque and Manzilgah to the Muslims and utilizing the grounds for Muslim education has thrilled the Musalmans throughout the Province and now they are very grateful for the efforts of the Muslim League Ministers. Such things, as you know, attract rapid attention of the masses and go a long way in elections. Bearing all these things in mind, I would emphatically request you to agree to the compromise which is advantageous to us and not the other side at the present moment.

I will be awaiting your reply.<sup>1</sup> With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHRO

<sup>1</sup>See No. 280.

<sup>2</sup>Khuhro informed Jinnah that opinion of both Parliamentary Party and Working Committee of the Sind ML was that League Premier, one League Minister, and two non-Leaguers be accepted as a compromise, which could well conduce to party gains as well as electoral success. He requested advice as to further talks, provided the no-confidence motion was withdrawn. See F. 365/19-20, QAP. Not printed.

## 277

*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 361/11-3*

PAHARI IMLI,  
DELHI,  
24 February 1941

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your letter of the 19th.<sup>1</sup> My letter of January 1st, 1941,<sup>2</sup> however, is still not acknowledged. There was also a statement attached to it. Please acknowledge the receipt of the above.

Sorry, it was not possible for me at the close of the meeting of the 23rd, as desired by you to see you for fixing up a promised appointment with you. So please do fix it up now and let me know the place and time to meet you as soon as possible.



Instead of getting better, the situation seems to deteriorate. I was hoping [for] my brother's release but now it seems that he is put under troubles and trials. My poor innocent brother is losing his health. His temperature is 2 degree below normal. In less than a fortnight, he suddenly lost 4 lbs of his weight. For the whole month, his daughter in Aligarh was seriously ill when her mother, who is in the parole camp at Naini Tal, was not allowed to see her. Whereas, for instance, an Italian lady at large somewhere in the Madras Presidency had her birthday and yet her son in detention was allowed to take part in his mother's birthday [*sic*]. Mr. Gildna, a Parsi in detention, was permitted to visit his near relative who was sick. But alas my brother's wife was not allowed by the Chief Secretary of U. P. Govt. to see her own seriously ill child!

Please, also allow me to give you some specimens from more than 300 questions put to my brother by the Government:

Do you like Germany and the Germans?

Do you like military career?

Do you like military uniforms?

There were other questions, which had nothing to do with my brother or sister. They were falsely imputed to them due to the abominably false propaganda of the Communists and the Congressites etc. For instance, it was said that my brother's wife should have gone with the notorious Dr. Ashraf, the Communist, for agitating in the labour meetings. Nothing happened like that. It is absolutely false.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam! Not only in the University but also in the Government as well, there are men who are intriguing against him. I will, *Allah* willing, let you know their names.

Now that all the misunderstandings on the part of the Government seem to be removed, do please move energetically [for] their release at once and save them from further intrigues, troubles and trials.

1. Please allow me to meet you as soon as possible, specially for my brother, for our Muslim University and for general Islamic affairs.

2. Please acknowledge this letter as well as that of January 1, 1941<sup>3</sup> together with a statement.<sup>4</sup>

I am the most insignificant thing,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that after attending the Muslim League Council meeting on 23 February, he would fix up an interview with Kheiri. See F. 361/10, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2-3</sup>No. 149.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 852/15-22, QAP. Not printed.

278

*C. M. G. Ogilvie to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1025/57*

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT,  
NEW DELHI,  
24 February 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd February.<sup>1</sup> I am very sorry that Mr. Asghar's letter was not returned, which I now enclose.

With regard to the other matters, which you have mentioned, I am making enquiries to see what we can do about this encamping ground. You can be assured that anything which we can do, we will do and I will let you know developments as we progress.

Yours sincerely,  
C. MACI. G. OGILVIE  
[*Secretary Defence, Govt. of India*]

<sup>1</sup>No. 275.

279

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah**F. 392/41-2*

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
25 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry owing to indisposition I could not attend the meeting of the [Muslim League] Working Committee and the Council. My own personal feeling is that the Resolution<sup>1</sup> is not sufficiently definite with regard to the *Satyagraha* movement. My own opinion is that the time has come when we ought to make it clear that any movement, started with the object of coercing the British Government to a policy inimical to the interest of the Muslims, must be opposed by the Muslims and it is their duty to make the movement a failure. What I am afraid of is that indecision and hesitation on our part may lead to our undoing. I am simply giving to you my



reactions to the Resolution.

My object in writing to you is to bring to your notice a very important question affecting the Muslim community. I am informed that Sir Sulaiman is not prepared to carry on as Vice-Chancellor for another term. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin [Ahmad] is in the field and there may be others, but it is essential that in the interest of the University and the Muslims, we should have someone who will be able to command the support of all parties and not revive party factions in the University. I have learnt from a reliable source from Aligarh that Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari is prepared to take up the Vice-Chancellorship, provided there is unanimity in the request made to him. I think if you can get him to accept the Vice-Chancellorship, it will be a very happy solution of our difficulties. I hope you will kindly look into this question, and if you agree with me, see that Sir Ahmad Said Khan is elected Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 476-7.

## 280

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro*

*Telegram, F. 365/14*

NEW DELHI,  
26 February 1941

Your letter 23rd February.<sup>1</sup> Please adhere strictly lines laid down my last letter. Mir Bundeh Ali press statements. Cannot consider any proposal unless sent me in writing from responsible quarters and threat break Ministry abandoned. Status quo any cost my advice. Show this telegram Mir Bundeh Ali, Majid, Haroon.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 276.

281

*M. A. Jinnah to Ikram Alam**F. 874/66*NEW DELHI,  
26 February 1941

Dear Mr. Ikram Alam,

Many thanks for your telegram<sup>1</sup> and your letters,<sup>2</sup> the last being of the 23rd February.<sup>3</sup>

I appreciate very much indeed your loyalty to the Muslim League and your great regard for the discipline of our organisation and I am glad that my selection of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was accepted by all the Muslim Leaguers and as a result, I find that he has already been declared elected unopposed.

This, I am sure you will agree with me, has raised the prestige of the All India Muslim League, not only in the Rohilkhand Division but all over India.

As regards your suggestions for the future, I shall bear in mind.

Thanking you again for your support, although my decision went against you personally.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1-3</sup>Not traceable.<sup>2</sup>Not traceable. However, see No. 271.

282

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Nawaz Shahid**F. 769/445*NEW DELHI,  
26 February 1941

Dear Sir,

I regret that your letter of the 17th<sup>1</sup> instant escaped my notice which was mainly due to pressure of work.

You will perhaps realise that I have to attend to numerous matters of very great importance regarding the political struggle going on in this country and regarding the entire organisation spread all over India.



As regards the message, I can only repeat we should organise ourselves under the banner of the All India Muslim League and should take up constructive programmes for the uplift of our people. I am glad that the Muslim students are rising to the occasion and I hope that before long Muslim India will resolve itself into an irresistible and invincible force for the achievement of our ideal.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Nawaz Shahid, Esq.,  
S. E. College, Bahawalpur State

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 283

*Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 362/1-4

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

DISTRICT JAIL,  
DEHRA DUN (U.P.),  
27 February 1941

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peace! Just to-day I read in the papers that you are planning to visit Aligarh on March 9, 1941. While welcoming you to Aligarh in absentia, I once more draw your attention to the most vital and urgent need of Aligarh at the present moment. All the information that I have been receiving from various sources points to the fact that Aligarh University is being rapidly recaptured by the forces of the Congressites, Communists and the godless. The *Modern Review* of Calcutta of February 1941 writes on pages 149-50 as follows:

### ALIGARH STUDENTS CONDEMN MR. JINNAH

Last month Aligarh Muslim University students held a meeting to protest against the arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress. More than 500 students were present at the meeting. Some students of Delhi University were also present. One of the resolutions adopted at the meeting ran as follows:

This meeting condemns the action of the British Government in arresting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, at the time when Britain is fighting

in Europe for liberty, freedom and democracy and denying the same right to the Indians. This meeting assures Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the Aligarh students are wholly behind him and will not hesitate for a moment when they are asked to join the present movement. It also appeals to the Muslim community of India in general, irrespective of their petty political groups, to join the present fight launched by the Congress and thus remove the stigma against Islam so far created and engineered by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

As you perhaps also know the first and the only student *Satyagrahi*, so far, was also supplied by the Aligarh Muslim University. Mr. Jinnah, you cannot expect any other thing from the Aligarh University as long as the highest officials of the University, through fear or for future hopes, give their fullest support to such groups. Very recently a number of important appointments have all gone to professed and well-known Congressites and Communists. At Aligarh, you can get their names. Sometime ago, a handbill was printed by someone about this godlessness at Aligarh. It is an irony of fate that the true servants of Islam and workers of the Muslim League have been terrorized and silenced in the so-called Muslim University. I know, I have learnt how the Congress works and how it supports its emissaries and workers. Last time the workers of the League were let down by the leaders of the League.

Now, in April 1941, the term of the present Vice-Chancellor will end. From the Islamic point of view and from the League point of view, and let me say even from the Government point of view, his period of office has been an utter failure, an all-round failure, a defeat on all fronts. Partly you were also responsible for it. And I also. You had intervened then. Are you indifferent now? I know you are not. Are you not going to intervene now? Don't you think it is very important and urgent to right the wrong that was then done. Sir Zia Uddin [Ahmad] was going to be Vice-Chancellor then. He withdrew at your suggestion.

Mr. Jinnah, I have been constantly thinking about the problems of Aligarh. I honestly say, if there is any honesty left in me after the most eloquent speech in the Assembly, that I do not find any man better suited to the office of Vice-Chancellorship than Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, in spite of all his faults. This is my well-considered and honest opinion. He never bestowed any favours on me during his last term. He was not even friendly to me. And I may not even be out till the end of his next term if he is elected to the office.

I understand he is not keen for it. From the best sources I hear that he is not going to contest the election. From the same sources I hear



that he will obey your orders, as a loyal member of the League if you command him to become the Vice-Chancellor.

Now, Mr. Jinnah, the fate of Aligarh is in your hands. The work of nation-building can best be done at Aligarh. We have got to free it from the clutches of the Congressites, the Communists and the godless. Sir Zia Uddin should be the best Vice-Chancellor. He is the [sic for a] born enemy of the Congress. Unfortunately, some of the most important members of the League are against him on personal grounds. I do not need to name them. Then there are some other prominent Leaguers who are against him because they are still at heart much inclined towards the Congress. I am sure you know them too. Some of our best Leaguers are at heart with Dr. Zakir Hussain and his party. But Aligarh must be freed at all costs. Yes.

I am happy to know that our League is holding fast and firm to the Lahore Resolution. In it alone is salvation for the Muslims of India. Our so-called well-wishers call it suicidal to the Muslims of India. Some say that the so-called Pakistan territory is economically very poor. I cannot help here quoting a Jewish Zionist leader:

Palestine will continue to grow and flourish in spite of all natural and economic laws. The will of the people is stronger than economics.

We have to create a will, the united will of the Muslims of India. Who can resist such a will? Can there be any natural or economic barrier to such a will?

I hope your visit to Aligarh will be fruitful. And hope that, by that time, you will have decided the most important and urgent question about the University. I mean about its next Vice-Chancellor. In spirit, I shall be present in Aligarh to welcome you then.

I am grieved to read that the honourable Home Member, on the protected floor of the Assembly, has used epithets and expressions highly damaging to the reputation of all the detenus. I wish that as a sporting Englishman, for whom I have great admiration, he would accept, through you, my challenge to prove anyone of these remarks about me in any of the courts of the British Empire. Officially, of course, he is protected to say what he likes on the floor of the Assembly. But my challenge to him is as a man and as an English gentleman and as a sportsman. Can he give me that chance? Will he, as an honest gentleman, allow me to sue him personally for symbolic defamation? I wonder if you can arrange it. Perhaps as a sporting Englishman he will give me that chance.

I am glad to read that our Nawabzada Sahib has been elected unopposed to the membership of the Central Assembly. Can he

be congratulated?

I read to-day a very inspiring speech by Miss Jinnah at a meeting of Delhi ladies.

I have a scheme of nation-building and national solidarity for the Muslims of India. This I shall explain to you after my release. Of course, someday, I am going to be released, *Insha Allah*. And may be that day is at hand.

With best wishes for you and for all sincere workers in the cause of Islam and the Muslims,

Sincerely and devotedly yours,  
MUHAMMAD ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI

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*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, C.P. & Berar I/44*

BURHANPUR,  
27 February 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Musalmans of Burhanpur and I are most grateful to you and to the members of the Muslim League party in the Central Assembly for bringing the good result in the matter of '*Idgah*. I fully agree with you<sup>1</sup> that nothing more could be expected of the Government to do in the matter.

However, I have taken an opportunity in asking the Government through you<sup>2</sup> to show a gesture of goodwill to transfer and hand over the camping ground so close to the '*Idgah* to the Muslim public of Burhanpur. This is, of course, quite necessary for offering prayers and also for some other reasons.

I shall be very thankful if you are pleased to inform me of the result of your kind move in the matter.<sup>3</sup>

Allow me to congratulate you for the choicest selection of Nawabzada Sahib for the Central Assembly where he is [*sic* for



has] now returned unopposed.

Muslim League *zindabad, zindabad* Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

<sup>1</sup>See No. 274.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 275.

<sup>3</sup>M. H. Saiyid, Secretary to Jinnah, informed him that he would be written to after receiving a reply from the Defence Secretary. See F. 228/3, QAP. Not printed.

## 285

*H. Abdoola Haroon to Zafrulla Khan*  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 362/195

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
28 February 1941

My dear Honourable Chaudhuri Sir Zafrulla Khan,

I would very much like to bring to your attention the fact that the post of the Chairman of K. P. T. Board is now vacant and it will be filled in shortly by nomination by the Communication and Railways Department, Government of India. So far, this post has been filled in [by] engineers drawn from Bombay.

Hindus are agitating that this appointment must go to an Indian. You know Indianisation in their vocabulary is synonymous with *Hindustani*. They got a Hindu I. C. S. appointed to the same post in Bombay Port Trust by similar agitation.

I am enclosing<sup>1</sup> copy of a letter sent to me by Mr. M. H. Gazdar, MLA, for your perusal, in which he has in a brief and concise manner made out a very good case for the Muslims for this post.

I would request you to kindly see that any suitable Muslim officer of mature experience, either belonging to I.C.S. or Indian Service of Engineers, from any province is appointed to this post. It is obvious what enormous advantage will our community derive by this step. This nomination is to be done by Government of India next month. I request you to kindly move in the matter immediately.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON  
MLA (Central)

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

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*S. M. Ahmed to H. Abdoola Haroon**SHC (1503)**[Extract]*

120 BROADWAY,  
NEW YORK,  
1 March 1941

My dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I was highly delighted to receive your air-mail letter of January 18th this week, for it brought the encouraging news of your interest and promise of co-operation and support for activities to promote Muslim League's interests in America. Very many thanks for your letter. While I have not received the booklets and other literature you have sent, I hope they will arrive by ordinary mail in a short time. The mail has been very irregular between India and America, but now American Export Line carries mail, thus making it possible to receive letters within five weeks.

You will be gratified to learn that my small efforts to popularize the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah in this country have resulted in a material change in the attitude of the Hindu Congress supporters. Mrs. Kamladevi, who has been lecturing in America for over a year, has often spoken against the Muslim League while supporting the Congress party. In her recent address on February 21 in New York before the social workers, she very carefully avoided any ill-reference [*sic*] to Muslims and Muslim League. In *India Today*, bulletin of India League of America, they no longer criticise the League. As a matter of fact two of the Hindu leaders admitted that they made a serious mistake by bringing the Congress versus League issue before the American public.

My greatest need is the material and the source of information on Muslims' situation in India. I have started paving ground to build up a very effective organization in America. My work cannot progress unless I have an active co-operation from your Committee, and would deeply appreciate it if you will continue to give a favourable consideration to my letters, and keep me posted of [*sic* for about] your Committee's programme and activities.

In the absence of any active leadership from any Muslim, these Congress Hindu workers have found a fertile field in exploiting them, and building up in them pro-Congress and anti-Muslim League



feelings. A good deal of the financial support for the Congress propaganda has been coming from these Muslims. When I recently discovered this set-up, I immediately started to preach pro-Muslim [League] ideas among them. I went out in search of their local and communal leaders and had long discussion with them. They told me that they did not know what was going on in India, and what they learnt about their homeland was from these Congress party workers, and naturally believed what they were told.

The idea of Hindu-Muslim unity was sold to them by cleverly expounding what the Congress and the Hindus have done for the Muslims and that the British were responsible for dividing the Muslims and the Hindus and that the Muslim League was a pro-British organization, and was not working in the best interests of India. Nothing good was told about the League and present Muslim leaders. Actually some of these Hindu speakers used abusive language when talking about Mr. Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Let me assure you that they are good and kind-hearted people. The moment I appealed to their communal feelings, their response was very inspiring. I believe I will be doing a two-fold duty; first, I will save my Muslim brothers from Hindu Congress' exploitation, [and] second, I will be building up strong Muslim League support in this country.

You will be amazed to know to what extent Congress propaganda has reached in this country. Kamladevi and a few other Hindus went to Washington and conferred with several American Congressmen and Senators, who are strongly opposing aid to Great Britain Bill and appealed to them that they should use all their efforts to block this legislation<sup>1</sup> and thus bring the defeat of the British Empire and liberation to India.

You should try to send a Muslim leader to take up this post.<sup>2</sup> For a long time Sir Firoz Khan Noon has been expected here for a visit, and should he arrive, I will also take up this matter with him. It seems that much more could be done easily in India rather than in this country.

With your co-operation and assistance from my American friends and associates, I hope to develop a strong Muslim organisation. I have not yet reached a conclusion as to what form of an organization to represent Muslim League be formed here. I should greatly value your suggestions in this matter. Will it be possible for us to have an American chapter or a branch of the All India Muslim League?

It will aid us materially if you can kindly arrange to send us one

English and one Urdu Muslim periodical.

From now on I hope to send you and Mr. Jinnah a complete report on my work and activities of the Muslim groups in America.

Whatever assistance and co-operation you can give us by sending League's publications and literature, it will make our work easier and success possible.

With kindest personal regards and *salaams*,

Yours most sincerely and fraternally,

S. M. AHMED

*Investment Economist  
India Trade Consultant*

<sup>1</sup>The Lend-Lease Act, passed by the US Congress on 11 March 1941, authorized the Roosevelt administration to provide military aid to Britain and other allies during World War II.

<sup>2</sup>Indian Trade Commissioner in America.

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*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/110-4*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
3 March 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I was invited to Limbdi by His Highness the Jamsaheb to meet the Princes who gather in their monthly meetings by rotation in States. I have returned yesterday. There, I took the opportunity to speak to the Jamsaheb about their promise to contribute to our paper and his letter to you and all that. He asked me to speak to the Princes in the meeting. I spoke to them and wanted to know what their final intentions were and how much each one of them would contribute to our paper; that, if they were ready, the money should be collected because everyday lost in starting a paper was a political loss and so forth. The Jamsaheb told them what you and he had discussed, particularly in regard to the possibility that if the two great rival political parties, namely the Congress and the Muslim League, were to join hands, what would be the position of the Princes, particularly those who had contributed to our paper. The Jamsaheb said that your reply, which they thought was rather blunt, was that in that case what they contributed should be taken as lost, and that after all



a sum of two lakhs of rupees could not be of much significance to the Princes. Well, they could not swallow that. I then asked them at once as to whether they would lay down their conditions on which they would like to contribute to our paper, so that we might consider them and if acceptable, then alone take contributions from them, otherwise not at all. The Jamsaheb said that unfortunately a few important Princes, who had promised to contribute, were absent, namely Dhrangdhra, Morvi, Rajkot, Jasdan, Junagadh and one or two others. But the Princes would be obliged if you (Jinnah) were to lay down specifically the policy of the paper, that is to say, what would be the activities of the paper, etc. I replied that one who had followed the trend of political movements in India could easily understand as to what the Muslim paper would stand for and what it would decry and run down; and if they, the Princes, came out with a substantial support to the stability of the paper, it certainly would stand to defend them, wherever and whenever they were wrongly assailed. Then, I volunteered that as far as I could presume, you would form a Board for the paper to guide and supervise its policy. On that Board, the Princes contributing could jointly have their representative. Further, that if ever it came to a settlement between the Congress and the League—which to the Muslims at the moment is unthinkable—they would not enter into a compromise of any kind without seeing that the position of the Princes was well-guarded, and that too the League would not do without consulting the Princes who counted etc. So, if they were really serious and thought that tremendous benefit would accrue to them by their support to the League paper, they should make up their mind once [and] for all as to whether they would support it and give substantial contribution. If not, we must be frankly told, so that we may look into other directions for support. As to returning the contribution in case of the contributing Princes backing out, that was practically impossible for the evident reason that we would be collecting only as much capital as would enable us to start a decent paper, and that would be immediately invested into various channels. So, there would be no surplus or a sort of a sinking fund from which we could pay back the money to contributors. That was impossible. Then, the Chief of Dhrol pointed out to me that there was a Muslim bulletin, issued from Rajkot, which incited ill-feeling between the Hindu and the Muslim subjects of States. I, at once, said that the League never countenanced a thing like that and that it was a method of the Congress. The Jamsaheb thereon asked whether the paper would deal with affairs of individual States and the Muslim questions in States and incite



religious feelings, or only deal with the general policies that should apply to States as a matter of principle. I said: "No, that would be very wrong, and the paper would be useless as a Muslim paper, if it did not deal with the legitimate grievances of the Muslims in any part of India. If the Hindus had legitimate grievances to be the subject-matter of their propaganda, say in the Nizam's State, why should a Muslim paper not deal with the legitimate grievances of the Muslim subjects of Kashmir State, for instance, or if one of the rulers present before me thought of demolishing a mosque in a suitable situation and building thereon a park for public utility, the paper would, of course, go strongly against a step like that. As to dealing with religious subjects, the League was not playing that part at all, but if the Mahasabhites, the bigoted lot out of the Hindus, were to show religious proclivities and attack Muslim interest, purely in their capacity as Muslims, the paper would indeed and certainly deal with them, whether they be in the State or outside, and that should not be considered as inciting communal jealousies and discontent. Anyway, the paper could not be tied down to anything which would cut at the root of the very object of starting it." However, I promised that I would convey to you that talk and get from you the policy of the paper and, thereupon, if they put down their specific conditions on which they would contribute, the matter could be brought to an end one way or the other. I am writing this at once to you to get a prompt reply from you, if possible, if you have the time and the inclination to give it because I am invited by the Jamsaheb to Jamnagar on the 5th and may have to stay on there till the 10th, starting tomorrow, in connection with the question of amalgamating smaller States into bigger ones, which the Government of India is for the moment contemplating. If you could write to me or to the Jamsaheb himself during that period when I am there, I would like to see the matter being brought to a finality and have done with it.

My personal impression after all this talk is that they may not join us. If their inner aim is to make our paper an instrument and a handle in their hands, I think we better leave them out. Now, the next suggestion, I would like to make to you, is that we should approach a few Muslim States, round about the Presidency and connected more with the Presidency, individually, for doles, or an outright contribution to our paper, as a mere Muslim sympathy. States like Bhopal, Junagadh, Manavdar, Mangrol, Savanur and others may, with that view, be approached—even the Nizam, if you approached him, your efforts would not go in vain. What a pity, I was not allowed to tour all the districts of the Presidency. Perhaps it



was not palatable to some in the Bombay League that I would not agree to any of their tagrag being tacked on to me during the tour. I had hoped to bring a good few thousands that way too. Anyway, all that need be done most urgently and before everything else is to start a paper or even a bulletin of the League—daily or weekly. It is a shame that the Bombay Presidency Muslims have no English paper. The *Eastern Times*, the *Star of India*, the *Deccan Times* and a few others are serving their Presidencies. But the Presidency of the Quaid-i-Azam is yet a blank. Well, you are the best judge of things. You guide and we shall follow, and as far as I am concerned, whatever my value, I personally shall never budge from that guidance within reasonable limits of self-respect. If you write to me to Jamnagar, "care of the Palace", would find me.

I hope this finds you and Miss Jinnah in the best of health and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

PS. As regards my article in the *Current Thought*, both the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Chronicle* wrote to me on 21st January, and have repeated that promise since, that they would review it in their papers. But nothing doing so far, although Ambedkar's book on Pakistan is, as you must have seen, reviewed. That came into being after my article, because Ambedkar came to Surat and took a few points on Pakistan for his book from me. Well, the whole thing rebounds again on the question of our having no paper of our own.

A. M. K. D.

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*Mohammad Azam Jan Khan Mazaree to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/69-70*

ROJHAN, D.G. KHAN,  
4 March 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is to bring to your kind notice a case of undue hardships and sufferings of a foreign Muslim lady. These are war days, [and] one

has to be very cautious regarding such cases. After giving full consideration to the foregoing point, still in my humble opinion something can be done to relieve her of the sufferings.

The following are the facts which came to my knowledge regarding her case, while I was at Quetta last summer. It was some time before the holding of session of the Baluchistan Muslim League that this lady arrived at Quetta. Originally she came to Persia from Russian territory. As she had no passport she was asked to go back to Russia which she refused to do and after being detained in Iran for some time she was sent away from Iran and she came to India. She was absolutely destitute. On her arrival at Quetta, she was lodged in the dak bungalow, where she entered in the register Mariam Tatina as her name and Russian Muslim as her nationality. Exact date of her arrival and departure can be easily ascertained through Baluchistan Muslim League. She was detained at Quetta for some months and after that she was sent away along with other refugees to some detention camp. Other refugees were two Poles, one Russian and one was suspected to be a German. As the *bona fides* of all these were doubted they were kept under surveillance. Same was the case with the Muslim lady. Enquiries, through diplomatic sources, were being made about their *bona fides*. It was in the beginning of the summer that she arrived at Quetta and in the month of August, all these refugees, including this lady, were sent away from Quetta. By this time, the Government must have secured definite information about her *bona fides* and must have come to some conclusions regarding her case. If her *bona fides* are proved, I think it is unjustified to allow her to be detained as hitherto. And if she is detained now only for the reason that there is nobody to look after her in India, having a population of more than nine crores of Musalmans, I volunteer to look after her as long as it is necessary.

I, therefore, take courage to humbly request you<sup>1</sup> to take the trouble of taking up her case. If on enquiries you find that her *bona fides* are proved and she is only detained in the camp simply because there is nobody to look after her, as I have already written, I would very gladly look after her. On this clear undertaking, would you kindly get her released.

In my humble opinion, her case can easily be dealt with through correspondence with the Government.

I think it is not out of place for me to request you to be kind



enough to keep me informed of progress of her case from time to time.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD AZAM JAN KHAN MAZAREE

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah wrote to O. K. Caroe, Secretary, External Affairs Department, Govt of India, to do justice to the lady. See F. 874/75, QAP. Not printed.

## 289

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 383/82-3*

BUTLER PALACE,  
LUCKNOW,  
5 March 1941

My dear uncle,

Today, when I saw the actual text of the telegram, I found that you had asked me also to come over. It happened this way. I was in Butler Palace when your telegram came. The man (clerk) in Kaiser Bagh read out the telegram on the phone. The meaning and message thus got mutilated and it was only today when I came back from Mahmudabad that I found out the actual text.

These days, I have got some appointments with the Govt. authorities concerning the estate and as soon as the discussions finish I will come over.

Dada must have reached by now, and related the whole background of the present discontent.

Have you seen Sikander's remarks on the Pakistan Conference and his new move to propagate unity through hired speakers?

If the Central Govt. is sincere and satisfied with the League policy (to even a little extent) then why doesn't it [*word illegible*] at Sikander's throat? Why?

Or is it a challenge to the League to start direct action?

Progress has to cross a very narrow bridge these days.

With affectionate regards,

*Tasleem to Phophi,*

Yours,  
AMIR

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*M. H. Saiyid to J. G. Laithwaite**F. 498/4*NEW DELHI,  
6 March 1941

Dear Sir Laithwaite,

As desired by Mr. Jinnah, I am sending you herewith the copies of the resolutions<sup>1</sup> passed by the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 22nd and 23rd of February, respectively.

Please place them before His Excellency the Viceroy for his consideration.<sup>2</sup>

I regret the delay, which was mainly due to Mr. Jinnah's being away at Lahore.

Yours truly,  
M. H. SAIYID  
*Secretary to M. A. Jinnah*

Sir J. G. Laithwaite,  
Private Secretary to  
His Excellency the Viceroy,  
New Delhi

<sup>1</sup>AFM, 133/31 & 263/69-78.

<sup>2</sup>Similar letters were addressed by Saiyid to the Governors of U.P., C.P. and Sind.  
See F. 675/12-3, QAP. Not printed.

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*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi**F. 256/115*NEW DELHI,  
6 March 1941

My dear Dehlavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd March,<sup>1</sup> which reached me here yesterday, and in reply I only say that you have put our point of view correctly in substance.

It is very difficult for me to discuss the matter in a letter but I would



like you to ascertain what specifically they want us to do.

I understand that Jamsaheb will be coming to Delhi for the meeting of the Princes. I am in Delhi till the end of this month and I shall be glad to meet him and discuss the matter further.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 287.

## 292

*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin*

*F. 392/43*

NEW DELHI,  
6 March 1941

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I received your letter of the 25th of February<sup>1</sup> only yesterday. It seems that it went to my Bombay address.

In the first place, I am extremely sorry to hear of your indisposition and, of course, we missed you in the meeting of the Working Committee and of the Council. I think you have done a wise thing in having taken a short leave to recuperate your health. I hope that you will soon be perfectly well.

You suggest that we ought to have decided upon some action which should make the *satyagraha* lodged by the Congress a failure. But what is the concrete action that you suggest we should take. I am glad that you also take the same view that "movement started with the object of coercing the British Government to a policy inimical to the interest of the Muslims, must be opposed". I shall welcome any suggestion and any concrete proposal as to what method we should adopt to oppose this movement.

With regard to the question of Vice-Chancellor, I shall bear in mind your suggestions and see what can be done in the matter. There are many difficulties in our way in the management and administration of the Muslim University.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 279.

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*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 197/28-33*

URGENT

ALMANZAR,  
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
7 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry to report to you that something deplorable has happened in connection with the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation.

In yesterday's Urdu daily newspapers, a statement has been published by Mirza Abdul Hameed, the President of the Federation, which I regard as mischievous and insulting.

I enclose herewith a press cutting, along with its translation. As you will see the President therein says that as he will be "busy" with his "examination etc," he has, "in consultation with you", decided that "for the present" and "temporarily" I should be "nominated as President", and further directs me to chalk out a new programme for the Federation in consultation with certain people "by May next."

It is indeed a bolt from the blue and has completely surprised and shocked not only me but all my friends and some members of the Students' Federation who saw me yesterday in this connection.

I cannot possibly believe that you concurred in this absurd decision of the President. I am shocked at this presumption and superciliousness, and the same is the feeling of those with whom I have had private talks so far. The reason is obvious. As some students have told me, he knew the students had lost confidence in him; at the same time he never really meant to give up his office.

As you will remember, when I saw you in your room at Nedou's Hotel on 4th March last, I told you that some members of the Federation had approached me individually and Mr. Noman too had been doing his best to persuade me to accept the presidentship and guide the students at this important juncture. I told you that I was hesitant and that I had already refused the offer of some individuals to work for my election as Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

You said you would like to see me both as President of the Muslim Students' Federation and as Secretary of the League. I expressed my inability to shoulder the great responsibility. You then insisted that I should, at least, take up the presidentship, as in case I did so you



would know who you were dealing with. You said I should act as President for 12 or 18 months, after which I might go on to bigger things where I might be needed. I agreed provided I was elected unanimously. You said I should not mind if there were only two or three persons who did not want me.

After this talk we came down and Mirza Abdul Hameed (the President) met me near the lawn and said to me that Mr. Noman had [had] a talk with him and that they would be glad to have me as President.

In the evening when we all went to see you off at the station, some students said to me that they had [had] a talk with you about my presidentship, that they would like to see me soon in this connection, and would also like to tell me their reasons for being very dissatisfied with the present President's ways. I gave them an appointment and said that if they left it to me I shall see to it that Mirza Abdul Hameed would get on well with them.

On the 5th instant, I sent [a] word to Mirza Abdul Hameed that I would like to come round soon and see him. He replied that I could come and see him on the 7th instant (to-day) after the *Juma* prayers or I could join him in the prayers.

Yesterday, some friends came to me and told me that Mirza had issued an extraordinary statement. I sent for the newspapers and found the said statement. In the evening three students, headed by Mr. Ashfaq Bukhari, the student who attended on you at Nedou's Hotel, saw me and gave expression to the feelings of shock and regret which they experienced at Mirza's statement. They told me that you had told them that the old body of the Federation had come to an end. Whether that be so or not, the President apparently does not think so, as is evident from his statement. That is why he bestows the gift of a temporary office on me so ceremoniously and without consulting or saying anything to me.

Mr. Bukhari told me yesterday that the students who saw you at Nedou's Hotel at noon on the 4th March were coming to see me to-day. I told him that the situation had changed after the publication of the President's statement. Firstly, I was not prepared to accept the temporary presidentship offered by the President. Secondly, it was for the members of the Federation to see whether the old Federation still existed and if so what steps they desired to take to usher in the new era that they so much looked forward to. I advised them to consult you before taking any drastic step.

For myself, as I have said above, the statement has shocked me and I feel I must reply to it publicly. However, as any step that I may

take may have some important consequences for the community, I am writing to consult you as our acknowledged leader.

I have drafted a counter-statement, which I wish to publish if approved of by you. I am herewith enclosing a copy thereof, which [may] kindly [be] returned at your earliest convenience with any changes that you may wish to make.

Please allow me to make my attitude clear to you. I cannot accept President's gift of temporary presidentship. Though I am not a bit keen to become the President, and would in fact feel much more comfortable as I am, I shall be quite willing to assume the responsibility after the air has been cleared, and the bulk of members wish to elect me as their head and you approve of the same. However, as I do not want to be instrumental in creating a split, I would wait and see.

May I remark that according to the constitution of the Federation, printed by the President (which some of the members tell me has never really been approved by the Federation), the President can only be elected by the general body of the members who must be students.

Mr. Noman gave me a copy of the constitution of the All-India Federation and gave me his considered opinion that the Federation could only work if a public man of some standing acted as President, and that a new constitution should be framed on the lines of the constitution of the All-India Federation.

I must close now.

I shall keep you informed as to further developments.

I shall feel obliged for an early reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

[PS.] I am also writing to Mr. Noman to inform him about the whole affair.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 293*  
*Federation President's Statement*

*F. 197/23-4*

(English Translation)

We thank the Great *Allah* a million times that He has given us success beyond our expectations in the holding of the Conference and its termination. Now the static and decadent atmosphere, which



had so frightened the young students, has disappeared. I feel that now we have a new atmosphere and a new era has [been] ushered in. The holding of the Conference was not our object; in fact that was merely the beginning after which the real work was to be taken in hand.

I shall be busy on account of examination etc. Therefore, in consultation with Quaid-i-Azam, I have decided that for the present, temporarily, Mian Bashir Ahmad, Barrister, Editor of the *Humayun*, be nominated as President. He should by May next chalk out, as soon as possible, a new programme in consultation with those friends who are the stallions of the field of action, whose purposes are lofty, who are the landmarks of the resolutions of the Conference, and he should, by giving a permanent shape to this hot iron, help to make it a steel pillar of the community's strength and force.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 293*

*Proposed Rejoinder by Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/25-7*

(English Translation)

I have read, with surprise, the statement of the President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation published in the Muslim Urdu dailies of the 7th March 1941. He writes that as he will be busy with his examination etc., he has, in consultation with Quaid-i-Azam, decided that for the present and temporarily I should be nominated [President] up to May next, so that I may, after consulting certain friends, chalk out a new programme for the Federation.

If the President of the Federation has come to this decision after consultation with Quaid-i-Azam, it is clear that Quaid-i-Azam has not been apprised of all the circumstances. The fact is that the present President of the Federation is not empowered, according to the provisions of the present constitution of the Federation, which he has himself published from 106, Australia Building, Lahore, to nominate any person in his own place as President, much less to do so in the case of a person who is not, for the present, even an ordinary member of the Federation. Therefore, I feel unable to accept the temporary honour conferred on me. During the Pakistan Conference, recently held, a resolution was passed to the effect that a committee consisting of 13 persons, with myself as chairman, "be appointed to draw up the new constitution for the PMSF within 3 months". In this connection the committee has already held a sitting. I hope that we

shall, after drawing up a new constitution, accomplish the task allotted to us within the specified period.

BASHIR AHMAD

## 294

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 281/21-3*

CALCUTTA,  
8 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many a moment during the last few days I felt an imperative urge to write to you in detail as to the happenings in Bengal, but I have been so busy and so many and varied have been the calls on my time that I could not sit down quietly for even a few minutes to dictate any letter. Just now, I have been able to snatch a few minutes from my preoccupation and I feel I must write to you as to the Bengal situation and the repercussions it is likely to have on Muslim politics in India.

The trouble began about census operations in Bengal. Owing to a very sad mistake, the principal officer in Calcutta to help census work was selected to be a Hindu. I did not know when Sir Nazimuddin made the selection, because if I had known I would have suggested two simultaneous appointments—one for a Muslim and the other for a Hindu. However, the matter did not end there. This Hindu officer managed to get, as his colleague, another Hindu and the whole affair did not come to my notice till late in January, as I was absent from Calcutta on account of ill-health and temporary sojourn in Chunar and elsewhere. What these Hindus did was to appoint—what they call—Charge Superintendents; and you will be surprised to hear that these Charge Superintendents in their turn appointed Enumerators and Supervisors, 95 percent of whom were Hindus. Even the 5 per cent Muslims were not given an opportunity to carry on work of enumeration smoothly. The Supervisors and Charge Superintendents would not give them facilities, would not allow them to see papers, would not give them counting slips and pads and thwarted them in various ways. The result was that the census operations were carried on, in Calcutta particularly, through the agency



of emissaries of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Various methods were adopted by these Hindu Enumerators, Supervisors and Charge Superintendents, to inflate Hindu position and deflate Muslim position. So many and so varied were these clever devices that it is difficult for me to mention them just now and I propose to let you have another letter by tomorrow in which I will give you details of the methods adopted. Suffice it to say that they deliberately omitted numbering Muslim houses and *bustees* with the result that I detected that about five lakhs of Muslims were not going to be enumerated in Calcutta and suburbs. I immediately had a Muslim officer put on special duty and I arranged to give all Government officers in Bengal holiday for three days during the last days of enumeration and to have a house-to-house check by gazetted officers. This revealed that Muslims to the strength of two millions had been omitted [from] enumeration in Bengal, and although we are trying to rectify [this] to a certain extent, my own impression is that at the present moment nothing less than a million and a half Muslims will go unenumerated.

I had to issue statements from time to time drawing public attention to what the Hindus were doing. You cannot conceive of any conspiracy more ignominious, more ingenious, more vicious and more despicable than that in which a section of the Caste Hindus has been engaged in Bengal in order to deflate Muslim position and inflate Hindu position. In one of my statements, I drew attention to these facts and the other day they held a Town Hall meeting in which they abused me in a manner which I need not repeat to you here. You must have read in the papers. The newspapers in Bengal, which are so very powerful, have been indulging in unbridled abuses and mean personal attacks on me. I feel sure, the census will be such that we will have to challenge it straight away. Mr. W. M. Yeats, Census Commissioner, has already given certificates to the Enumerators. He has done so under his hat without knowing the real facts. Possibly also he knows everything and like many other British officials has played the hypocrite because they are never too slow to let down the Muslims in order to placate the Hindus.

I am writing you this letter so that you may be ready for an appeal from Bengal to launch an all-India agitation against this mockery of a census in Bengal.

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

## 295

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/34*

NEW DELHI,  
8 March 1941

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

I am enclosing herewith a letter<sup>1</sup> with regard to what conversation took place between me and Mirza Abdul Hameed.

Of course, the statement that he has issued is entirely incorrect. But I would advise you not to be upset, as you seem to be, and as I gather from your letter. If the general consensus of opinion desires that you should be elected as President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation you should not be upset by a few who may like to do things which would serve their purpose in keeping you out. You know my own views that your being at the head of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation is in the best interest of not only the young men but also our cause which must be placed above all.

I hope you will not get nettled or upset but go ahead provided, of course, there is a general consensus of opinion to have you as their President.

Please keep me in touch with further developments.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your hospitality and kindness when I was at Lahore.

With kindest regards to Begum Sahiba and yourself from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 296

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/35*

NEW DELHI,  
8 March 1941

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 7th instant.<sup>1</sup> The statement



issued by Mirza Abdul Hameed is entirely incorrect and misleading when he says "that in consultation with Quaid-i-Azam I have decided that for the present, temporarily, Mian Bashir Ahmad, Barrister, Editor of the *Humayun*, be nominated as President."

I conveyed to him that the general consensus of opinion amongst the students appeared to be that you should be elected as President and he should resign. To that he replied that he would be only too glad to do so, specially when he would be engaged in his examinations which were coming near, and he also agreed that it was very desirable to have you to reorganise the Federation.

If I am right, the general consensus of opinion desires that you should be chosen as the President of the Federation [and] Mirza Abdul Hameed ought to resign according to the assurance he gave me at Lahore.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 293.

297

*S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/200*

YUSUF MANZIL,  
ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
8 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the letter which I have addressed to Sir Abdoola Haroon in respect of the Report of the Constitution Sub-Committee of which he was the Chairman. You may give it kind consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF

*Enclosure to No.297*

*F. 274/201-2*

YUSUF MANZIL,  
ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
8 March 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

Yours of the 26th February<sup>1</sup> reached me here on the 5th instant.

The draft report of the Constitution Sub-Committee, as touched up by me, was despatched from here to the address of the Legislative Assembly, New Delhi, on the 20th February. I have been under the impression that it was delivered to you while you were at Delhi. You may write for it to the Legislative Secretary. I did not alter anything materially therein. Only here and there verbal alterations were made and the English corrected as required by you.

The *Statesman* of Delhi gave out your draft report on the 18th February, and the Delhi correspondents of provincial papers forthwith telegraphed a summary of it to their respective centres saying that the Foreign Committee of the League had published the report on the 17th. You say that the publication was not authentic. Whatever that be, since the Delhi *Statesman* had in some manner access to it at Delhi when you were all there, there is now no use calling upon the members of your Committee to treat it as confidential. In respect of any further development on the subject, however, your instructions should certainly be borne in mind.

I have read Mr. Afzal Husain Qadri's letter, a copy of which you have been good enough to send me. He has gone back on what he had agreed to in the Committee meetings last February, and has come out with new suggestions. I do not think that this is a good procedure. If we are to entertain additions and subtractions at this rate, you will move in a vicious circle. After all, it is the Working Committee of the League which has to take decisions.

So far, I have willingly given you my time as a member of your Committee but feel reluctant to attend any further meetings of it, as it has no *locus standi*, and its findings have no official value with the Executive of the League, and I have really no time for merely academic discussions. Unhappily for me, I have begun to feel, of late, that the cry for Pakistan, as envisaged in the Lahore Resolution,



has no clearness of plan or programme or fullness of design behind it such as might touch satisfactorily the nine crores of Muslims in whose name and on whose behalf the cry is going out from our circles and platforms. I may, should I feel like it, address a note on the subject to Mr. Jinnah before the meeting of the Madras session and furnish copies of it to the members of the League's Working Committee and some of the more prominent members of the League's Council for their kind consideration, and feel that I have done my duty for the League.

I am not satisfied with the demarcation of the North-West and North-East blocks as suggested in the Committee's Report. The Lahore Resolution aims at homogeneous and compact blocks or States with an overwhelming Muslim majority. But the Punjab and Aligarh members of your Committee, through their imperialistic designs over essentially non-Muslim areas, would like to have a larger Punjab extending even to Aligarh, covering all the non-Muslim states from Kashmir to Jaisalmer, which reduces the Muslim percentage to 55. In like manner, they would include in the North-East block the whole of Bengal, Assam and a district from Bihar which brings the percentage of Musalmans down to 54. In my humble opinion, this kind of demarcation is against the spirit and aim of the Lahore Resolution because with 46 per cent non-Muslims in the North-East block and 42 per cent in the North-West block you cannot call your States as Muslim States in any sense of the term, nor style them as Muslim zones. I am not responsible for this demarcation, for it was left entirely to the Punjab, Sindh and U.P. members. I would rather be contented [*sic* for content] with smaller States where I can command at least an 80 per cent majority of the Muslims and call those States my own. I am, however, glad of one thing, [which is] that your Committee's report has taken into consideration the need for including Hyderabad within its constitutional plan as designed by me.

As for the rest, I do not think that I should worry you at this stage. I hope and trust that the League executive would concentrate its attention on the needs of the Muslim minorities outside of the proposed two Muslim blocks with as much zest as it is doing in their case and that this would be reflected in the decisions to be taken at Madras.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

298

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah**F. 281/24-6*CALCUTTA,  
9 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I promised in yesterday's letter<sup>1</sup> that I would send you some details as to the manner in which they have been tampering with the census operations in Bengal. So many and so varied have been the despicable methods which they have adopted that it is impossible to give a complete list but I will try to give some idea of what they have been doing.

I. For some months past, they have been carrying on an extensive and intensive propaganda that the census was being undertaken for the purpose of recruitment for war and for sending all able-bodied men to the fighting line. It was also said that there would be a capitation tax and that the Government were having a census of the population in order to find out the manner in which the tax should be imposed. The Muslims being illiterate and ignorant were, at once, affected by this propaganda and it appeared that at the time of the actual counting, the Muslims were very reluctant to mention particulars to the Enumerators. This is exactly what the Hindus wanted. You will be surprised to hear that in many cases the Hindus dressed in Muslim robes had been going about the Muslim *bustees* and *mohallas* preaching all this nonsense about the census.

II. Having prepared the ground, they began to have recourse to direct action. The Enumerators were practically all Hindus and they deliberately omitted marking Muslim houses for census; in some cases *bustees*, *mohallas*, whole villages and *mauzas* were omitted. It was difficult to check these mean devices in time because the Muslims themselves were indifferent to the census owing to the propaganda of the Hindu Mahasabha. You will be surprised to hear that when I went out for checking the enumerations in Calcutta, in two days I came across omissions which would amount to over one lakh of Muslims.

III. One ingenious device deserves notice. Where they found a number of Muslim houses adjoining a Hindu house, they put the same census number on all the houses. At the time of filling up details they omitted the Muslim houses and counted the members of



the Hindu house, at the same time inflating the numbers. This has happened in many places in Calcutta and also in the *mofussil* showing a deep-laid conspiracy.

IV. The Charge Superintendents, being mostly Hindus, thwarted Muslim Enumerators in every possible way. They would not allow the Muslim Enumerators, of whom there were a few, any facilities for enumeration in supplying them with papers, counting pads and counting slips and so forth.

V. The Hindus were rude to Muslim Enumerators and would not furnish particulars unless a Hindu Enumerator went to them. You will be surprised to hear that there is hardly any house in Calcutta, (the exceptions may be only a few) in which the number of inmates had not been inflated by the Hindu Enumerators.

VI. The Special Officers for Calcutta were both Hindus and were most indifferent to Muslim interests. They would not, generally, receive complaints and while they helped the Hindu Enumerators, they put obstacles in the way of Muslim Enumerators.

VII. The Census Superintendent for Bengal is one Mr. R. A. Dutch of the Indian Civil Service and he is now reported to be a complete Mahasabhaite. It is reported that he does not believe that the Hindus can be dishonest; on the contrary, I hear, he says openly that the Hindus are honest and it is the Muslim League that is creating trouble. You can imagine the extent of all this injustice. It is the Muslims whose interests have been flouted and who have had the misfortune of being put under Hindu domination throughout the census and yet these Muslims are to blame because they have got the hardihood [*sic*] to complain.

VIII. It is now my confirmed opinion that, at least, a million and a half Muslims would have been omitted from the census operations owing to the conspiracies and mean devices of many Hindu Charge Superintendents, Supervisors and Enumerators and the apparent partiality of Mr. Dutch at the top. The Muslim interests have been absolutely sacrificed and emulated [*sic*] at the alter of communalism and a British officer comes to put the finishing stroke on the whole tragedy. I am afraid the Muslims in Bengal will be reduced to a minority and you will lose one of your so-called majority provinces in India.

Yours sincerely,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

299

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 197/36-7*

ALMANZAR,  
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
9 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter, dated 7.3.1941,<sup>1</sup> about the Punjab Students' Federation, I write to inform you that eleven students (representing all the students who saw you at Nedou's Hotel on the 4th March last) came to see me on the evening of the 7th instant. They told me that they thoroughly disapproved of the statement made by Mirza Abdul Hameed, the President, and that they agreed with me in my decision not to accept the offer thus made.

Mr. Ashfaq Bukhari, on behalf of them all, saw Mirza Abdul Hameed yesterday and conveyed the protest of the members about his statement. Mirza Abdul Hameed agreed to fall in with their views and sent me, through Mr. Bukhari, a letter offering to call a meeting of the Working Committee to-day to elect me as President.

So, if this is carried out, things will be settled amicably and I need not, in such a case, issue any counter-statement to the press as previously proposed.

Our Constitution Sub-Committee is continuing its work, which I hope will be finished in a few days.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

PS. Mr. Maqbool Mahomud, MLA (Unionist), asked someone the other day if I was aspiring to become the father of Pakistan. How can a mere child of Pakistan suddenly become its father?

After I had written this letter, Mirza Abdul Hameed phoned me and said that he was willing and keen to work under me in any capacity I liked. So that is all right.

B.A.

<sup>1</sup>No. 293.



299

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 197/36-7*

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300

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah**F. 902/5-7*

PAKISTAN ROAD,  
BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
11 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I would request you to enlighten and guide me in the following matter which is of some public importance:

An association, called Jamiat-ul-Momineen, or a body of Muslim weavers from upper India, is formed here at the instance of one Mr. Ali Hussain Asim of Bihar who styles himself as the Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Momin Conference. Mr. Ali Hussain Asim visited this place twice and addressed the Momins asking them to form an association of their own, called Jamiat-ul-Momineen, and to get it affiliated with the All-India Momin Conference at Cawnpore. The policy of this Conference is supported by its own paper, the *Momin Gazette*, which is an Urdu weekly published from Cawnpore.

Mr. Ali Hussain Asim publicly declared here that the policy of the All-India Momin Conference was to join neither the Congress nor the Muslim League but to remain aloof for the present.

This open declaration of Mr. Ali Hussain Asim made me suspicious of the man and his Conference. On enquiries, made from responsible Momin quarters, including Moulvi Mohammed Latifur Rahman, MLA, Gaya, and a member of Working Committee of the A[ll] I[ndia] Muslim League and Moulvi Ghulam Mustafa of Farrukhabad, U.P., a member of the All India Muslim League Council, it was definitely known that Mr. Ali Hussain was much interested in the Congress and was trying to help it by persuading the Momins to remain aloof from the Muslim League and to form their own separate association, etc. etc.

That Mr. Ali Hussain was, in fact, sympathetic with [*sic* for to] the Congress was made clear when it was seen that all local Congress Muslims (Momins) accorded him a public reception on his arrival here, and he was also their guest of honour during his stay at Burhanpur. These Congress Momins quite readily responded to his appeal by forming the aforesaid Jamiat-ul-Momineen here which



300

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will, of course, be affiliated to the All-India Momin Conference hereafter.

The Urdu weekly—the *Momin Gazette*—, the official organ of the said Conference openly advocates Congress views and has even criticised and condemned the Pakistan Scheme by actually publishing an anti-Pakistan issue. Surely, there can be no two opinions about the policy and programme of the *Momin Gazette* and Mr. Ali Hussain Asim of Bihar. In the words of Moulvi Latifur Rahman and Moulvi Ghulam Mustafa, the *Momin Gazette* and Mr. Ali Hussain are both averse to the interests of the Muslim League and by their pro-Congress policy [they] have displeased all other co-workers of the Momin Conference who are, of course, League-minded.

But in spite of all this bare truth, the effect of the sugar-coated poisonous pills of Mr. Ali Hussain was that an impression is created here that the formation of Jamiat-ul-Momineen as a branch of the All-India Momin Conference does not, in any way, clash with the interests of the Muslim League inasmuch as the Muslim League has not declared the said Jamiat-ul-Momineen as anti-Muslim League just as it has declared its policy about the Congress.

The result is that many Momins, hitherto strictly following the Muslim League, have now preferred to join the said Jamiat which is predominantly under the direct influence of the Congress Muslims.

One thing I must also bring to your kind notice. The said Jamiat-ul-Momineen, acting under the directions of their head office, the All-India Momin Conference and the *Momin Gazette*, openly discarded the directions issued by the All India Muslim League asking the Musalmans to get themselves recorded as Muslims with Urdu as their mother-tongue in the Census Registers. Instead the members of the said Jamiat got themselves recorded as Momins with *Purbi* as their mother-tongue in the Census Registers. This again made it quite clear that the policy of the Jamiat was not only [not] neutral about the Muslim League but was openly hostile and diametrically opposed [to it].

In view of this defying attitude of the Jamiat against the instructions of the Muslim League, the President of the Town Muslim League had to declare that members of the Jamiat could not be members of the local Muslim League.

Since the matter involves an important issue of perhaps an all-India importance, I have, therefore, ventured to approach you with the request that you will kindly guide me in the matter and make the



position of the Muslim League very clear and binding for all concerned.

I earnestly solicit the favour of an early reply to this. If necessary and desirable, you will please publish an official statement over this in the press for our guidance and future action.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR  
*President,*

*Burhanpur District Muslim League*

PS. I have also sent a copy of this to Nawabzada Sahib. I again request for an early authoritative reply to this and oblige.

M. ASGHAR

### 301

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/116-7*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
*11 March 1941*

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you very much for so promptly writing<sup>1</sup> to me in reply to my letter.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, however, your letter was received by me, [having been] redirected here this morning, on my return from Kathiawar.

As a matter of fact, the dates on the envelope show that your letter reached Jamnagar at about 6 o'clock in the evening on the 8th and I left for Rajkot the same day at 4 o'clock. So, instead of the letter being redirected to me to Rajkot, it was redirected here. I was in Rajkot for two days. The Jamsahib was also there. But as I did not know you had written [to Jamsahib], I did not reopen the question again. The Jamsahib will be in Ahmedabad today and will reach Delhi about the 14th and will be there till the 21st. You must, therefore, make it a point to catch him somewhere; and I may suggest, if you approve, that if the Princes do not join as a bloc to look upon the paper as their own by entering into some feasible understanding with us, you may then ask the Jamsahib to give a contribution himself alone, as a man who appreciates the idea of a paper. We

shall then see how we can best approach other possibilities in the princely order.

I wonder if you [will] meet Dumasia there. He is likely to be there when the Princes are there. Could you hint to him that although Mr. [Francis] Low<sup>3</sup> had promised in December that he would be glad to review my article in the *Current Thought*, he has not done so yet.

Hoping this finds you well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>No. 291.

<sup>2</sup>No. 287.

<sup>3</sup>Editor, the *Times of India*.

## 302

*Abdul Hameed Mirza to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 769/177*

106/2 AUSTRALIAN BUILDINGS,  
LAHORE,  
13 March 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Today Mian Bashir Ahmad brought to me your letter<sup>1</sup> and I was really shocked to see it.

I don't know how the matter was put before you but, anyhow, I want to make my position clear only before you as I don't care for the rest of the world.

No doubt, I promised and assured you that I would resign but after the conference I had to finish the whole management and clear the accounts before I call a meeting and get Mian Bashir Ahmad elected as President.

I was informed that Mian Sahib is not willing to preside over the meetings and is not taking active part in any work and says that he is not authorized to do so.

I, only to make him begin work and preside over the meetings held in connection with the new programme, gave a statement that "according to the advice of Quaid-i-Azam and due to my own engagements, I authorize Mian Sahib to preside over the meetings



held in this connection" till the meeting is called and he is elected.

I don't think it was "incorrect and misleading." I found Mian Bashir Ahmad very sensitive and over-suspicious in this matter. So to decide the matter, I have finished my work and have got him elected in the meeting of the 10th March 1941.

I hope you will also be satisfied and inform me about your goodwill. I attach herewith the cuttings of the paper.<sup>2</sup>

Waiting to hear from you at your earliest convenience,

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED MIRZA

<sup>1</sup>No. 295.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 303

*Mohammed Asghar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/73-4*

BURHANPUR, C.P.,  
14 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your kind telegram<sup>1</sup> this morning about Pakistan Day.

You are already aware of the fact that the Provincial Muslim League is holding a Pakistan and anti-Joint-Electorate Conference at Akola on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of this month under the presidentship of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. People, therefore, from all parts of the Province are expected to attend the Conference, thus remaining absent at their respective places on the 23rd for observing the proposed Pakistan Day. Realizing all this, I have now sent in my suggestion at Akola to consider the desirability of postponing the said Conference only for a couple of days. This will enable all concerned to observe the Pakistan Day at their own places and also to attend the Conference immediately thereafter. The change in the programme can, of course, be settled in consultation with the Nawab Sahib, who must be in Delhi these days after his most successful tour of the Frontier Province.

If, therefore, you please approve of my humble suggestion I would then request you to inform the people at Akola, preferably by a telegram, to postpone the Conference for two days only and to hold

received a large number of letters from C. P., practically on the same subject, i.e. the recent activities of some pro-Congress Momins, specially that of Mohammad Ali Hussain Asim Bihari in C. P. and asking me to visit C. P. immediately. I have replied to the Secretary of the Burhanpur Momins' organization, called Rafiqul-Ansar, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your perusal.<sup>2</sup> I would have by now gone to C.P. but my difficulty is that I am very hard pressed for time. I have already promised to give some days to Bengal, have consented to preside over Gorakhpur (U.P.) District Muslim League Conference, besides other important meetings in Bihar and other places. Further, I am being pressed to go to Cawnpore at the time of your visit there as Cawnpore is the headquarters of pro-Congress Momins and then I am asked to visit Farrukhabad, Allahabad and Manikpur (U.P.). Finally, there is the Madras session and I am in [a] great fix as how to adjust these demands.

I have thought over the order of the President, Burhanpur League, banning members of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen from joining the Muslim League there. I think this will defeat our purpose. The pro-Congress Momins' real aim is that Momins should not join the Muslim League if they do not join the Congress. If we ourselves put this ban, it will only help the Congress Momins. If there is a Momin organization and if the Momins are overwhelmingly pro-League, as they are everywhere to my experience, then they can capture such organization and utilize it in strengthening the Muslim League as we are doing in Bihar. If they cannot capture the organization, they can form their own, a separate one, and try to convert majority of the Momins to their pro-League view and thus combat the Congress Momins' activities, which will be more effective if done from Momin platforms. There are, like Momins, many other social organizations such as Shia Conference, Quraish Conference, etc. and if we ban one, the result will be disastrous for us. My view is that these organizations should be utilized to strengthen Muslim League as long as they continue to exist though, I am sure, time will come when such organizations will vanish automatically and only the Muslim League will be there for all, but as it is still too early we should rather proceed cautiously. The Muslim masses, specially the Momins, are very illiterate and they can be very easily misled; so the League should not in my humble opinion give a handle to our opponents to misinterpret our actions however well-intentioned they [may]



it from the 24th and the following days.

As regards observing the Pakistan Day here on the 23rd, I need hardly assure you that it shall be my most pious duty to celebrate it in a most befitting manner just to convince the Government, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha that now the Musalmans in India stand firm to attain Pakistan at all costs and sacrifices.

On that day the Musalmans shall once again show to the world that the ten crore Muslims of India have their fullest faith in Quaid-i-Azam and in nobody else.

Muslim League *zindabad*, Pakistan *zindabad* and Quaid-i-Azam *zindabad*, *Aameen*

Yours most sincerely,  
MOHAMMED ASGHAR

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 304

*M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq*

*F. 281/27*

NEW DELHI,  
15 March 1941

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq

I have received your letters, dated the 8th<sup>1</sup> and 9th<sup>2</sup> of March, and thank you for them.

I shall await further developments as to what you want the League to do. In the meantime, I must say that I am astonished to read the account given by you in your letter and you as the Premier of Bengal are in a strong position to fight the matter out with the Government of India firmly and determinately [determinedly].

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 294.

<sup>2</sup>No. 298.



Jinnah with his sister Fatima



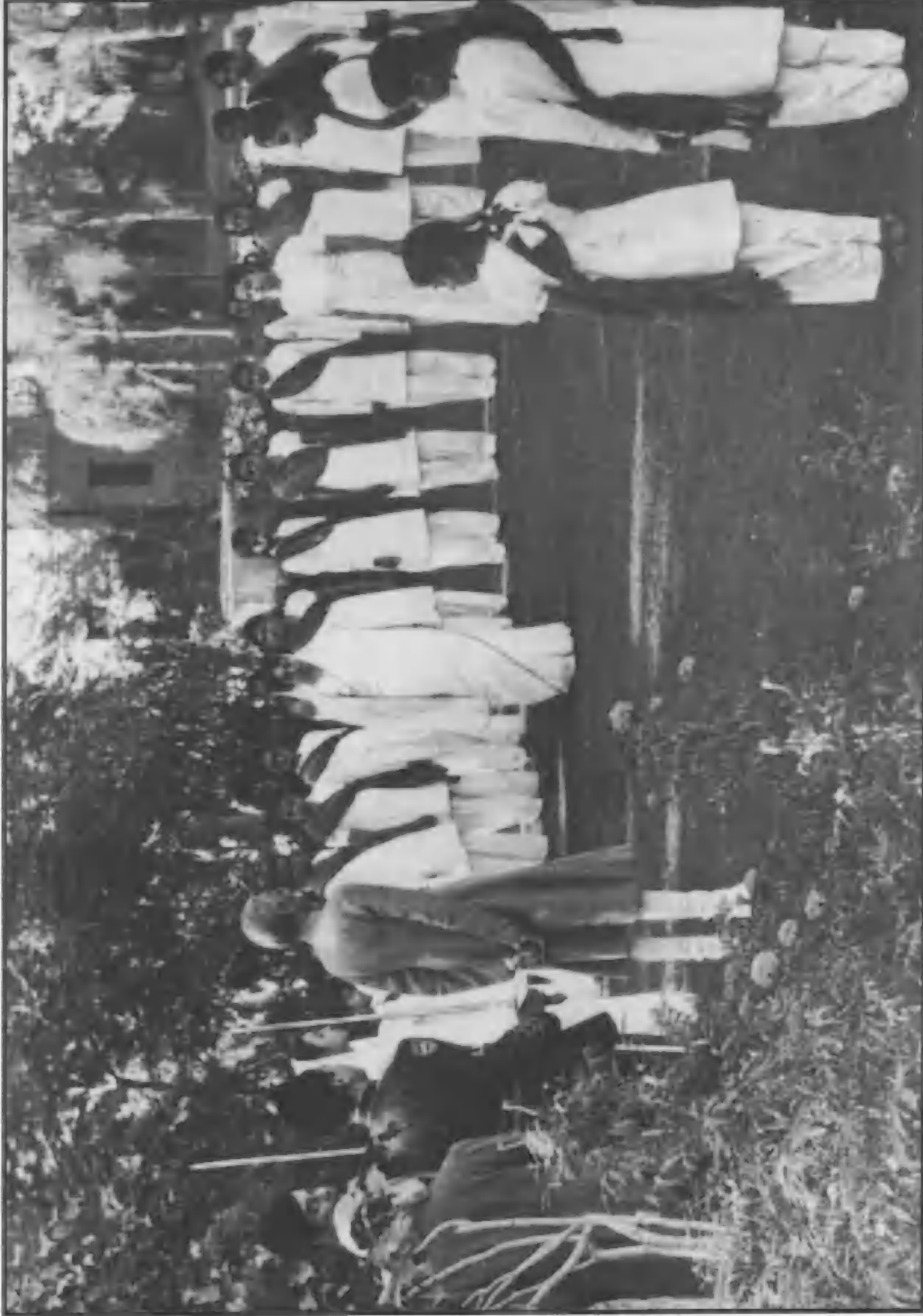


Jinnah with his daughter Dina



Jinnah with a group of students of Muslim University, Aligarh, 1941





Jinnah with Women National Guards, 1943



Jinnah with Members of Punjab Legislative Assembly





Jinnah, Fatima and Liaquat Ali Khan with Students of Islamia College, Lahore

## 305

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Latif**F. 370/65*NEW DELHI,  
15 March 1941

Dear Dr. Latif,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th instant<sup>1</sup> and I have repeatedly made it clear to you and publicly that the Muslim League has appointed no such committee as you keep hopping [*sic*] upon; and neither the Muslim League nor I can recognize any of these suggestions or proposals of these so-called schemes, except as I have said any suggestion from individuals or groups will receive due consideration.

Please, therefore, let me make it clear once [and] for all that neither Sir Abdoola Haroon nor you should go on talking of this committee or that committee and involving the Muslim League or its authority behind the proposals that may be formulated by individuals or groups.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 297.

## 306

*S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 826/42-4*NAGMATIA HOUSE,  
GAYA,  
15 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received a letter from Mr. [Mohammed] Asghar, President of Burhanpur District Muslim League, C.P., forwarding a copy of the letter dated 11 March 1941 addressed to you.<sup>1</sup> Besides, I have



received a large number of letters from C. P., practically on the same subject, i.e. the recent activities of some pro-Congress Momins, specially that of Mohammad Ali Hussain Asim Bihari in C. P. and asking me to visit C. P. immediately. I have replied to the Secretary of the Burhanpur Momins' organization, called Rafiqul-Ansar, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your perusal.<sup>2</sup> I would have by now gone to C.P. but my difficulty is that I am very hard pressed for time. I have already promised to give some days to Bengal, have consented to preside over Gorakhpur (U.P.) District Muslim League Conference, besides other important meetings in Bihar and other places. Further, I am being pressed to go to Cawnpore at the time of your visit there as Cawnpore is the headquarters of pro-Congress Momins and then I am asked to visit Farrukhabad, Allahabad and Manikpur (U.P.). Finally, there is the Madras session and I am in [a] great fix as how to adjust these demands.

I have thought over the order of the President, Burhanpur League, banning members of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen from joining the Muslim League there. I think this will defeat our purpose. The pro-Congress Momins' real aim is that Momins should not join the Muslim League if they do not join the Congress. If we ourselves put this ban, it will only help the Congress Momins. If there is a Momin organization and if the Momins are overwhelmingly pro-League, as they are everywhere to my experience, then they can capture such organization and utilize it in strengthening the Muslim League as we are doing in Bihar. If they cannot capture the organization, they can form their own, a separate one, and try to convert majority of the Momins to their pro-League view and thus combat the Congress Momins' activities, which will be more effective if done from Momin platforms. There are, like Momins, many other social organizations such as Shia Conference, Quraish Conference, etc. and if we ban one, the result will be disastrous for us. My view is that these organizations should be utilized to strengthen Muslim League as long as they continue to exist though, I am sure, time will come when such organizations will vanish automatically and only the Muslim League will be there for all, but as it is still too early we should rather proceed cautiously. The Muslim masses, specially the Momins, are very illiterate and they can be very easily misled; so the League should not in my humble opinion give a handle to our opponents to misinterpret our actions however well-intentioned they [may]

be. I am trying my best to come to Cawnpore on the 29th and discuss these and other matters with you personally.

Yours sincerely,  
LATIF  
MLA

*Vice-President,  
Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 300.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

307

*L. S. Amery to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/18*

INDIA OFFICE,  
WHITEHALL,  
18 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wish to thank you, on the Prime Minister's behalf as well as on my own, for your courtesy in sending us copies of the interview<sup>1</sup> enclosed in your letters of the 2nd January, and for your good wishes for the new year. We have naturally given to the points, raised in your interview, the earnest consideration for which you asked. But they involve the whole constitutional issue, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government in all these matters was fully set out in the statement of August 8th.<sup>2</sup> We feel that if you wish to discuss that statement further or seek further clarification of it, your best course would be to approach the Viceroy, who is fully aware of the mind of His Majesty's Government.

Yours sincerely,  
L. S. AMERY

<sup>1</sup>Refers to Jinnah's interview with W.H.P. Gardiner, Member of the British Labour Party. See F. 494/6, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure to No. 506, Vol. XV, 687-9.



308

*W. Hoondraj to M. A. Jinnah**F. 874/79-82*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

BURNS ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
18 March 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am [*sic*] in receipt of your letter<sup>1</sup> long since.

Since the day we met here, much water has flowed under the bridge. It is a pity that your Ministers are not united in a team and they are lifeless so far [*as*] their capacity for political propaganda is concerned. Even though they are goaded to such action by their friends or fair thinkers, they are too sluggish. Now there are attempts at demoralizing either [*sic*] of your past three Ministers by picking up one of them to fill in the vacant chair of the 6th Minister which appears to have been left so by K. B. Allah Bakhsh as a bait. The Hindus here are very much perturbed at the inclusion of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and the prospective inclusion of Pirzada Abdus Sattar in the Ministry because they are known here as branded bigots and communalists. Therefore, the best strategic stroke is that the Leaguers [*should*] not be demoralized and [*should*] wait outside the Ministry in order to put Allah Bakhsh in a narrow and hard hole and let him be slighted in the Hindu eyes. By the present personnel of the Ministry, even Allah Bakhsh has broken and dishonoured the pact of Azad, who being the responsible head of the Congress organization, had recognized the very active existence of the Muslim League so far that he too had advised the inclusion of two Leaguers in the Ministry. I now argue here with unfair critics (who blame Mir for walking into the lobby of Muslim League) that when even Azad recognized the claims of the Muslim League on the Ministry, why should not such League Ministers exist in the Ministry as Leaguers and why should they not have the liberty to multiply their supporters in [*sic*] Mir or such others, and why should then the Muslim League be disbanded in the Assembly when Azad also has recognized the Leaguers as equal partners in the Ministry?

I now request you to kindly keep a good grip on your Leaguers not to accept any job in the present Ministry at least till you come here personally.

Secondly, that you may kindly let me know when you are coming here so that I may work out to form a deputation of the Hindus to understand you personally, draw nearer to you and shake off their prejudices against the Muslim League in Sind. Please tear this letter up and reply.

Let me hope I shall succeed in this attempt at Hindu-Muslim unity.

Yours sincerely,  
HOONDRAJ  
M.B.B.S.  
*Eye Specialist*

<sup>1</sup>See No. 182.

309

*D. S. Ramachandra Rao to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 487/151-2*

CONFIDENTIAL

CAMP 44 OXFORD STREET,  
SECUNDERABAD,  
18 March 1941

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing a resolution, passed at the All-India Christian Conference, held at Lucknow during last December. As the President of the Conference, I have been commissioned to get in touch with you, if you permit it, to know at first hand from you what the Muslim community stands for in India today. We are aware of the great contribution that the Muslims have made to the making of modern India. We know that they are destined to play a still greater part in the India of tomorrow. The Conference has asked me to assure you that we shall be delighted to be of any service—if you do not consider us meddlesome—to help you to realize your just claims.

I shall, therefore, feel very grateful if you can give me and one or two others who may accompany me, an opportunity to discuss the matter with you during your forthcoming visit to Madras early in April.

I met the President of the Reception Committee in Madras the other day. He thought it would be quite feasible to arrange for a talk with you if you are agreeable to it.



Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you in Madras,

Yours faithfully,  
D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO  
M.A., M.D.  
President,  
*All-India Christian Conference*

*Enclosure to No. 309*

*F. 487/153*

#### RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

This Conference appeals to the leaders of the different political parties, and in particular to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, to agree to the convening of a conference composed of the various important parties and interests in India with the object of framing a constitution for India on a national basis. It directs the President to take active steps to implement this Resolution.

310

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ali Hyder*

*F. 874/85*

NEW DELHI,  
18 March 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

With regard to my advice about co-operation with the Govt. in the present war, I beg to inform you that a definite and decisive policy has already been laid down by the All India Muslim League by the various resolutions of its Working Committee and its Council which have been passed from time to time. It is very difficult for me to write and explain to every individual by means of correspondence or otherwise as I am already pressed with work.

With regard to your request for my visit to Unao, I am afraid it

will not be possible for me to do so as the programme of my journey is already arranged.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

311

*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1009/122*

242 STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
18 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah

I feel that the time has come to make a move. We have given this Government every opportunity and I think it is time, in the interests of everything, to end this inexcusable procrastination. I feel that the suggested press notice should be issued by you immediately.

Still hopefully,  
PAT GARDINER

*Enclosure to No. 311*  
*Suggested Press Notice*

*F. 1009/120-1*

On February 27th a cable was published in the press which gave some details of questions asked in the House of Commons regarding a fresh approach to a settlement of the political situation in this country. At the time, I was approached by a representative of the United Press for further information but beyond admitting the existence of such a move, I was unable, for certain reasons which I do not yet wish to disclose, to make any further revelation.

It is now quite certain that the Government of India has held up the letter containing these proposals, and I no longer feel bound to remain silent. To my mind no effort, no matter how unpromising, which aims at a settlement of the Indian impasse, should be overlooked.

When I was in Karachi last December, I had a series of private discussions with a member of the British Labour Party with a view



to narrowing down the outstanding differences between the great community, which I have the honour to lead, and the British Government. He was extremely anxious that something should be done to enable India to bear the full measure of her share in resisting the dictator[ial] powers and felt that the failure of a number of official attempts did not necessarily imply that an unofficial one was hopeless. The eventual proposals, which he forwarded to his party, were not such as I was prepared to agree entirely with, nor do I expect that they would have been altogether acceptable to the British Government.

They did, however, to my mind form a most promising basis for negotiation, considering that he kept in mind also the eventual participation of the Congress Party. But even had they not done so, it is my opinion that if the Government of India was genuine in its desire for a settlement, it would have facilitated its despatch to England by every means in its power. Instead of which it is trying to use an antediluvian regulation to suppress this effort simply because it emanates from a member of the Labour Party, although this latter has produced some of the key men in the present War Cabinet. I would have thought that the gravity of the present situation would have been sufficient to stamp out such petty sentiments but, of course, they are truly symptomatic of the outlook which prevails in Delhi and which led to the War Office taking over the direction of the Mesopotamian Campaign in 1917, a slight which was thoroughly justified.

Every moment lost may well be vital and the Government of India cannot be condemned in terms strong enough for attempting to stifle and obstruct an action which was at least an attempt to do something. I can only hope that the Labour Party in the House of Commons will insist on the fullest investigation of the reasons which prompted this strange pro-German action and from what I know of them, I am confident that they will meet with unanimous disapproval.

The letter containing these proposals was sent by trans-pacific air mail on December 28th and was due in London on January 19th latest. Already, examination has been delayed by two whole months. The Secretary of State cabled on [14 January]<sup>1</sup> that both he and the Prime Minister were expecting the report hopefully and promised to give it every attention. It makes me wonder why he has not insisted on its immediate production although the reported replies, which he made in the House of Commons, appear to be at variance with the knowledge of the report which he has admitted to.

H. M. the King has just expressed his satisfaction with the assistance

which has been forthcoming from this country. This, in manpower, from the figures officially given was 85,502 in the first year of the war. This is actually less than [what] Australia has produced from a population that is but 2 per cent of India's and even then the figures are deliberately misleading since they do not disclose that the normal peacetime intake into the Indian Army accounts for about one-third. It is a lamentable admission of ineffectiveness which could most certainly not be surpassed by a National Indian Cabinet. I invite the Home Government to open their eyes a little wider about India and give the country the encouragement it needs to back them fully and whole-heartedly and the new C-in-C an equally effective administration to support his very badly needed new broom.

<sup>1</sup>See No. 174.

## 312

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad*

*F. 197/38*

NEW DELHI,  
18 March 1941

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th instant<sup>1</sup> and am glad to know that all things have been settled amicably.

You need not worry about other people showing their concern in anything but must pursue the task before you firmly and determinately [determinedly]; and if you are able to do it for some time believe me all opposition will fade away very soon. I am looking forward to great work be[ing] done by the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation under your presidentship and I am confident that the organization will fully justify itself.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 299.



313

*M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah**F. 365/15-6*

124 MUSLIM COLONY,  
BRITTO ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
19 March 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I hope you have received full information regarding proceedings in Sind following my interview with you at Delhi.

In accordance with your advice, we have come out of office and have not in any way compromised with the Allah Bakhsh party or the Congress in Sind. About 14 members of Assembly stand by us, although one cannot be sure how many of them will continue to do so till the end of the term.

The Hindus seem to have made K.B. Allah Bakhsh agree to a policy of repression against the League leaders. Both the elements are of the view that the League movement be crushed, otherwise it will upset all their hopes and designs in the future elections. Prosecution of Mr. Gazder is about to be sanctioned and many more are likely to follow him in his wake [*sic*]. Our another handicap is the lack of organization and finance. For the last four years we have been carrying on the struggle in one form or another, and the pressure on our own resources has been tremendous. Besides, we are likely to have general elections by the end of the current year and we have got to give a final and decisive battle to Allah 'Buxites' on that occasion. That again will throw additional burden on us. Not only that; preliminary propaganda and organizational activities which will occupy our next ten months must also cost a good deal. These are some of the circumstances we have to face, even if we ignore the demoralization and discontent which our abdication from office has caused in the friendly circles, which have throughout been of the view that with only ten months in between the new election, the power of patronage should not have been placed into the hands of the enemies.

After considering all aspects of the matter, I am of the view that you may kindly give us at least one month of your time, and that also immediately after the Madras session is over, in order to set our

future plans right. If we are not helped by the Centre to stand on our feet at this crucial stage in our life, Sind shall have gone down the ditch at least for a long time to come.

Some poor candidates will also have to be helped from the party fund, which practically does not exist here. For all these matters we have got to discuss with you on your visit to Sind.

With kindest regards,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. A. KHUHRO

PS. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Sidhwa, leader of Congress Party in the Sind Assembly.

*Enclosure to No. 313  
M.A. Khuhro to Rustamji Khurshedji Sidhwa  
(Copy to M.A. Jinnah)*

*F. 365/17*

KARACHI,  
18 March 1941

Dear Mr. Sidhwa,

I have received a notice, signed by you last evening, intimating me to attend the meeting of the All-Parties Advisory Committee today at 11 a.m.

In reply to that I wish to inform you that the Advisory Committee of sixteen was appointed with a view to maintain[ing] an all-party government in the Province and secur[ing] support for it from all the parties in the House. That is why there are representatives of every party and interest in the House on this Advisory Committee.

But now that all-party government no longer exists due to the efforts and machinations of the Congress Assembly Party, no useful purpose will be served by our functioning on this Committee.

This view is shared by my other colleagues as well and they have authorized me to write to you on behalf of them all.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. KHUHRO



314

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 199/62-4*

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
20 March 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was in Delhi on the 13th and 14th but couldn't see you. I, however, managed to see Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and discuss matters with him. He told me that you wanted a first-rate book on Pakistan to be written with the collaboration of some experts. As a matter of fact I myself had made this suggestion to Nawabzada and had offered the services of some of my friends and myself. I am glad you approve of the project. I have had a talk with my friends and they are willing to take up the work during the vacations which commence from the 1st of May. We are preparing the synopsis of the book and I will soon send it over to you. Nawabzada told me that it would be necessary for us to proceed to Bombay sometime in May to have detailed discussions with you on the various issues connected with the book and thus finish off the work. He also told me that all the help which he and his office might afford will be available. As this is going to be a really first-rate work, and we mean to do it sincerely and thoroughly, we will be needing many things and I am sure you will kindly give us all possible help. For our part, we assure you, we will leave no stone unturned to produce a book worthy of the Muslim League and its scheme.

As for University affairs, I have already had detailed discussions with you. I am now taking the liberty to make some definite suggestions:

- i. With regard to Vice-Chancellorship, I have already placed you in possession of the mind and feeling of League circles in the University. I have recently heard of a suggestion which is rather disquieting. It is rumoured that Sir Raza Ali<sup>1</sup> is in the running with the backing of the Nawab of Rampur.<sup>2</sup> Of all the names, suggested so far, this is the most undesirable. He has the reputation of being an out-and-out self-seeker and job-hunter, also a spy of the Govt. He commands no respect whatsoever among the youths and other thinking men. He has had nothing to do with education and has never

taken any interest in the University. For all we know he is not at all sincere in his allegiance to the Muslim League. I, therefore, hope you will rule out his name from the outset. As for others, it is entirely in your hands to make the choice. You may rest assured that whomsoever you choose to send as the Vice-Chancellor, he will command the solid support not only of members of the Court but also of every true Muslim Leaguer.

- ii. As you know, four vacancies are occurring in the Executive Council. These places are very important. Every seat must be filled by men under the command of the Muslim League. I am glad Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has agreed to seek election to one of these places. For the other three places, suitable persons should be selected by you after consultation with Dr. Zia Uddin and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The sitting members are (1) Col. Rahman (2) Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang (3) Abdul Majid Khwaja (4) Dr. Wali Mohamed. I am suggesting one name for your consideration, namely Chaudhri Akhtar Husain, MLC of Lucknow. He is the son-in-law of the late Sir S. M. Sulaiman and is a rising lawyer. He is a staunch Muslim Leaguer and has been a very prominent advocate of the Muslim cause in the Upper House of U. P. However, it is for you to select the persons. If you like, I can suggest more names.<sup>3</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Lawyer; Member, Public Service Commission; Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Syed Muhammad Raza Ali Khan.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah agreed to meet some of them in Bombay. See F. 199/66, QAP. Not printed.

## 315

*M. A. Jinnah to Jam Sahib of Nawanganar*<sup>1</sup>

*F. 703/1-2*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI,  
21 March 1941

My dear Jam Sahib,

With regard to our conversation this morning, I am sending you



herewith a copy of the Lahore Resolution,<sup>2</sup> popularly known as the Pakistan [Resolution].

You will observe from this that it does not contemplate any form of central government or legislature and has for its basic principle that Muslim zones in the North-West and the East, while being vested with full responsible government, will continue in direct relationship with the British Parliament as the Indian States and the scheme will provide for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

In the light of these proposals, as I have already made it clear in my previous statements, we do not wish to interfere with the Indian States so far as the Muslim zones are concerned. If any Indian State pertaining to the North-Western zone or the Eastern zone desires to come into the Federation of that zone we shall be glad to welcome any such State on reasonable and fair terms being agreed upon.

We believe that the policy of the British Government, which is being pursued now for a considerable time, based on the theory of a central federal government or any other form of government for India as one constitutional unit, is not only impossible but, if forced upon [us], will lead to great disasters. Similarly, to set up a central government for all India, based on representative and democratic system of government, is utterly unsuited to the conditions of India and will never work. The idea of a strong central government is merely a dream. This policy has, in my judgement, already proved, to the satisfaction of all thinking people, that it has broken down and so far as we are concerned we consider it dead.

With regard to the question of settlement between the Congress and the League, Your Highness showed your aversion towards it and expressed your grave apprehensions. I can only say that the settlement with the Congress or any other party, which will be fair and equitable to all interests concerned, cannot be ruled out of consideration but we have no desire to come to a settlement of a kind which will be detrimental to the vital interest of the Indian States and for that reason I expressed my opinion in our conversation that we shall certainly consult the Princely Order.

Similarly, I understand that Your Highness was of opinion that the Indian States will show us the same courtesy and consideration of consulting the Muslim League before you finally commit yourself to any settlement with the British Government or the Congress or any other party.

With regard to the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, I think I can fairly say that there is no serious conflict between us. On the contrary, there exists a common ground and a common interest between the Indian States and the All India Muslim League.

I hope that on the main points adumbrated above, Your Highness and the Princely Order will agree with me. If there is any other point Your Highness may desire to be clarified, I shall be very glad to do so.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Sir Digvijaysinghji Ranjitsinghji Jadeja.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 156, Vol. XV, 229-31.

## 316

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner*

*F. 494/19*

NEW DELHI,  
21 March 1941

My dear Mr. Gardiner,

I have done all I could to impress upon some people in authority regarding their making so much fuss about your dispatching my interview to Mr. Parker.<sup>1</sup>

As I have already informed you, the copies that I had sent to Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill<sup>2</sup> who represent other parties, as I did not wish to be misunderstood, have reached them<sup>3</sup> and I am sure that Mr. Parker or at any rate the Labour Party leaders must have obtained its copies.

I do not think any useful purpose will be served by issuing the Press Notice, suggested by you. The Muslim League view was fully put forward on the floor of the Assembly yesterday<sup>4</sup> and by now you must have read at least a summary of it in the newspapers. If you like you can obtain a copy of the official report of the Assembly debates like your [*words missing*] on payment of a small sum.

I would like to know whether you are still under the displeasure



of those above you, and how the matter stands.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 141.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 494/6, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 307.

<sup>4</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *Speeches*, 508-16.

## 317

*M. A. Jinnah to W. Hoondraj*

*F. 495/7*

NEW DELHI,  
24 March 1941

Dear Dr. Hoondraj,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. But I do not find any concrete or constructive proposals in your letter. I am glad that you realise that the Sind Hindus are prejudiced against the Muslim League.

I wish you all success in your attempt to bring the Hindus on the right lines in their own interest and in the interest of the Province generally.

Yes, I will let you know in time about my next visit.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 308.

## 318

*M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow*

*F. 498/35*

NEW DELHI,  
24 March 1941

My dear Lord Linlithgow,

The question regarding the representation of the Muslims in

Railway Services has, [as] you must have already noticed, reached a very acute point. The Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly has exhausted all avenues on the floor of the House as well as in their representation to the Member in charge,<sup>1</sup> for the last two years and instead of any improvement we have incurred the displeasure and hostility of the Member in charge.

This year when the Railway Budget was presented, the Muslim League Party unanimously decided that no useful purpose will be served by further efforts of normal character on the floor of the House and that the only constitutional protest that they could make was to withdraw from the Assembly during the period the Railway Budget was under discussion. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the statement<sup>2</sup> by the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly, shortly stating the grounds that compelled the Party to adopt such a course.

Since then, the Party met and decided that a memorandum regarding the Muslim representation in the Railway Services should be sent to you by me as the Leader of the Party and as the President of the All India Muslim League. The memorandum was drafted by a committee and has been unanimously approved by the Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly.

I am now forwarding it to you and sincerely trust that you will give your best consideration to the matter and see that full justice is done to the serious grievances of the Musalmans in the Railway Services.<sup>3</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Sir Andrew Clow; later, Governor of Assam.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>J. G. Laithwaite, Secretary to the Viceroy, informed Jinnah that enquiries were being made in the matter. See F. 498/5, QAP. Not printed.

319

*M. A. Jinnah to A. H. Ayub*

*F. 165/57*

NEW DELHI,  
25 March 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th March 1941.<sup>1</sup>



With regard to your resolution, having regard to the facts placed before me by you, I do not see what other course you could have adopted. I do not see why the resolution should be considered by the State as a threat. I think that it is on the State to do justice to the Musalmans.

As regards what terms you should accept, it is difficult for me to advise, but I see no ground for the State to make a condition precedent to any negotiation or settlement that you should withdraw your resolution. It is for your *Jamaat* and the leaders to consider what will satisfy you and I hope that His Highness<sup>2</sup> will meet the Musalmans fairly and justly.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

A. H. Ayub, Esq.,  
Secretary,  
Porbandar State Muslim League,  
Porbandar

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Natwarsinghji Bahadur.

## 320

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
25 March 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my telegram<sup>2</sup> and letter<sup>3</sup> regarding the successful observance of Pakistan Day in Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas and other places as well as a copy of the letter of protest,<sup>4</sup> written by the Joint Secretary, Mr. S. M. Osman, to the Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League. This letter was really written by myself and sent in the name of my colleague.

I am waiting for your response to the offer of love made to you by Maulana Soofi Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri.

Maulana Soofi Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri desires to volunteer his whole-hearted services to you in a spirit of religious devotion and

personal love and attachment to you as the God-commissioned leader of Muslim India.

Maulana proposes to live with you as your companion friend and occasionally give short discourses on the holy *Qur'an* and Islam on which he is an authority of great erudition. He also wants to help you in all possible ways in your mission of Pakistan as a man of religion and piety.

He is selfless to the core, highly intelligent, and catholic in his ideas. He is living a life entirely dedicated to Islam and Pakistan. Of course, his service to you will be purely a labour of love and not for any worldly gain.

May I hope that you will accept this offer of love made to you in the name of *Allah* and in the name of Islam and Pakistan.

I am enclosing an open letter written by Maulana Soofi Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri to Hindu leaders for your perusal.<sup>5</sup>

The Maulana will bear all his expenses from his own pocket.

Yours most obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*Secretary-General,*

*Calcutta District Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 175-6.

<sup>2-5</sup>Not traceable.

## 321

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro*

*F. 365/18*

NEW DELHI,  
25 March 1941

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th instant<sup>1</sup> and the enclosed copy of the letter addressed to Mr. Sidhwa dated the 18th March,<sup>2</sup> and thank you for it.

Let me in the first instance say that at least the Muslim Leaguers in Sind Assembly have adopted the right course. You will soon realise its effect on our people as well as on our opponents. It now lies in your hands to stand together as one man in the Assembly and organise the Muslim League outside the Legislature. I am hopeful that the Muslim League will sooner than later occupy the honoured



position in the Government of your Province. But you must work for it.

As I have already informed you, I shall do my very best to do my bit for the Sind Muslim League. I shall certainly bear in mind your suggestion that I should visit Sind after the Madras session.

I am glad that you realise that it is a crucial stage in our political life in Sind.

I hope you will all be coming to Madras. We will then have the opportunity to talk over the matter further.

Hoping you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 313.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to *ibid.*

## 322

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 197/39-40*

23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
25 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks very much for your letter of 18th March.<sup>1</sup> I write to inform you that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation has framed its new constitution, which has been approved by Mr. Noman of the All-India Federation.

The office-bearers have been appointed. The Federation observed the Pakistan Day on the 23rd March. It was a great success. A full account of the meeting will appear in the next issue of the *Eastern Times*. Meanwhile, I am sending you enclosed herewith two cuttings from the *Tribune*,<sup>2</sup> the first giving part of my speech and the second (a leading article) comments thereon. You may observe that in the leading article, the Editor has not correctly quoted me. Instead of saying "independent autonomous zones" he simply says "autonomous zones." I have to-day written a letter to the *Tribune*

pointing out the omission.

As to the Federation, undoubtedly it is an uphill task, but I think we have made a good beginning. I am working hard at it. I am glad to say that some of the boys are quite keen. For sometime now they may be busy with their exams but we shall keep doing something or other.

Notices about the P[unjab] M[uslim] S[tudents] F[ederation] have also been appearing in the Urdu dailies of Lahore.<sup>3</sup>

With kind regards; hoping you are keeping fit,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

[PS.] After I spoke, forceful speeches were delivered by Mian Nurullah MLA, Malik Barkat Ali MLA, Fatima Begum, Principal, Jinnah Girls College, and others.

<sup>1</sup>No. 312.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>Jinnah expressed his pleasure over the progress made by the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. See F. 963/5, QAP. Not printed.

## 323

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 311/4*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
26 March 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith copy of [a] letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who happens to be Mr. [Huseyn] Shaheed Suhrawardy. The letter speaks for itself. You must help us to get rid of the incubus of the Government which has been playing with the League. All these years, I have kept quiet fearing the bogey of a rift in the Muslim [League] ranks.

It will perhaps come to you as a surprise that the President of the Bengal Provincial [Muslim] League is also the President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samiti. In view of the coming election, this gentleman has circulated notices to all districts, sub-divisions, towns, *thanas* and unions to gird up their loins and prepare themselves to fight for



the rights of the peasants. It is also rumoured that the President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samiti is carrying on secret negotiations with the rump of the Congress Party which calls itself the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, led by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. You have got to put your foot down and demand a clarification forthwith, as in my humble opinion allowing Mr. Fazlul Huq to tow two boats at the same time is to give him an opportunity to ruin the Muslim cause in Bengal at this critical juncture.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. H. I.

*Enclosure to No. 323*  
*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to H. S. Suhrawardy*

*F. 311/5-6*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
25 March 1941

Dear Sir,

I was surprised to read a statement, published in the *Star of India* on Saturday, the 22nd of March, purporting to be a telegram sent by the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League calling upon the Musalmans throughout Bengal not to observe the Pakistan Day. It said:

In view of possible misunderstanding and danger to communal harmony owing to recent riots, Provincial Muslim League has decided not to hold Pakistan [Day] meetings twenty-third. Request you to comply.

This statement, as you will observe, overrides the mandate issued by the Council of the All India Muslim League and, therefore, is not only *ultra vires* [of that mandate] but constitutes a definite and direct challenge to the authority of the parent body.

None knows when and by whom the supposed decision to abandon the holding of the meetings was arrived at. Had there been a meeting of the Working Committee to decide this point, I would have received its notice and agenda. No such agenda reached me, for if it had, I would have attended the meeting to record my protest against any interference by the Provincial League with orders from the Centre.

Opinion has been gaining force that the Muslim League of Bengal has been losing in dignity. It is now being said openly that the League

has become the tool of the Government to be ordered about as it pleases. Steps should be taken not only to check such a view spreading any further but also to liberate the League and to make it function as an independent and free organisation of the Musalmans.

The fact that the Musalmans of Calcutta observed the Pakistan Day in spite of the orders issued by the Provincial President is significant and indicates the direction towards which Muslim public opinion is being driven. Any repetition of such a dictatorial attitude will mean disaster. This must be averted.

I have, therefore, to request you to be good enough to call an urgent meeting of the Working Committee at an early date [sic] so that the members may consider the seriousness of the situation created by the ill-advised action of the President.

I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Mr. Jinnah for his information in order that he may know that, howsoever small and ineffective the voice of some may be in Bengal, they will, as they have always done, stand and fight for the honour and prestige of the All India Muslim League.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. H. ISPAHANI

## 324

*Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 52/22-3*

GOVT. HIGH SCHOOL,  
SANGLA,  
26 March 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I am enclosing herewith postage stamps worth two *annas*. This is the humble contribution of myself and my younger brother. We are poor people. Our father died twelve years ago. My age is fifteen years. My brother is only twelve. He was born after father's death. Our mother gives us a pice each everyday as pocket money. We read your appeal for funds. We saved our pocket money and collected two *annas* in four days. Mother has very kindly given us five pice for postage. Please accept this from your poor followers.



When we grow up as youngmen, we will become soldiers of Islam and fight the battles of Islam. You will be our general. Mother, my younger brother and myself pray for your long life everyday.

Yours sincerely,  
ABDUL MAJID  
*Student 9th class*

325

*M. A. Jinnah to C. M. G. Ogilvie*

*F. 501/3*

NEW DELHI,  
27 March 1941

Dear Mr. Ogilvie,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th of March 1941<sup>1</sup> and I regret to have to say that this is one more effort on the part of the Government indirectly to get the Muslim League to bear the responsibility and associate with the policy of the war efforts which are being made without our having a real and substantial authority in the Government at the centre and the provinces. You know that the Muslim League has repeatedly and officially stated that no useful purpose will be served by such methods or attempts which go to associate the name of the Muslim League only in matters of trifling character, as it is not possible by these means to secure full and whole-hearted co-operation of Muslim India. The British Government must, in order to secure full and willing support, associate the representatives of the Muslim League with the power in the Government as equal partners.

What is the use of the Muslim League members of the Central Legislature merely going on a brief tour of military installations and institutions when they have no voice or share in the expenditure of money or any control.

In these circumstances, I am unable to take the responsibility to nominate members of the Muslim League from the Central Legislature, as desired by you.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 1025/64, QAP. Not printed.

326

*A. K. Fazlul Huq to Abdul Hameed Khan**F. 281/27-A**CALCUTTA,  
30 March 1941*

Dear Sir,

I have just received your letter.<sup>1</sup> I thank you for the invitation but I regret to say that, in all likelihood, I will not be able to attend the Muslim League session at Madras. The Hindu Mahasabha have brought the Hindu-Muslim question to an acute crisis in Bengal and I feel that I will have to fight out almost single-handed the problems that arise out of such an acute situation. The position of Bengal is in many respects a unique one and the Muslims of Bengal are neither a minority community nor a majority community. I think I had better look after the poor Bengali Muslims than waste my time in empty speeches in the League which generally lead to nothing. When I find that Bengal receives some tangible proof of the sympathy of the Muslims of other parts of India for the special needs of Bengal Muslims, I will be in a position to take part in the deliberations of the Muslim League with a mind freed from misgivings and worries. At the present moment, I do not think that people assign much value to Bengal Muslims and I, therefore, feel very unhappy about the whole situation. I hope you will convey to the members of the Reception Committee my sense of deep regret that I will be compelled to be absent from the deliberations of this session of the All India Muslim League. I have decided not to go because I doubt if the League wants me.

Yours truly,  
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq., MLA,  
Chairman, Reception Committee,  
All India Muslim League,  
Madras

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



327

*Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 197/41-2

ALMANZAR,  
23 LAWRENCE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
31 March 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks very much for your letter of the 28th March.<sup>1</sup> I assure you I shall do my best for the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. Time alone will show the result.

Yesterday, a mutual friend of ours, who is a very intelligent thinker and thoroughly reliable, talked to me about the newspaper rumour that you might resign from the Central Assembly. We both agreed that from the Muslim point of view it would not be desirable. We have no doubt that before coming to a final decision you would weigh all the pros and cons. After making a temporary stand, the Punjab Govt. have conceded all the important demands of Tara Singh and Co. You must have seen the news in the papers. This would not add to the prestige of the Govt. As you must be very busy now-a-days, I do not expect any reply to this letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BASHIR AHMAD

PS. Sir Abdoola and Lady Haroon were with us on the 29th instant.

We have taken a house on rent at Clifton, Karachi, [and] intend to spend the summer there from May onwards.

I suppose you see the *Eastern Times*. A report of the PMSF activities appeared therein in the last issue. A further instalment will appear in the next issue.

<sup>1</sup>See F. 963/5, QAP. Not printed.

328

*Zafrulla Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 358/1*

6 KING EDWARD ROAD,  
NEW DELHI,  
1 April 1941

My dear Jinnah,

The Council of State having adopted a resolution to elect three members to serve on the Standing Committee attached to the Supply Department, I have been approached to nominate four members from the Assembly to serve on the Committee. (The Assembly having rejected my motion to elect three members to serve on the Committee, it is not open to the House under the rules, to entertain another motion in this session relating to the same matter). I have, therefore, requested leaders of parties to let me have names of members whom they wish to be nominated to the Committee. I shall be much obliged if you<sup>1</sup> too will let me have the name of one member of your party in the Assembly for nomination to the Standing Committee attached to the Supply Department.

Yours sincerely,  
ZAFRULLA KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah in reply assured him that the matter would receive due consideration. See F. 358/2, QAP. Not printed.

329

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 329/142-3*

PESHAWAR,  
1 April 1941

Dear Sir,

Messrs Qazi Mohammad Isa, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, and party must have given you facts about what they saw and there is one item of importance which I submit for favour of information. Ever since Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib have joined the Congress,



their attitude towards the non-Congress Muslim Frontier was [*sic* for has been] one of aggressive arrogance and non-co-operation. The other day, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Frontier Gandhi) called on four Muslim leaders—Arbabs Akram Khan, Shamsuddin Khan, Sher Ali Khan, Madat Khan and 2 or 3 others with the “obvious” object of rapprochement and our friends promised him that we can have a talk after the Madras session, and I was also on tour. We have to deal very cautiously with him. He has not of late [been] receiving his monetary subvention from Messrs Gandhi and Co. in the same quantity and with the same regularity as hitherto. This move on his part may be a device to provoke Gandhi to resume payments to him in the old way or it may be a genuine desire on his part to wake up as his influence is on the wane. I look on Muslim Frontier from my own point of view. Any Frontier Muslim who ceases to be a Congressite, is again a Muslim and whether he is enlisted [*as*] a Muslim Leaguer or not (while he should be enlisted as such) is League-minded and is a Leaguer in fact if not *de jure*.

More when we meet. *Insha Allah* I will try to attend the meeting at Bombay on 7th April.

My fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah and with affectionate respectful regards,

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

330

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghib Ahsan*

*F. 204/130*

*2 April 1941*

Dear Mr. Raghib Ahsan,

I have received all your letters ending with the one dated the 24th of March<sup>1</sup> and thank you for all your information with regard to the various developments in Bengal, particularly on the Pakistan Day, and the difficulties created in the way.

What more can I say except that your letters show a very clear understanding and it is up to the people of Bengal to keep the prestige and honour of the All India Muslim League and of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and I hope that Bengal will not betray the trust.

With regard to the suggestion of Maulana Sufi, I am most grateful to him for his kind offer to help me and be with me, but don't you think he can do far more valuable service in Bengal. I think we ought to keep the line well-defined so far as the All India Muslim League is concerned and we must not forget that it is mainly a political organization. Also we must remember that we have to face, and keep ourselves abreast with, modern times. But all your suggestions, which you have made yourself, will receive my careful attention.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

### 331

*Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to Abdul Hameed Khan*

*F. 242/44-6*

RAHAT MANZIL,  
ALIGARH,  
2 April 1941

My dear Mr. Abdul Hameed,

It was exceedingly nice of you to have shown me the courtesy of writing personally to invite me to the Madras session of the All India Muslim League; and I am grateful to you for it. While I greatly appreciate your kindness, I very much regret that it will not be possible for me to accept your invitation.

My wife is not well these days. She had a stroke of paralysis about a month and a half ago and later developed some kidney and liver troubles and had been very bad for some time. She has, however, taken a turn for the better now and has begun making progress towards recovery. Although the speed of the progress is rather slow, we all hope that she will soon be all right again. This illness in my home has obliged me to cancel all engagements outside the U.P., including my proposed visits to the Boy Scouts Rallies in Bihar and Assam which had been fixed for March 1 and April 3 and 4, respectively. You can see, therefore, that in this state of my wife's health I cannot possibly leave her alone for a long time—(and a journey from Aligarh to Madras and back generally takes more than a week)—until I am satisfied that she is absolutely all right.



But in spite of the fact that I would not be attending this year's session, I need scarcely say that my best wishes are with you for the success of your deliberations. The times that we are passing through these days are very difficult indeed; but I hope and pray that the collective wisdom of the nation would come into full play and that when the time for revising the constitution comes, Almighty *Allah* would grant us the light to enable us to see things in their true perspective so that we may be able to devise a system of government for India which may be suited to the genius and requirements of her people and under which men belonging to all classes and communities and representing all interests and creeds may be assured of equal opportunities of service. We have to remember that British Parliamentary system has failed in this country; and it is now for the united will of the people to see that no constitution is enforced in India without the willing consent of various minorities and that full justice is done to us as honourable partners in the governance of our country in future.

Thanking you again for your great kindness and with best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
AHMAD SAID

## 332

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
3 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

1. I am sending you my article on *Britain and Islamdom*.<sup>2</sup> I request you to kindly go through it and consider the concrete suggestions made under the head—*Muslim Demands*. Please don't be misled by the heading—a plea for *Anglo-Muslim Alliance*. That is only a cover. I have made a most merciless criticism of the British policy towards the Muslims.

I request you to kindly give great prominence in your Madras League address to the problem of the future and freedom of the Islamic countries which are under the British and the French or which

were under the Italians. The Muslims will never accept a change of masters. It is time you should give a bold, clear and fearless expression of the Muslim mind regarding Islamic lands [and] peoples.

2. I also request you to kindly extend cordial invitation to the Madras session to a few non-Muslim leaders who are sympathetic to our movement—e.g. Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Jaipal Singh, M. A. (Oxon), President, All-India Adibasi Mahasabha, Tatanagar, and the leaders of the Justice Party.

Yours most sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 177.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, 158-74.

### 333

*W. H. P. Gardiner to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/20*

242 STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
4 April 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for putting in such good work on my behalf. Actually I am advised privately that it is realized [that] a mistake has been made.

However, I am afraid that I did not make myself clear regarding the suggested press notice. I did not mean to harp on the non-arrival of my report so much as on the obstructionist attitude of the Indian administration against any suggested form of settlement which holds any hope of being accepted.

I still feel that you should give this every publicity to enable the Home Government to force their hand out [*sic*] here. It is, in any case, an occasion where my personal interests must come second and you need not worry about me if you feel that you may assist by disclosing more detailed information about the part which the Indian Government has played in holding up my proposals. I am myself considering such a step.

I would have been interested to hear your views on the legality of the action of holding up my letter, as requested in a former letter.

Most sincerely,  
PAT GARDINER



334

*M. A. Jinnah to Fazlur Rahman**F. 874/93**4 April 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 2nd April 1941<sup>1</sup> and beg to inform you that all thoughtful Congressmen understand fully the principles incorporated in the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as Pakistan [Resolution]. It is only a pose on their part and is intended to confuse those who are not capable of understanding what it means.

I don't think I can throw any more light on the subject as I have already explained every point in my speeches and statements. The Lahore Resolution itself is also very clear.

If you have really been following the press reports I think you will have no difficulty in understanding the points raised by you in your letter.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

335

*M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mohammad Aminuddin**F. 874/95**4 April 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of March 1941.<sup>1</sup> As to the necessity of establishing a Muslim banking concern, there can be no two opinions but surely you cannot expect me to undertake the floating of the company as I have to attend to many things already for the organization of the All India Muslim League. Don't you think that it is up to the intelligent and thoughtful Musalmans to establish such concerns for the economic uplift of the Musalmans. All the various industries and commercial concerns are built up by the people themselves. A political organization such as the All India Muslim League cannot undertake the task of floating companies.

You mention the progress of the sister communities. That progress

has been made largely by the people themselves. The Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha have not started or floated any such companies. Even their newspapers belong to the people themselves.

I think, therefore, that it is up to the enterprising Musalmans to realize the importance of it and put their heads together and go ahead in this direction; and I need hardly say that they will have my sympathies and support.

Your faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 336

*M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani*

*F. 311/7*

*4 April 1941*

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of March<sup>1</sup> and the copy of the letter also dated the 26th of March addressed to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.<sup>2</sup> I should like to have a copy of the notice circulated by Mr. Fazlul Huq to the District and Sub-Divisions.

In the meantime, don't you think it is for the Bengal Musalmans to put their foot down and demand clarification of the dual position that Mr. Fazlul Huq has taken up?

I shall, however, await further developments from the Working Committee, the meeting of which you have requested the Secretary to call at an early date.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 323.

<sup>2</sup>F. 311/5-6, QAP. Not printed.



337

*M. A. Jinnah to the Editor, Muslim Progress**F. 301/3**6 April 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of March<sup>1</sup> and am glad to hear that you are going to take out a special Iqbal Number of your English monthly journal—*Muslim Progress*.

[Allama Muhammad] Iqbal was a true exponent of Muslim nationalism and Muslim philosophy of life. He has by his poems and writings showed the right way to the Musalmans of the world in general and those of India in particular and has turned their minds to the right way of thinking. He has done a great service to the Muslim nation and we should commemorate his memory in every way possible.

I wish every success to your venture to bring out this special number of your journal after the name of this great philosopher and teacher.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

338

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
*7 April 1941*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my letters.<sup>2</sup> The communal situation in Bengal has really been made very grave. Thanks to the activities of the Hindu Sabha under Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee. Several villages in the Districts of Dacca and Khulna have been burnt. There is tension everywhere. Under these circumstances and keeping in view the assurance of Mr. [Fazlul] Huq and Mr. Shaheed [Suhrawardy]

that they are loyal to Pakistan ideal, I request you to condone the shortcomings of the President of Bengal League to help him in maintaining peace in the Province and disallow moving of the resolution notified by Mr. Mazhar Imam of Patna. It will aggravate the situation and serve no purpose. You should disallow it on the ground that Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy must be given a chance of putting their case [across].

I learn that Mr. Osman's statement on Pakistan Day in Bengal has unnerved them. They are thinking whether they should go to Madras or not. Some elements are even asking them to break away from the League. Mr. Huq is particularly very wroth and worried. I request you not to embarrass him at all.

My chief reason is that unfortunately here in Bengal I do not see any substitute for Mr. Huq and Shaheed. There are no Mamdoots and Ramzan Alis here in Bengal. Let us use Huq and Shaheed for the League and do not allow them to separate or secede.

Maulana Abdur Rauf Quadri Danapuri, President of Calcutta District Muslim League, an elder, divine and politician of 40 years experience, who was mainly responsible for Pakistan Day success in Calcutta, has written several articles on the future programme of the League. I enclose their cuttings.<sup>2</sup> They deserve your consideration. The best thing will be to form a small committee, consisting of the Maulana and a few educationists, economists and social workers, to frame a constructive programme.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 188-9.

<sup>2</sup>Nos. 320 and 332.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 339

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
7 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Maulana Abdur Rauf Quadri Danapuri, the President of the Calcutta District Muslim League, the greatest modernised [sic] *Aalim*



of Eastern India and the [*sic* for an] elder politician of Calcutta, moved the enclosed two resolutions<sup>2</sup> in the Calcutta League Committee. It was resolved that the two resolutions should be moved at the Madras session of the League.

The first enjoins upon the Muslims (i) to rally round the banner of the League, strengthen it by mobilizing their moral and material powers, (ii) to enrol members and volunteers in great number, (iii) to see that the League members strictly follow the Islamic principles and precepts and really become the models of Islamic culture and life and of Islamic teachings and ideology.

The second resolution proposes that the All India Muslim League should take steps to establish a central publicity department—*Darul Isha'at*—which should publish pamphlets and articles under the authority of All India Muslim League on:

- a. Qur'anic and *Hadith* teachings on Islamic unity, organization, etc.
- b. Islamic teachings regarding a life of struggle and *jihad* for the uplift of the *Kalima* and the *millat* so that the *millat* may be roused from its lethargy.
- c. Economic, political and social problems of the day and the ideals of the League.
- d. Islamic culture and the foundations and principles of Muslim nationality.

We have sent copies of the motions to the Secretary, All India Muslim League.

Maulana observes on the same as under:

The supreme need is that the League must define the foundation and principle of the Muslim *qaumiat* (nationality). The Muslims have rejected the one-nation theory. They assert that they are a nation. But what is the conception, content and definition of their nationality? Community of homeland (*wataniat*) cannot be the foundation of Muslim nationality. Race and geography cannot supply the basis of Muslim *millat*. Only some definite (i) creeds and ideas (ii) actions and morals (iii) laws and *shariat* can be the basis of our separate Muslim nationality.

It is vital and essential that every member of the League must fully realize the principles which make them a separate nation in India and also he must tenaciously, consciously and passionately be attached to those principles by following them in his own life and

making others to follow them.

I hope you will move these resolutions yourself.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 186-7.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 340

*Jaipal Singh to H. S. Suhrawardy*  
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 335/196

TATANAGAR,  
8 April 1941

My dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

As you are going to Madras for the All India Muslim League session, I shall be grateful if you would convey to your President, for his broadcast, reciprocation of the goodwill and co-operation Muslim leaders have shown [for] the Adibasi Movement. The greatest enemy of Indian unity is Brahmanical sacerdotalism such as consigns, all in the name of religion, literally millions and millions of Hindus, Adibasis and others to the status of slaves. Hinduism of the caste-Hindus does not permit of any human equality. It is in this great respect [that] Muslim and Adibasi outlook is fundamentally opposed to the Hindus. The recent moves of the Hindu leaders to include Adibasis, numbering several crore, in the Hindu reckoning have already been exposed and I hope your President will find it equally imperative on his part to condemn the surrender of the Home Member and the Census Commissioner to the Hindu League [*sic*] demands. Non-Christian and non-Muslim Adibasis are not and cannot be Hindus.

I venture to wish the session all the success it deserves and express the fervent hope that the Muslims and Adibasis will work hand-in-hand for the attainment of our common goal.

Yours sincerely,  
JAIPAL SINGH

*President, All-India Adibasi Mahasabha*



341

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner**F. 494/21-2**8 April 1941*

Dear Mr. Gardiner,

I fully appreciate your point of view. The question of Indian Government's holding up your correspondence is a matter between you and the Indian Government and it will hardly be appropriate for me to take up the matter in the manner that you suggest. You are, however, quite free to adopt such course as you may think proper.

As regards your asking me to express my views about the legality of holding your letter, of course you know the Government have got ample powers, but unless I know what particular law they have resorted to, it is very difficult for me to express any opinion. There is the Post and Telegraph Act. There is the Defence of India Act and there are many other laws and unless I know which body or authority has taken this action and under what statute, it is not possible to express any opinion.

The view that I have taken is this: that you as a member of the Labour Party were good enough to ascertain the position that the All India Muslim League has adopted with regard to the present political situation with the object of communicating them to the Secretary, Labour Party, Mr. Parker, and accordingly you sent the summary of my interview with your covering letter by post and I was only too glad that the position of All India Muslim League should be clearly understood by everybody and particularly the Labour Party. But at the same time I did not wish that it should be considered that I was doing anything behind the back of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India or the Party that they represent and hence I arranged that I should send the copies of our interview to them which you were good enough to send me. This has been done and the advance cable by me was acknowledged by them.

While thanking you for your good efforts what is it that I can do now with regard to the action of the Government of India in holding up your letter along with the summary of my interview. I still think that your position as a member of the service is such that even if I were to pursue the line that you suggest, it may do you harm and we cannot get away more out of it for the simple reason that the copies that I posted to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State

for India have already reached them and they are in full possession of facts embodied therein and I think that the Labour Party in England or its leaders must have been apprised of the contents of your communication.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

342

*Olaf K. Caroe to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 490/2*

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,  
9 April 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I return Mohammad Azam Jan Mazari's letter<sup>1</sup> which you sent me with your letter of the 14th March.<sup>2</sup>

The lady's name is Madame Tatjana Czynnowa, and she has a past. I don't think Azam Jan would be quite so anxious to look after her if he were more fully informed. The Government of India have decided the safest place for her during the war is a parole centre where she can be kept under supervision.

Yours sincerely,  
O. K. CAROE

<sup>1</sup>See No. 288.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah had urged that justice be done to the lady. See F. 874/75, QAP. Not printed.

343

*Formuzul Huq to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 281/28*

8 DHARAMTOLLA STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
9 April 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith an extract from the



proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, held on the 8th April 1941, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, for favour of your information.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FORMUZUL HUQ

*Assistant Secretary,*

*Bengal Provincial Muslim League*

*Enclosure to No. 343*

*F. 281/29*

*[Extract]*

*8 April 1941*

"This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League approves of the action of the Provincial Executive postponing the Pakistan Day on the 23rd March in view of the grave and emergent situation which existed at the time.

"Resolved that copy of this resolution be forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League for favour of his information."

344

*Abdus Sattar Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 570/97*

AKOLA,

*9 April 1941*

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the resolutions passed in the recent special session of the Provincial Muslim League Conference, C. P. & Berar, held here.

The Muslims of this Province are very keen to secure separate electorate in Local Bodies and even prepared to take direct action by resorting to a boycott of the Local Bodies.

We strongly hope that you will be pleased to give all-India support

to this legitimate demand of ours.

It will not be out of place if the All India Muslim League session directs the C. P. & Berar Provincial Muslim League in particular, and the Muslims of this Province in general, to boycott the Local Bodies in the event of Govt. not acceding to this demand, so that in case of need we may start a campaign of boycott of Local Bodies under the direction of the All India Muslim League.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ABDUS SATTAR KHAN

*Secretary in charge,*

*Office of C.P. & Berar Provincial ML*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

*Enclosure to No. 344*

*Resolutions<sup>1</sup> passed by C. P. & Berar Muslim League Conference*

*F. 570/98-101*

AKOLA,

22-24 March 1941

#### RESOLUTION NO. 2

This special session of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League Conference extends its whole-hearted support to the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League, popularly known as "Pakistan," and in the considered opinion of this Conference the only solution for all the political and inter-communal disputes lies in the division of India on the lines laid down in the above said Lahore Resolution. This Conference declares that the division of India into Muslim Zone and Hindu Zone is a sure guarantee to safeguard the political, economic, cultural and religious rights of not only the Muslim minority in this Province but those of all the other minorities in India.

This Conference feels [*sic*] its deep concern at the reply recently given by His Excellency the Viceroy to a representation of the Hindu Mahasabha and takes this opportunity to declare in unequivocal terms that the Muslims of India are never prepared to accept any constitution which is aimed to subvert their separate and independent nationality or to thrust on them a Central Government dominated by



a Hindu majority. The Muslims reiterate their resolve that they live for Pakistan and if occasion arises they would even die to achieve this object.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 3

This special session of the Provincial Muslim League Conference puts on record its considered view that the campaign of *satyagraha* launched by the Congress at this time, although apparently a weapon against the British Government, is really directed against the Muslim nation in India as has been made evident from the statements of Mr. Gandhi before he started this movement. Moreover, Mr. Gandhi's conspiracy with other Hindu organisations, who are keenly eager to dominate the Centre, fully proves that the Hindu majority does not only want a political domination but they are also aiming at enslaving the Muslim nation in India by keeping them under [*sic* for as] a permanent minority. Hence the Muslims warn the British Government that they have [*sic* for are] now determined not to allow any such conspiracy to succeed.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 4

It is the considered opinion of this Conference that the recent amendments effected in the Local Bodies Acts during the Congress regime are a curse which have been deliberately imposed upon the Muslim minority of this Province with a view to mak[ing] them subservient to the permanent Hindu majority and to eliminate their adequate representation in the Local Bodies. The proof of this evil intention is the present formation of wards in the various municipal towns in the Province, which is being arbitrarily done by the Municipal Committees under the supervision of the Local Govt. without taking into consideration the actual strength of the Muslim population.

This Conference declares that all this criminal negligence on the part of the Local Government is the negation of the special powers vested in the Governor of the Province, the very principles of India's constitution and the solemn promises and guarantees given by the British Crown to safeguard minority rights and interests.

This Conference demands in clear terms that the Muslims of this Province may be given the right of separate electorate in the Local Bodies with adequate and effective representation and the present Acts may be suitably amended.

An amendment to the above resolution, moved by Khan Sahib Abdur Rahman Khan and seconded by Mr. Jamal Ahmad Khan, that the right of separate electorate be given to the other minorities also

(if they make a demand for it) was accepted by the proposer of the main resolution and with this amendment the resolution was unanimously passed.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 5

This Conference strongly protests against the police firing on the innocent Muslim crowd at Jubbulpore during the last *Moharram* and deploras the demonstration of communal bias on the part of the responsible Hindu officers. This Conference condemns the weak-kneed policy of the Local Government in this connection and also holds them responsible for issuing misleading statements. This attitude of the Government and their refusal to return the unjust punitive tax recovered from the Burhanpur Muslims have greatly estranged the feelings of the otherwise peaceful and loyal Muslim community of this Province.

In the considered opinion of the Conference, the firing at Jubbulpore and the *lathi* charge at Sohagpur were utterly uncalled for. This Conference expresses its deep sympathy with the wounded men and the heirs and dependents of those killed at Jubbulpore and demands of the Government that those responsible for this wanton loss of life should be deterrently punished and the wounded as well as the dependents and the heirs of the men killed should be suitably compensated.

This Conference assures the Muslims of Jubbulpore and Sohagpur that the sympathies of all the Muslims of the Province go with them and they are always prepared, through the Provincial League organisation, to help them as far as [it] lies in their power to do so.

MOHAMMAD BAHADAR KHAN

*President,*

*C.P. & Berar Provincial Muslim League Conference*

<sup>1</sup>Resolution No. 1, not traceable.

345

*W. Hoondraj to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

PERSONAL

BURNS ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
11 April 1941

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am much grieved to hear about your fainting fit in the train on



your way from Bombay to Madras.

A word of happy news about your health is urgently needed.

I hope you have received my last letter of 4th April<sup>2</sup> running into three typed pages, narrating the concrete constructive proposals for Hindu-Muslim co-operation in Sind, as desired by you in your last letter.<sup>3</sup>

I have posted that letter on your Delhi address and I hope it is redirected to you there.

God bless you for your anxiety for [sic] Hindu-Muslim harmony in Sind (your native soil) as expressed by you personally to me. When your health permits you, please do give me your detailed views on the constructive programme as suggested by me in my last letter under reference. I am sure at the present moment you are in a most convenient position to discuss my suggestions with your trusted men from Sind like Sheikh Abdul Majid and others, who are probably there with you available on the spot, so that with your authority they may start the preliminary work on the lines of those or other suggestions of yours before you actually come here because the time is short.

Yours sincerely,  
HOONDRAJ  
MBBS  
*Eye Specialist*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan, *Letters*, 202-03.

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

346

*S. M. Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, FC I/81*

120 BROADWAY,  
15 April 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope my letter of March 15,<sup>1</sup> containing several articles on India, which appeared in the American periodicals [has] reached you by now. A few days ago I took the liberty of sending you material on the "Federal Union"—a movement to join politically and economically the British Empire and the United States of America. I am sending under separate cover additional booklets that discuss this scheme at length. My object in bringing this literature to your attention is that I

found certain possibilities of application of this plan to the Indian situation, particularly along your "Pakistan" project. Sir Abdoola Haroon has sent me Dr. Abdul Latif's book, the *Muslim Problem in India*, and in acknowledging his letter, I mentioned to him that I am sending you literature which he may also find of interest. The *Case for Federal Union* by W. B. Curry and *Hangs Together, the Union Now Primer* by D. H. Munroe are the two books to which I draw your attention. A careful study of this material by the Muslim League Committee may prove helpful in the development of Pakistan plan. I may add that there is much serious thought being devoted to this union between England and America and this may become one of the post-war realities.

In my first letter, I outlined the anti-Muslim propaganda that is going on in America and sent you a few examples of the articles that are being published. To keep you informed of the character of the propaganda, I am enclosing a few more articles which I trust will prove of interest to you in evaluating the trends of American thoughts. Sir Abdoola Haroon has sent me some literature on the League and your speech of March 2<sup>2</sup> before the Punjab Muslim Students' Conference. I was also able to obtain a copy of your article on Muslim situation which appeared last year in the *Time and Tide* magazine in London. My family has also sent me some press notices of Muslim League's meetings and a few of your public statements. I am going to circulate this material widely and I am sure they will prove very helpful in presenting the Muslim League's position. I am, however, still desirous of receiving one or two articles from you specially written for American publications.

Nehru is enjoying good publicity for his book, and as you will see from the press reviews and in the enclosed list of articles that have appeared in America, very few people in this country appreciate your leadership and it is important that you should be brought before the American public.

Lord Halifax<sup>3</sup> made his first address at the Pilgrim Society dinner in New York, and I am sending you his remarks on India during his press conference. As you would like to keep yourself informed about the developments in America, I am continuing to send you the *New York Times*, weekly section, together with some of the recent speeches made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. In this letter are also enclosed some other articles which, I believe, will prove of some interest to you. I should appreciate knowing whether you will be desirous of receiving such material from time to time or not. Not



knowing exactly your interests, I am taking a chance of sending them in the belief that they may prove of some value to you.

I am, in my humble way, endeavouring to combat the anti-Muslim propaganda in America. I have seen a few of the publishers and have explained the general situation in India. I took up the matter with the Editor of *Asia*, which published several articles by Khawaja Ahmad Abbas and had a long talk with him. He assured me of his consideration in the future. Another bulletin, *India and U.S.A.*, has made its appearance in New York. One of the issues devoted to Muslim situation is enclosed for your reference. The Editor is a Madrassee Hindu, who has been in America for over ten years. He hopes to make a living out of this publication. This all is a part of the general network of Congress propagandists in America.

T. A. Raman, the London Editor of the Indian United Press, arrived in New York to lecture. His views are also very anti-Muslim. He will be in America for three months, lecturing on Indian political situation. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Indian High Commissioner in London, also came to America for a few months' stay ostensibly to discuss Indian-American trade matters and to suggest a scheme for meeting the needs of a large official Indian organisation in America. On his arrival, I had the opportunity of a conference with him during which I outlined to him activities of Congress propagandists. While he listened attentively to what I said, he was non-committal in view of his official position.

The world events are moving so rapidly in these days that they make it increasingly difficult to discuss Indian political situation from this distance. Only limited news from India reaches us. The *New York Times* of March 23, 1941, carried a despatch from New Delhi stating that you made the statement that the [Muslim] League was prepared to drop for the duration of the war its demand for partition of India and would co-operate in forming a popular government within the framework of India's present constitution.

To safeguard Muslim political and economic interests at this critical period is a matter of serious concern to all the Muslims. The need for Muslim education and organization is the most urgent one. Being a student of economics, I can well appreciate the disadvantage under which the Muslims in India are labouring. The more I read your speeches, the greater admiration I have for your leadership. May it continue long. I shall do my best to promote the Muslim interest in America and at the same time let me assure [you] of my whole-hearted co-operation in all your endeavours.

There has been living in New York a Parsee gentleman, named Jehangir J. Mahudavala, who is associated with the Sun Life Insurance Co. of Canada. He obviously knows a great deal about prominent men in Indian politics. He asserts that he knows you well and has acquaintance with you. I have seen him from time to time and have discussed with him the Indian situation. I have, however, not taken him into my confidence. I would like very much to know whether you know him or not and that if he enjoys your confidence. He is planning to return to India this summer and hopes to see you.

In my last letter, I briefly discussed the case of H. S. Malik, Indian Trade Commissioner in New York. I trust you have taken appropriate steps in the matter. If any additional information is needed I will be happy to send it.

Hoping to have the pleasure of hearing from you. In the meantime, with all good wishes for your health,

I am,  
Most sincerely yours,  
S. M. AHMED

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, FC I/80. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1325-39.

<sup>3</sup>British Ambassador in Washington; formerly Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, 1926-31; Foreign Secretary, 1938-40.

## 347

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 302/65-6

ALIMI BUNGALOW,  
BHOPAL,  
21 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I reached here on the 19th and found that Piari had a pleasant surprise for me! We both offer you now a young Leaguer born on the 16th. Piari is very well and sends you and Miss Jinnah her *aadab*.

I do hope you have returned safely to Bombay. Please take complete rest for a couple of months, it is so essential for you.

Your Presidential address<sup>1</sup> has been acclaimed all over India. Even the enemies of the [Muslim] League seem to be satisfied with the turn the League is taking; we feel so proud of our Quaid-i-Azam



who alone is responsible for leading us on so triumphantly.

I shall be here for four or five days. I would then proceed on to Quetta. Please let me know in advance when you feel better, the month in which you are likely to pay us a visit in Quetta.

I understand that some 'waverers' are ready with their announcements and at the first available opportunity they are to open their mouths. In my humble opinion it would be better if they are thrown out before they get this opportunity.

Indian troops have landed at Basra and I do hope they are not used against the Arabs there. Because in one of our resolutions, we have warned our Govt. not to use the Indian troops against any Muslim kingdom. Would it not be better if the Government is asked to clarify the position as regards the landing of troops at Basra?

My best regards to Miss Jinnah. With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISA

<sup>1</sup>See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 359-71.

## 348

*S. M. Usman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 556/21*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
22 April 1941

Sir,

I have the honour of forwarding to you the copy of the letter, written by Mr. Jaipal Singh, M. A. (Oxon), President, Adibasi Mahasabha, Tatanagar, to the Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Jamshedpur.

As Secretary of the Muslim League, may I draw your attention to the fact that there is a widespread and all-India move on the part of the Hindu Mahasabha to foment trouble and riots as adjunct to the Congress *Satyagraha* movement and the Hindu Mahasabha's threat of civil disobedience. Their objective is three-fold; (1) To embarrass the British Government at the present crisis of war and to make them nervous and willing to concede the Hindu Sabha's demands, (2) to embarrass, terrorise and coerce the Muslims and to force them to abandon the demand for Pakistan and (3) to torpedo the Huq Ministry

in Bengal.

The Muslim League recognize the ancient right of the Adibasis, the aboriginal tribes, to carry bows and arrows but the League cannot tolerate the carrying of bows and arrows and other weapons without licence by the Hindus. If the Hindus are allowed to do so the Muslims will also demand and exercise this freedom and there will be clash and strife.

The letter of Mr. Jaipal Singh is positive proof of the fact that the Hindu Sabha is seeking to foment trouble.

I request your honour to kindly look into the matter and take strong action against all persons who are trying to create trouble.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. M. USMAN

*Joint Secretary,*

*Calcutta District Muslim League*

*Enclosure to No. 348*

*Jaipal Singh to Rampada Sen Gupta*

*F. 566/22*

TATANAGAR,

*11 April 1941*

My dear Ram Babu,

I have learnt with great regret that Hindu leaders have been exploiting Adibasis in [sic] demonstration of a character which cannot but bring discredit to the simple-hearted Adibasis. I hear that several hundred Adibasis were inveigled into taking part in the Mahabir<sup>1</sup> *Jhanda* procession last Monday and that they carried bows and arrows. It is very wrong of the Hindus to incriminate the Adibasis in this way by making them take part in a religious demonstration of the Hindus although Adibasis are not Hindus. It is also said that the Hindus too are taking to carrying bows and arrows. Let me make it quite clear that Adibasis will protest to the Government against this encroachment upon their ancient and immemorial right by the *Dikus* (Hindus). To Adibasis bows and arrows are inseparable accidents [sic], religious equipment and a national emblem. *Dikus* have no right to use them.



Whatever grievances the Hindus may have against Britishers and the Muslims, it is quite wrong to drag Adibasis in under false colours. I shall be glad to learn from you why bows and arrows are being encouraged by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders, particularly as a threat to the Muslims. There have been several instances in Bengal when the Adibasis have been made to appear with bows and arrows at Hindu meetings to terrorise the Muslims. Not only should *Dikus* refrain from carrying bows and arrows but they should not make a dangerous convenience [sic] of the Adibasis who are peace-loving and loyal.

Yours sincerely,  
JAIPAL SINGH  
*President, Adibasi Mahasabha*

<sup>1</sup>Mahavira (Great Hero) Vardhman (599-527 B.C.), founder of Jainism, rejected monistic Brahmanism on philosophical grounds as well as the caste system. He rejected even the Vedas and opted for a severely ascetic life, renouncing all violence.

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*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/24-5*

STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
24 April 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is with very real sorrow that I read of your indisposition and trust that you will be now completely recovered. May I presume to give you a little advice on the subject of diet as I rightly or wrongly got the impression that you were too indifferent to it. Milk is the best food in the world but it must un-pasteurised and un-boiled. Next eggs, raw if you can bear them whipped into some milk. And finally lots of fresh fruit and vegetables.

I am to be re-transferred to the unemployed list which means England and am overjoyed at the possibility although it has yet to be sanctioned by the S[ecretary] of S[tate]. I hope to be able to do far more for this country from there than I could possibly do from here. Should there be any problems which you wish me to undertake please don't hesitate to make use of the opportunity to send them with me. I hope too that you will send on any that may subsequently occur.

I think that all your actions with regard to my letter<sup>1</sup> and your own<sup>2</sup> have been correct. But I also feel that you should show up the obstructionist attitude of the administration out here to any attempt at a settlement while I do not think that your letter would have been as fully understood in England or the League point of view thoroughly appreciated without my covering letter to paint in the background. The points which the League stands out for are no doubt already in the possession of the Cabinet while we know that the understanding which my letter might have given is not there. Naturally, I shall persevere in my efforts when I arrive home and trust that they will have more success.

With my very best wishes for your full and speedy recovery,

Most sincerely yours,  
PAT GARDINER

<sup>1</sup>No. 333.

<sup>2</sup>No. 341.

## 350

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 203/35-6*

ZAKA MANZIL,  
MARRIS ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
24 April 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had been very anxious about your health, and news of your recovery was received with great delight and it gave satisfaction to Muslim India. On account of my illness I could not see you before your departure from Delhi and take your advice on some matters connected with Aligarh. Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang, after consulting you, proposed my name for the Vice-Chancellorship. You are well aware of a group in Aligarh. They had been trying to set up a person for the post of Vice-Chancellor. They went even so far as to propose the name of M. Abdulla Yusuf Ali who on account of his absence from India could not refuse. Ultimately, they induced Sir Abdul Qadir to stand and the name of M. Abdulla Yusuf Ali was withdrawn. It



was first understood that Sir Abdul Qadir was strongly supported by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his party. But no member of the Court from the Punjab came to Aligarh to vote for Sir Abdul Qadir. Only four members from the Punjab attended and they all voted for me.

Sir Akbar Hydari and a few other members of the Court from Hyderabad sent telegrams, copies of which were also sent to me, suggesting that both Sir Abdul Qadir and myself should withdraw and Nawab [Ahmad Said Khan] of Chhatari may be elected unanimously, and it was further suggested that in the interest of keeping good relations, the election of the Vice-Chancellor should be postponed and time may be given to well-wishers to find out a suitable person. A motion was actually moved by Nazir Yar Jung at the meeting of the Court that in pursuance of the advice, given by Hyderabad members of the Court, the election should be postponed. Throughout the discussion, I adopted the attitude that however much we appreciate assistance from Hyderabad it is not desirable to make Aligarh University a department of Hyderabad State. Your own position is different. You are now sole leader of the Musalmans and you can speak on behalf of the Musalmans who own the University.

The motion about the adjournment of the election was not accepted by the Court. The legal opinion, given by Chaudhry Naimatullah and Khwaja Mohammad Noor (ex-Judge of the Patna High Court) and other lawyers, was that this motion is against the provisions of the Act and the Statutes. Thirty-eight persons, who were in favour of the motion, withdrew and the remaining eighty-four members of the Court carried on their business. The minority had previously arranged not to admit their defeat but to stage a walk out. The minority, consisting mostly of Congressite Muslims who have only lip sympathy to the [sic] Musalmans, was led by Dr. Zakir Hussain. They are now carrying on false propaganda and [the] Hindu press is supporting them. I would very much like to meet you and take your advice on certain matters. Please let me know your programme.

Your telegram<sup>1</sup> was a great consolation to me,

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

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*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 851/7*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
26 April 1941

My dear leader,

I am sending herewith the views of Dr. C. R. Reddy on the Bombay Conference. He was anxious to meet you. I wired to him that he could interview you in Bangalore as arranged by Mr. Syed. But Dr. Reddy could not undertake the journey on account of his illness. He sent a copy of his views on the subject, viz. the Bombay Conference, to be forwarded to you for your information.

With best wishes and affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN  
*Member, All India Muslim League Council*

*Enclosure to No. 351*

*Dr. C. R. Reddy's views on the Bombay Conference*

*F. 851/8-9*

It is now well-known that the Bombay Conference was only a trick and contrivance to make the way smooth for the Congress to give up *Satyagraha* and return to normal politics and office without appearing to lose face or caste. It is a vast pity that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru fell into the plot without asserting his independent judgement. The following three points betray the intrigue:

- i. Why should they insist that the Muslim League and the Congress should come together before either could be admitted to a share of the Central Government? The League is prepared to co-operate in war efforts. The Congress is for *Ahimsa* and on principle opposed to war efforts. We all criticised the Viceroy when he declared that unless the League and the Congress with their irreconcilable differences on principle came to an agreement, the expansion of the Executive Council, which he at one time declared would be proceeded with whether the



Congress came in or not, would be postponed. And why the Bombay Conference should have endorsed so irrational a conclusion is beyond my capacity to understand.

- ii. The second point is [that] the Bombay Conference pleads for real transfer of power, which is undoubtedly a good lead and in accordance with the rights and opinion of the country. But so did Mr. Jinnah. If Mr. Jinnah was only a job-hunter and a man who would be satisfied with places and positions, he would have yielded to the Viceregal blandishment and agreed to send in representatives to the expanded Executive Council of departmental heads with little or no constitutional power to determine and enforce policies. So there is complete agreement between the stand of Mr. Jinnah and that of the Bombay Conference. Yet not one word of approval or praise of Mr. Jinnah's conduct was uttered which, even if it is not unjust, is certainly most ungracious.
- iii. The invitation seems to have been confined to the half-hearted collusive critics of the Congress and not to those who have spoken out fully and fearlessly, whatever the unpopularity of the movement.

The reflecting critic could easily see that the object of the Conference was to dish the League and prevent it from acquiring power or office. Acquisition of power by the country was subordinated to the idea of seeing Jinnah out.

What surprises me is how our distinguished friends, who on their own showing have no large following in the country, could contribute power or popularity to the Central Government by the measures they propose, though they certainly could contribute reason and ideas to a degree higher and more extensive than the party organizations. The light of pure reason, undiminished by the need to cater to popular prejudices, superstitions and feelings, is undoubtedly theirs and it is a matter of high value. But is it enough in politics?

One of good results of the Bombay Conference is that by acclaiming it as a gathering of non-party leaders, whose recommendations must be accepted by the Government and the country, the Congress has admitted the right of men of ideas to be heard in the Counsels [*sic* for Councils] of the country. Till the other day the Congress press was very emphatic that people who did not get votes should be treated as the outcasts of politics. It used to be a favourite

taunt of Congressites in referring to the people like Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to ask—whom does he represent? Now, if this narrow intolerant mentality of the Congress has been got over by the Bombay Conference, I would regard it as a great contribution to the spirit of liberalism and constitutionalism in India.

## 352

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/153-5*

*26 April 1941*

### WORKING COMMITTEE, ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE—A FEW SUGGESTIONS

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg permission to suggest the following:

1. My first and foremost suggestion is that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should be duly and formally notified to adopt and circulate the new Madras goal of the League in their Provincial Constitutions.

2. There should be one uniform all-India form of membership pledge—prescribed by the All India Muslim League according to the Madras goal of the League for all the provinces. The Congress has got an all-India form and pledge of membership. Every member should affix his signature or thumb impression to this *Misaaq-i-Rukniat*. The membership pledge form—*Misaaq-i-Rukniat*—should be in Urdu on the lines of the *Misaaq-i-Rukniat* of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League with such modification as required by the Madras goal.

I am sending you a draft for your consideration. The Bengal League's Pledge was also drafted by me in 1937.<sup>1</sup>

3. No one should be selected as member of the Working Committee of the League who does not believe in the Madras goal of the League and who does not subscribe to it by formally signing a Pledge of "office, secrecy and allegiance" to the All India Muslim League. I will send you another draft later on.

### MEMBERS FROM BENGAL

I have discussed this matter with many sincere Muslim Leaguers in Bengal and suggest the following persons for membership of the



Working Committee of the All India Muslim League:

1. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq
2. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, M.A., M.Sc. (Oxon), B.C.L. (Oxon),  
Barrister-at-Law
3. Maulana Mohammad Akrum Khan

Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy has given ample proof of his great devotion to the cause of the League and his loyalty to the Pakistan ideal.

Mr. Shaheed is essentially a man of the masses, a man of intellect and great fidelity, loyalty and devotion. He has built up a League organisation in Bengal, which is one of the best in India. We think that he should now be associated with the all-India League politics by being promoted to the high command. You should send him to other provinces on tour and as President of Provincial and District League conferences. A man of his ability, sincerity of purpose and drive should not be allowed to rot engrossed in petty local and *mohallah* politics.

Sir K[hwaja] Nazimuddin is not well and is on leave. He will rather welcome his relief for the present at least.

FROM BIHAR

Mr. S. M. Latifur Rahman

Mr. S. M. Shareef

Mr. Latifur Rahman is the spearhead of our attack on the formidable anti-League organization, press and propaganda of the misguided Momin Ansars. Mr. Latif enjoys the confidence of the great majority of the great Momin *Jamaats*, who form about 75 per cent of the whole Muslim population in Bihar. As a man of great experience of public and political affairs, he is respected by sane members of all communities in Bihar. Mr. Latifur Rahman, besides is a man of character, political sagacity, loyalty and is working hard for the cause of the League. He is our tower of strength.

Recently, Mr. Latif has been made the butt of the vile attacks of the opponents of the League, both Hindu and Muslim Congressites, who are intriguing against him. I think he should not only be retained as member but should receive more support and help in the new fight, he has launched for the League through the papers, the *Musawat* and through his party of workers.

Anyhow Nawab Syed Ismail should never be selected from Bihar.

He is liked by a few and disliked by many.

#### MADRAS

Many think that Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, MLA (Madras), should get a chance.

#### THE PUNJAB

1. Nawab of Mamdot
2. Malik Barkat Ali
3. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, if he signs the Madras goal of the League, otherwise any of these:
  - i. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, MLA
  - ii. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, MLA
  - iii. Shaikh Sadiq Hasan, Barrister-at-Law, MLA (Amritsar)

In the Punjab, if we decide to exclude Sir Sikander it is advisable to replace him by some other prominent rural agriculturist member. Shaikh Sadiq Hasan is not an agriculturist but he is the staunchest and most selfless Leaguer in the Punjab.

U.P., C.P., BOMBAY, SIND, ASSAM, FRONTIER, BALUCHISTAN:

Same as at present.

Maulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry, ex-Editor, *the Azad* and *Mohammadi* (Bengali), Director, the *Madeena* (Bengali) concurs with my suggestions.<sup>2</sup>

Yours most obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN

*Member, All India Muslim League Council*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 204/131. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah replied that the suggestions would receive careful consideration. See F. 209/138, QAP. Not printed.

## 353

*M. A. Jinnah to W. Hoondraj*

*F. 495/8*

OAKLAND, NANDI HILLS,  
MYSORE STATE,  
28 April 1941

Dear Dr. Hoondraj,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of April,<sup>1</sup> three typed



pages, and also of the 11th.<sup>2</sup>

I am afraid the various matters, mentioned in your letter, are such that they cannot be adjusted unless the leadership in Sind is sufficiently consolidated and approaches me directly. However, I am glad that you, at any rate, see through the machinations of the Congress, which are definitely more harmful to the Hindus of Sind in the long run.

I hope to come to Sind as soon as an opportunity presents itself to me. In the meantime, I would request you to create a solid and healthy leadership among the Hindus of Sind.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>No. 345.

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*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/204*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
28 April 1941

Dear Sir,

I am forwarding herewith a copy of Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon's statement on Messrs Amery and Gandhi's statements for your kind perusal.

Yours truly,  
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]  
*for Secretary*  
*Sind Provincial Muslim League*

*Enclosure to No. 354*  
*Statement by H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/205-8*

I have read both Mr. Amery's statement and Mr. Gandhi's to-day's

rejoinder on the constitutional problem of India. Both of these utterances deserve careful consideration in so far as they present the points of view of two of the four major parties connected with the affairs of India.

While it is difficult to agree, in all its details, with Mr. Amery's pronouncement, one cannot fail to appreciate its outstanding feature, viz. that if the Indians agree among themselves, His Majesty's Government are prepared to transfer the power. There is considerable force in that proposition. It is to be borne in mind that Britain, willingly or reluctantly, is parting with power in order to bring about peace and contentment in a land inhabited by one-fifth of human race, and thus to strengthen the cause of world peace. Any step in the direction of devolution of power is, therefore, to be looked at in the light of that principle. It would be suicidal on its part and extremely detrimental to the cause of world peace if it takes any step which may tend to throw yet another Sub-Continent in the vortex of a civil war. It was a point which should have been considered dispassionately and sympathetically by the Congress which claimed to be the major political party of India. The Congress answer to Mr. Amery's statement—which was in the nature of a challenge to the patriotism of India—should have been a compromise with the other major nations of India and presentation of a united demand. But, looked at from that point of view, Mr. Gandhi's statement is thoroughly hopeless. What is the answer which Mr. Gandhi gives? "I admit," he says, "that there is unfortunately an unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Why do not the British statesmen admit that it is after all a domestic quarrel? Let them withdraw from India and I promise that the Congress, the League and all other parties will find it in their interest to come together and devise a home-made solution for the Government of India. It may not be scientific, it may not be after Western pattern, but it will be durable. It may be that before we come to that happy state of affairs, we may have to fight amongst ourselves. But if we agree not to invite the assistance of any outside power, the durability will last perhaps a fortnight and all would not mean [*sic*] one day's destruction of human heads such as that goes on in Europe today, for the simple reason that, thanks to the British rule, we are wholly unarmed."

Mr. Gandhi admits that the transference of power by Britain, under the present circumstances, is bound to bring about a state of



affairs under which the Indians will begin fighting amongst themselves, and it is in order to minimize the reactions of that Armageddon that he introduces the proviso that we should "agree not to invite the same assistance of any outside power" and that proviso again is prefixed with a big "if". The world had yet never known a case of conflict between crores in which these "ifs" may have effectively operated. But here the Congress leaders themselves have already eliminated all possibilities as to the operation of such "ifs" by their constant hob-nobbing with the Buddhist powers on the borders of India and by the latest lionization of Nepal.

Now, under these circumstances when the Congress—which voices the feelings of the Hindu nation—prefers civil war to an understanding with the other Indian nations and takes for granted that civil war is inevitable, will it help the cause of world peace if Britain, which has been struggling for that purpose, places this hatchet into the hands of the Congress monkeys and involves full one-fifth of human race in yet a fresh conflict? Looked at from that angle of vision, will it not be a bootless bargain for Britain? In short, the stand which has been taken up by Mr. Gandhi is not a realistic one. So far as the Musalmans are concerned, I do not think there should be any objection to Britishers departing from India provided they do not leave their bayonets behind in the charge of those who are bent upon doing mischief.

It is indeed lamentable that instead of doing justice to and securing co-operation of various Indian nations and parties, on the basis of a solution which may satisfy all, the Congress spokesmen continue coercing, cajoling and bamboozling Britain and the world. So far as the Muslim nation is concerned, what is that it demands? All that it demands is the same right of unhampered and independent development within its own homelands which has been the constant theme of Mr. Gandhi's utterances, exhortations and appeals.

Mr. Amery's observations on Pakistan cannot, in any way, weaken the Muslim cause. The Balkan instance is irrelevant. Balkan is too small a country to stand comparison with the vast territories covered by the Pakistan proposals; and even there, Balkan's weakness lay in the forced combination at the point of bayonet of conflicting nationalities. Let us hope that these dangerous principles are not applied to India as well. The Musalmans, Mr. Amery must know, do not expect that they will get Pakistan as a gift from anybody. It is

their own inherent strength and determination which alone can secure them their goal. On that point, they are labouring under no illusions. Their very history in the very evolution of political institutions in India, on smaller scale, indicates that all that they have, so far, gained in that field, whether in the matter of changes effected in the last decade of the last century or the first, second and third decades of the current century, did not come to them as gift from anybody. They struggled and achieved. Even now when they demand Pakistan they are clear in their mind that it is their birthright and to secure its recognition they have to pass through great ordeals, for they never believe as the Congress does, that bullying or cajoling or idle theorization can bring independence in an era in which the whole trend of human thought is governed by petty mindedness, jealousies and rivalries.

In conclusion, I would advise Mr. Gandhi to secure freedom for the Hindus but not by hindering others from achieving the same objective or by trying to dominate over them. The experience of two and a half years rule of the Congress have imparted one final lesson to the Musalmans that they shall under no circumstances subject themselves to the Hindu majority rule. Therefore, Mr. Gandhi would be well advised now to give up his dream of placing a united India beneath the heels of Hindudom and face the facts as they are.

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/133-5*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
28 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received the draft of the Membership Pledge (*Misaaq-i-Rukniat*) of the All India Muslim League with the specimen copy of the Bengal Provincial [Muslim] League Membership Pledge form for comparison and reference. I am now sending you the Urdu



[copy] with its English version. This draft Pledge is based on the Membership Pledge of the Bengal Provincial League. I have prepared it on the basis of the Bengal Pledge with necessary modifications in the light of the new Madras goal of the All India Muslim League.

Item No. 1 of the draft incorporates the principles of the Madras goal as well as the key formula of item No. 1 of the Bengal Pledge.

Item No. 2 of the draft incorporates the ideology underlying the Madras goal as well as the principles enunciated in item No. 2 of the Bengal Pledge.

Item No. 3 of the draft is same as the item No. 3 of the Bengal Pledge.

#### WHY AN ALL-INDIA MEMBERSHIP PLEDGE?

My idea is that the All India Muslim League as the parent and supreme body should alone prescribe the primary and fundamental form of Membership Pledge of the Provincial Leagues. The All India Muslim League can alone lay down the minimum conditions and principles for the membership of all the branches—provincial—district, sub-divisional, towns, union, tehsil, *taluka*, *thana* and village or ward. This pledge will be the formal unifying and connecting link between the Central League at Delhi and the village League at Cape Cameron.

#### THE PRESENT CHAOS

At present there is great anarchy and chaos in this respect in different provinces and even in many districts of the same province. For instance in some provinces; e.g. Bengal, there is a prescribed Membership Pledge while in others e.g. Bihar, there is no pledge at all. In Bihar, every district has been left to have its own membership book and form with the result that as far as membership is concerned there is neither any uniformity nor any organization at all. In fact Bihar in this respect is entirely disorganized.

#### THE CONGRESS

The Congress has prescribed an all-India membership form and an all-India membership pledge. Everyone is required to sign or affix thumb impression on the independence pledge of the Congress before he can be a member of the Congress.

After the Madras session it is time the All India Muslim League prescribes an all-India form and pledge of membership for all the

provinces and districts.

### FREEDOM FOR PROVINCES

The Provincial Leagues alone will be responsible for printing and enforcing the membership forms and books in the provinces but they will have to print the all-India Membership Pledge, prescribed by the All India Muslim League. One Pice of the two *annas*' membership fee should be earmarked for the All India [Muslim] League.

### HOW TO ENFORCE IT?

I believe, you, as President and as empowered by the Madras resolution, should promulgate this Membership Pledge and instruct all the Provincial Leagues to take immediate steps to enforce it.

### FIVE-YEAR PLAN COMMITTEE

I have written you something regarding the Five-Year Plan Committee. Please consider my points. I will soon write to you something more about what Bengal thinks of the Committee and what I have to suggest regarding its usefulness.

Yours most sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN  
General Secretary,  
Calcutta District Muslim League

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*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 319/45-6*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
29 April 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before I proceed to the main point, at the very outset, I should like to make it clear that this letter is intended for your information. I request you to go through it, provided your health allows you to do so and it may not react [*sic*] any unpleasant effect on your state of convalescence.

You might remember that during our stay at Madras, I showed you the telegram regarding the sad demise of H.E.H. the Nizam's



mother. I do hope you might have sent a telegram of condolence to H.E.H. If it has not been done yet, please do it at your earliest convenience through a letter stating that your indisposition was the main cause of delay in this regard. This is very necessary because H.E.H. may, naturally, be expecting something of this sort on your behalf [*sic*]. Mr. Gandhi and several other prominent Hindus have done it, I know, merely to win his favour.

It may not be out of place if I write a small paragraph revealing the most critical situation that I am passing through in Hyderabad. Circumstances have attained their crisis [*sic*]. H.E.H. is personally involved and trying to adopt drastic measures against me as my growing popularity among Hyderabad public, according to his vision, may not win for me the dictatorship of the Asafia Dynasty and he might become a nominal King like that of Italy. The so-called *Ulema* have not only deserted us but they are adversely opposing the creed of Ittehadul Muslimeen by *Fatwas*. According to your advice, I have, for the present, suspended all my activities. But the problem deserves a serious consideration. I am in requisition [*sic*] of your help and guidance. So please, after you have fully recovered, allow me an interview of two hours either in Bombay, Matheran or Nandi Hills to enable me to place before you the whole case with full details so that I may be properly guided by you.

Please acknowledge receipt.<sup>1</sup>

With best of my regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he would fix an appointment with him after his return from Bangalore.  
See F. 319/47, QAP. Not printed.

## 357

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/136-7*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
30 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In my last letter,<sup>1</sup> forwarding to you (1) my draft of the Membership

Pledge of the All India Muslim League and (2) a specimen copy of the Membership Pledge of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, I promised that I will send you also a draft of a Pledge of Office.

I am hereby enclosing the promised draft of the Pledge of Office and beg to submit that:

- i. It may be printed in English for it is to be signed by only a limited number of persons viz:
  - a. The office-bearers and members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League,
  - b. The office-bearers and members of the Working Committees of different Provincial Muslim Leagues.
- ii. It is in fact in the nature of an instrument of oath of allegiance, office and secrecy, which the Ministers of the Crown have to take before they receive the seals and insignia of their office.
- iii. The All India Muslim League office should keep complete records of all the office-bearers and members of the Working Committees of different provincial Leagues with their home addresses.

The Pledge of Office, executed by the office-bearers of the provincial bodies would be the authoritative record of the list of the personnel of the Provincial Leagues.

- iv. These documents, after signature, should be sent to the All India Muslim League where they should be kept in its archives.

Yours sincerely,  
 RAGHIB AHSAN  
*General Secretary,*  
*Calcutta, Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>No. 352.

358

*M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 261/24*

RANCHORE LINES,  
 KARACHI,  
 30 April 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing the following:



- i. Leading article in the *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, dated 27th April 1941.<sup>1</sup>
- ii. My letter of the same date.<sup>2</sup>
- iii. Copy of letter from the Editor.<sup>3</sup>

2. I respectfully request you to kindly peruse them and do what you think proper.

With best regards and respects,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
M. H. GAZDER

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>Enclosure.

*Enclosure to No. 358  
M. S. M. Sharma to M. H. Gazder*

*F.261/24-5*

CAXTON HOUSE,  
KARACHI,  
28 April 1941

My dear Gazder,

I was glad to read your statement. I am wondering if you will be so good as to forward a copy of the leading article in question to Mr. Jinnah. As you no doubt know, my faith in Mr. Jinnah's political leadership is genuine, for the alone is the most feared of [*sic*] the British Government. If he initiates he move, it is sure to be crowned with success.

Is it ture [that] he is shortly coming over to Karachi? If so, I would hope that the capital of Sind would prove to be the C. H. Q. of his new endeavour in the cause of the country.

Yours sincerely,  
M. S. M. SHARMA  
*Journalist*

359

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/209*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
1 May 1941

My dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith copies of extracts from letters<sup>1</sup> received by me from Mr. S. M. Ahmed who resides in America.

The reference made by him in these extracts regarding Mr. Malik, the present Indian Trade Commissioner in America, appears serious to me and in view of his association with anti-government and anti-Muslim activities, it will be in the fitness of things if you will move the Commerce<sup>2</sup> and Home Members<sup>3</sup> of the Government of India to prevent his appointment as High Commissioner of India in America. I hope you will realize the necessity of this and do the needful.

Yours truly,  
H. A. HAROON  
MLA (Central)

<sup>1</sup>One enclosure is included at No. 215 while the other two follow this letter.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Reginald Maxwell.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 359*

*S. M. Ahmed to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/211*

*[Extract]*

NEW YORK,  
1 March 1941

In my letter of January 29,<sup>1</sup> I wrote you briefly about H. S. Malik, Indian Trade Commissioner. I need not elaborate on his clandestine connections with the Hindu Congress elements and his share in the anti-British and anti-Muslim activities in America. You may have learnt that a proposal is being made to the Government of India to establish India[n] High Commissioner's office in America, something



similar to Sir Firoz Khan Noon's office in London. The British Embassy has favourably considered the scheme and wrote [*sic* for written] to the Secretary of State for India. I understand that the proposal has now been sent to the Government of India for final action and to nominate an officer to represent Indian commercial and political interests in America. For this post, Malik is trying [his] best to get himself appointed. He has been pulling wires through the British officials, his brother who is an engineer in Delhi, and his Sikh friends in the Punjab. His appointment must be stopped at any cost.

Malik's three-year term as Trade Commissioner expires in June 1941, after which he is supposed to return to India. The easiest thing is just to call him back to India and send [him] to another post where he can make the least mischief. For this matter you would have to deal with the Government of India, Commerce Department, and you must take up this matter immediately with the proper officials in consultation with Mr. Jinnah.

I hope to have a formal resolution passed by the Muslim group in New York opposing Malik's appointment in America in any capacity.

<sup>1</sup>No. 215.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 359*  
*S. M. Ahmed to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/210*  
*[Extract]*

NEW YORK,  
 15 March 1941

I saw in [a] London newspaper that the Government of India has established the post of High Commissioner in South Africa, and Mr. Ram Chandra from Bengal is being sent there. Very shortly, I understand that a similar post will be created in America and an official will be sent there. The political urgency is necessitating that India should have a more important representative in America than the Trade Commissioner.

It is said that Lord Halifax, the new British Ambassador in Washington<sup>1</sup> (formerly Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India<sup>2</sup>) has cabled to the India Office for prompt action in this matter and, nomination of an Indian officer to represent India in America may be made by the

time this letter reaches you.

In my last two letters I have mentioned about H. S. Malik, the present Indian Trade Commissioner in New York, who is trying to seek this new post. You are [*sic* for have] now, I hope, become familiar with his anti-Government and anti-Muslim views and his clandestine connections with organizations and men engaged in political propaganda in this country. I hope you have brought this matter to the attention of proper officials and have taken adequate steps to prevent Malik's appointment in America. Should you desire additional information, I will be happy to send you a complete report on Malik.

<sup>1</sup>1940-45.

<sup>2</sup>1926-31.

## 360

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner*

*F. 494/23*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
MYSORE,  
3 May 1941

Dear Major Gardiner,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th.<sup>1</sup> It is very kind of you. There is nothing serious with me. It is due entirely to over-work. I intend to have complete rest and peace which is the only prescription for my case. I hope to be here for about a fortnight.

I thank you for all your sympathies and support for the League point of view. Yes, I shall be delighted to keep in touch with you and keep you informed in future with regard to our decisions and point of view. I hope you have got the full report of my speech<sup>2</sup> at Madras and also the resolutions<sup>3</sup> that were passed there. When you are in England, I shall do my best to supply you the information and literature that you may need.

Let us pray that we shall be able to create that understanding which your letter might have given to the Cabinet.



With very kind regards to Mrs Gardiner and yourself and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 349.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 211-27.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 458-66.

## 361

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Sind I/1*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
3 May 1941

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

My dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

Enclosed herewith I send you copies of letters<sup>1</sup> received by me from Mr. S. M. Ahmed, who resides in America.

You will find from the contents of these letters that he is a staunch Muslim and has a burning heart to do some good for the Muslims by organizing [the] League activities in America and at the same time exposing the Congress who [*sic* for which] has been carrying on intensive and false propaganda abroad against [the] Indian Muslims through their agents.

To achieve that end, he has asked in the last paragraphs of his letter, dated 1st March 1941<sup>2</sup>, whether it is possible to form an American branch of the All India Muslim League and also [whether] any financial assistance is expected from India?

In the face of all [the] above, I would like to have suggestions from your side.<sup>3</sup>

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON  
Kt., MLA

<sup>1</sup>Enclosures to No. 359.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure 1 to *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>No. 383.

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*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/213-4*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
3 May 1941

My dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith cuttings of the *Daily Gazette*, which contain an article from the pen of Mr. Gazder<sup>1</sup> and [the statement of] Mir Ghulam Ali,<sup>2</sup> MLA. The sentiments expressed by these gentlemen amply show how difficult it is to work and achieve progress in such circumstances.

However, leaving aside such considerations or tendencies of fellow-workers, I have been doing my utmost to do all that lies within my power to revise and accelerate the League mission in Sind. May God give me sufficient strength to accomplish our object, which is a cherished desire of us all.

After my return from Madras session, I had gone on tour to Hyderabad and Nawabshah Districts for three days from 27th to 30th April, where Workers' Conference was held and the matter of organizing Muslim League activities was discussed at length.

In compliance with the above, Mr. G. M. Sayed left Karachi yesterday on tour by a motor lorry with loudspeaker duly installed on it, and he [along] with other co-workers will make propaganda to bring home the message of the Muslim League. First, he has gone to Dadu District and then he will proceed to Larkana District.

There is a District Muslim League and Workers' Conference at Larkana on the 10th of May which I am going to attend and shall stay there at least for two days.

The Sukkur District Muslim League Conference has also been convened for the 24th and 25th of May, which will be held under [the] presidentship of K.B. Nawab Murid Hussain Khan MLA of Multan. You may rest assured that everything is being done and will



be done to promote the cause of Muslim League in Sind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

[PS.] After lots of trouble, Mr. Gazder has been elected Mayor unanimously because the League helped him a lot. Everyone derives benefit from the League but they care very little to enhance [the] League's prestige.

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure 1.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure 2.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 362*

*F. 274/215*

FOR INDIA'S SAKE, UNITE

Muslim Leaguer's Reactions<sup>1</sup>

By M.H.Gazder, MLA

The *Daily Gazette* deserves the thanks of the public for its excellent lead under the caption *For India's Sake, Unite*. The burden of the article is that the people of this country should not allow themselves to be discouraged by the cold douche administered by the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India. In my statement on Mr. Amery's speech,<sup>2</sup> I conceded that the situation in India left him [with] no other alternative than to take advantage of our differences. In these circumstances, it was easy enough for you to pour vials of wrath on the devoted head of Whitehall, but you have wisely chosen to take a different path of construction.

In short, if I may presume to paraphrase your thought, you mean that all the parties in the country should enter into a non-aggression pact with the Congress and that, on the basis of this pact, they must unite with a view to wrest[ing] power for the people of India—real power, the substance and not the shadow, as Mr. Jinnah has pointed out. I whole-heartedly endorse your suggestion.

*Bury the Past*

While, as a Muslim Leaguer, your suggestion that Mr. Jinnah should take the lead and bell the cat appeals to me, I doubt if it will commend itself to the League high command. For, Sir, as you have

yourself admitted more than once, the League spokesman in the Assembly offered on several occasions to come to an understanding with the Congress Party, the last occasion being the Madras session of the A[ll] I[ndia] Muslim League held in Easter holidays—an offer which was not even responded to by the Congress side. But let us bury the haunting memory of that bitter past.

I share your thinly expressed fear that Mr. Jinnah may not feel called upon to take the initiative this time although of course there is no doubt that, if he starts the move, it is sure to be crowned with success. I would have suggested the name of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but unfortunately, his Non-Party Conference in Bombay was remarkable for the absence of any single Muslim representative. I can understand his decision to keep out the Muslim League as he chose to ignore the Congress, although he invited the Hindu Mahasabha. But I cannot still understand why he did not think it worthwhile to invite any Muslim even in an individual capacity. It was particularly disappointing because the national colour he wanted to give his meeting could not be available owing to the absence of Musalmans.

### *New Approach*

But this is not to say that a new approach should not be made to the question. There is a great deal in your suggestion that a non-party Parsi should make the initial move. It will be found that the Muslims are not half as unreasonable as they are represented to be by interested parties. We too are children of the soil and are no less anxious than others to secure India's ordered march to the promised land. I sincerely hope and pray that your suggestion will meet with the response it deserves. The present is the most auspicious time for that unity. The war situation is more serious than many of us imagine, but it ought to spur us on to close up [*sic*] our ranks for India's sake.

<sup>1</sup>The *Daily Gazette*, 29 April 1941.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727-39.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 362.*

*F. 274/216*

### *Mir Ghulam Ali's Statement<sup>1</sup>*

Mir Ghulam Ali, MLA, who is a contestant for the presidency [of District Local Board], has issued the following:



The opposition party is misguiding the public by saying that Mir is a member of the Muslim League party. This is not a fact. I assure that if elected to the D.L.B. presidentship, I would stick to principles of broad-mindedness and adopt a non-communal policy, and I would never join the Muslim League.

<sup>1</sup>The *Daily Gazette*, 29 April 1941.

## 363

*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa*

*F. 302/67*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
MYSORE,  
5 May 1941

My dear Isa,

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st April.<sup>1</sup>

Let me congratulate you for one more recruit [Qazi's new-born son] to our national corps. I sincerely hope that Mrs. Isa and the new recruit are doing well.

With regard to the various suggestions in your letter, I thank you for them and the matter is receiving my very close and careful consideration.

With regard to my health, I am alright now but I want complete rest and peace for another two or three weeks. According to my present programme, I propose to stay at this Hill for about a fortnight and hope to get to Bombay in the first week of June. By that time I hope to announce the personnel of the [Muslim League] Working Committee.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to you both,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 347.

## 364

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Usman**F. 874/101*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
MYSORE,  
5 May 1941

Dear Mr. Usman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd April,<sup>1</sup> enclosing a copy of the letter written by Mr. Jaipal Singh, President, Adibasi Sabha, addressed to the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, Jamshedpur. Don't you think that this is a matter which should be handled in the first instance by your Provincial League [as] it is primarily the function of the Provincial Government to deal with it? When the Provincial Muslim League officially decides to move the Centre, no doubt we shall have to consider the matter and see what we can do. I, therefore, strongly advise you to get your Provincial Muslim League to take up the matter in the first instance.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 348.

## 365

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan**F. 335/197*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
MYSORE,  
5 May 1941

My dear Liaquat,

As I now feel better I am going to worry you. Please let me have without delay:

1. Copies of all the resolutions passed at Madras.
2. Complete list of the members of the Council up to date. I want to know whether Barkat Ali is amongst the members of the Council.



I understand that the Constitution of the All India Muslim League as amended at Madras gives me the authority to nominate twenty members. Will you please consider the matter carefully and make your suggestions. I will then carefully consider the matter and announce the names which I am authorised to nominate.

Further please let me have your suggestions regarding any changes in the personnel of the next Working Committee which, as you know, I have to announce as soon as possible.

I propose to stay here for another fortnight and then go down to Bangalore and Mysore and if possible to Ooty [abbreviation of Ootacamund, since renamed Udagamandalam] for a week. I shall be returning to Bombay in the first week of June.

I suppose you have [been] following the doings of the Sapru Conference and the various statements that have followed, including those issued by me. I would like to know what you think of it all.

We hope that Begum Sahiba and Akbar are doing well. With our love to Akbar and Ashraf and our best wishes and kindest regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

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*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 256/118-9*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
6 May 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I have, just this moment, read in the *Times of India* of this morning your statement<sup>1</sup> issued from Bangalore on the 4th of May. How strange! I have myself been contemplating a criticism of the Bombay Conference something [*sic* for somewhat] on the lines of your statement. Of course, it might have had a stink [*sic*] of "poetry and philosophy". But what I really feared was that, not being kept in touch with the programme of the lead [*sic*], which must, of course, come from you, I dared not meddle; and I am glad, now that I see your statement, that I did not follow the impulse of my feeling. Yours, as usual, is the masterpiece and the spontaneous response of my heart in appreciation

of your statement can best be summed up in these sincere words: "Long live Jinnah!" That is again poetic. But you will excuse that, won't you?

On hearing of your illness at a very important moment of the [Muslim League] session in Madras, I had wired to Miss Jinnah to inquire after your health. There was no reply. But that was good news, as they say. I am glad, as the paper says, you are staying on for a week or two at Nandi Hills. You need all the rest you can get, and you have chosen the best spot for it. I wish you health.

With devoted regards to [your]self and Miss Jinnah,

Yours ever sincerely,

A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 1409-16.

## 367

*Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 447/42-3*

TELLICHERRY,

6 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After having complete rest at Bangalore for about ten days, I have returned home. As usual, I did not like to disturb you while I was at Bangalore. I, therefore, used to get information about your health from Mr. Matlub. I am very happy that the climate of Nandi, together with the complete rest that you [have] had for a fortnight, has gone a long way to[wards] restoring you to good health. Your decision to continue at Nandi for another fortnight is very good. I am sure that by that time you will be completely restored to your usual health and vigour.

The statement<sup>1</sup> you have issued on the Bombay Conference and the conspiracy behind it, has been most timely. The exposure of hypocrisy and humbug has caused a great flutter in various quarters giving [the] proof that your shafts have gone home. I am sure that this statement of yours has served a great purpose.

The Associated Press message, which announces your intention to fulfil public engagement in Bangalore and your visit to Mysore, has



brought to me a number of suggestions, including two telegrams that you should be requested to come down to Malabar from Mysore. But personally I do not think this is a proper time, both from the point of view of the weather conditions and your health, for fulfilling public engagements even at Bangalore, leave alone other parts of the Presidency. But the fear is expressed that if you fulfil public engagements now at Bangalore and Mysore, there will be less inducement for you to come to our Province next December. Added to that is the fear that your public engagements at Bangalore and Mysore may exhaust you a good deal. From my experience of how things are managed at Bangalore, I have great fear that your public visit to Bangalore will put a terrible strain on you.

I very strongly hold that the later half of December is the only time for you to tour our Province including Bangalore. Of course, you will decide for yourself. But I must warn you that if you give the go by [*sic*] to the other parts of the Province after visiting Bangalore and Mysore, it will cause a tremendous amount of disappointment.

Thank God, we are well here.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. S. H. ESSAK

<sup>1</sup>See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, III, 1409-16.

## 368

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 203/38*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
6 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I would like to know your programme in the months of May and June. I may possibly come to meet you in Bombay and discuss certain questions connected with the Aligarh Muslim University. War has now created a new situation, and I would like to know your policy. It is very important for me to know your views before the commencement of the next session of the University.

In the last election Mr. Zafar Omar & Co. made a very clever electioneering move. When they found that they were in a minority

of 3 to 7, they succeeded in putting Nawab Nazir Yar Jung as their leader and spokesman and by their propaganda they identified him as [sic for with] Hyderabad. Unfortunately, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Kheiri, whom you know very well, talked in an irresponsible and loose manner. Very few people heard what he actually said, but a good deal of propaganda is now going on about what he is supposed to have said, which in fact very few people heard.

I am going to Hyderabad to take part in the *Chehlum Fateha* ceremony to represent the University and I would like to come to you wherever you may be.

A gentleman is starting a weekly paper called *Pakistan*. It will be a Muslim League organ and will represent specially the interests of the Musalmans of United Provinces and Delhi. The first issue will be out next week.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor

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*P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Non-Muslims I/1*

MOUNT ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
7 May 1941

My beloved and esteemed leader,

Mr. [Matlub-ul-Hassan] Saiyid wrote to me, asking me to furnish him with the details of the speech delivered by Periyar E. V. Ramaswami [Naicker] and I promised to give him a translation of the full speech of the Periyar. I learn from the Periyar that his speech was not reported even in his own paper, but a summary of it was given to a representative of the Associated Press of India at Trichy [abbreviation for Trichinopoly], who must have telegraphed it to northern India papers. His speech was not reported in any Madras paper. Periyar told me that he based his speech on the following facts:

1. That Mr. K. Srinivasan was frequently visiting Trichy Jail before the Bombay Conference and Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Correspondent of the *Hindu*, New Delhi, was interested in



bringing the Bombay Conference into existence .

2. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote a letter to Sir A. P. Patro<sup>1</sup> that the former was not aware of the fact as to who were the promoters of the Conference and who were [*sic* for had been] invited to attend the Conference, that he himself had to accept the presidentship of the Conference under great pressure, that he did not belong to any group or political party, and that he did not think that any useful purpose would be served by that Conference.
3. Sir Tej stayed with Mr. Shiva Rao when he visited Delhi.
4. That Mr. K. Srinivasan went to Wardha with Mr. Shiva Rao before the Conference and had a long discussion with Mr. Gandhi, and after that he attended the Conference as a visitor.
5. That Mr. Srinivasan was responsible for inviting Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari to the Conference.
6. That the Bombay Resolution closely followed the purport of the Poona Resolution, which was drafted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar.

Upon these materials, Periyar made that speech. Periyar assured us that he saw the letter from Sir Tej to Sir A. P. Patro.

Myself and Mr. Nathan went to Sir Patro this morning and discussed about [*sic*] Sir Sapru's statement. Sir Patro told us that Sir Sapru was not telling the truth in his statement, published today, and that he received the letter referred to by Periyar, but he feels delicate [*sic*] to have that letter published because he considers that it was a personal letter addressed to him in reply to his letter to Sir Sapru enquiring about his health. These facts I am submitting to you for your information and necessary action.

Periyar has this morning issued a statement to the press in which he has brought out all these facts. Sir Patro told me and Mr. Nathan this morning that the resolution must have been drafted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and handed over to Mr. Srinivasan, who must have given it to Mr. Shiva Rao, who, in his turn, must have handed it over to Sir Jagadish Prasad, who, after slight alterations

and modifications, must have brought that resolution before the Bombay Conference.

Mr. Nathan desires me to convey his respectful regards.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,  
BALASUBRAMANYA MUDALIAR  
Managing Editor,  
The Sunday Observer

<sup>1</sup>A leader of South India's Justice Party and a friend of Jinnah.

## 370

*Syed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/3-4

PRIVATE / PERSONAL

HYDERABAD,  
8 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The news of speedy improvement in your health by the change and rest at Nandi Hills has allayed our anxiety and given us great relief.

As discussed by Sir Akbar [Hydari] on the authority of H.E.H. the Nizam, I have to request you to grant an interview at your leisure to the special messenger, Maulvi Taqui Uddin, who bears this letter. He will explain to you the present situation in Hyderabad and will convey to you the wishes of H.E.H., who greatly values your goodwill towards him and his State.<sup>1</sup>

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
SYED ABDUL AZIZ

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he was all right and wanted the Nizam to know that his services were at the latter's disposal for the welfare of the Muslims of Hyderabad. See F. 149/1, QAP. Not printed.



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*W. Hoondraj to M. A. Jinnah**F. 924/153-4*

PERSONAL

BURNS ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
8 May 1941

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I thank you for your letter from Oakland, Nandi Hills, dated 28th April 1941.<sup>1</sup>

The recent reverses sustained by the Muslim League candidates for presidentship of various district local boards in Sind bears [*sic* for is] proof positive that unless the Muslim Leaguers have their own trusted Hindu friends in the local bodies or the legislature, the Muslim Leaguers are bound to suffer at the hands of their Muslim opponents wherever they have to depend upon Hindu votes. It does not matter even if they [are] return[ed] in thumping majority at their [*sic* for the] general elections by Muslim voters. It is on this account that Hindu votes form the backbone of every Sind Ministry. Such is the warning signal to the Muslim Leaguers in Sind for so engineering their coming election plans that they must get and help get at least a few trusted Hindus returned to the Assembly so that they can give them support for their honesty of purpose for the common good of all.

Because no solid effort is made to draw Hindus and Muslim Leaguers of Sind nearer to each other to understand their respective viewpoints, your opponents are in a comfortable and convenient position to exploit the credulity of Hindu masses suffering from Muslim League photophobia and they are able to purchase some Hindu leaders also who can get for them blind and hired support as is evident from the accompanying cutting of a newspaper,<sup>2</sup> where I have shown how Nihchaldas Vazirani's palms are greased at the cost of tax payers' money and to the personal gains of Allah Bakhsh and his party.

Majority of [the] short-visioned [*sic*] Hindu educated classes are unable to look through this deep destructive policy of Allah Bakhsh for purchasing some Hindu leaders and through them the Hindu masses at the cost of political and civic advancements of Hindus of Sind. It should be bored [*sic*] into the minds of such waylaid Hindus that Muslim League ministers were happily free from such purchasing power and bargaining mentality. For this, you need a

Hindu press of your confidence as is recently done by Allah Bakhsh with the co-operation of his Hindu ministers. It is said that all the sitting ministers have contributed one month's salary of theirs to the old Editor of *Sansar Samachar*, Mr. Rijhumal, and got him a separate press for their election and other propaganda. The new press will issue its new paper under the title of *Hindu Sansar*. This paper will support the present Hindu and Muslim ministers, their nominees in the next elections, their hirelings and their touts etc. It is simply painful to see that your Leaguers here are lacking [in] such political sagacity, though Mr. [Ali Mahomed] Rashdi has such a political foresight as he expresses. Press with friends in Hindus, for your future election success, is an urgent necessity for the Leaguers in Sind to be properly understood and read by the masses and classes of Hindus in Sind. Without such manoeuvres, Hindu-Muslim mutual understanding and concord are a dream.

As per our personal talks on Hindu-Muslim unity in Sind and as again desired by you in your last letter, I am mobilizing responsible Hindu opinion to draw nearer to Muslim League in Sind. I have spoken to my uncle, Diwan Lalchand Navalrai (MLA Central and President of Sind Branch of Hindu League) also. When you come here, I shall arrange a meeting of some selected, reasonable and liberal-minded responsible Hindus and your goodself at some hotel or at a convenient place where our hearts could be exchanged [*sic*] liberally on the civic and political problems of Sind, irrespective of any considerations of all-India politics.

As you said, to your great sorrow the Hindus were divided in many factions and fractions like the Sikhs, Sanatanis, Arya Samajists, etc.; so is, in Hindu opinion, the fate of Muslim organizations too. The Ahrars, the Azad Muslims, the Jamiat-ul-'Ulama, etc., challenge that it is not the Muslim League alone which is politically competent to deliver the goods on behalf of all Musalmans of India. I do not know how to convince the Hindu element in Sind on the above matter. Please guide me with your plans and let me know at least a fortnight before you are expected to arrive here.

Expecting your reply to this, to enable me to carry on my efforts further for mutual understanding of Hindus and Musalmans of Sind.

I am,

Yours sincerely,  
HOONDRAJ

<sup>1</sup>No. 353.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 924/155-7, QAP. Not printed.



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*M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Gazder**F. 261/26*HANDI HILL STATION,  
8 May 1941

Dear Mr. Gazder,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th April along with the press cuttings and the letter of Mr. Sharma<sup>2</sup> addressed to you dated the 28th April and thank you for it.

Since then I read in the papers that you have been elected Mayor of Karachi unopposed and I presume that the report is correct. In such case let me congratulate you on your success. Please write to me and keep me informed as to the developments that may take place in Sind.

I wonder what happened to the elections in Shikarpur and also in Sukkar. It is so difficult to get a coherent account in the newspapers.

Wishing you all success; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 358.<sup>2</sup>Ibid., enclosure.

373

*Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah**F. 469/21*57 NEWBERRY ROAD,  
LUCKNOW,  
9 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith enclosing my statement on Mr. [L. S.] Amery's speech in the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup> I hope you will be able to spare a few minutes to glance through it. This has already appeared in the *Pioneer*, [Lucknow,] though in a garbled form. I am carefully following the criticism of the Congress and other sections of the press, which

deliver an attack upon you intemperately and I shall dispose of them when I find that an explanation or demolition of the arguments is called for in the press.

I am glad you are much better now, and I do hope you will kindly take complete rest and not bother yourself much with long statements which are bound to put a strain on you.

I shall be very glad to deal with all such matters if only you would drop a line to me to do so. You should deal with points which nobody else can deal with and which you alone should dispose of to give due weight to the point of view which you wish to emphasise through your own personality and importance.

There is a rumour that you may be summoned to Simla by the Viceroy and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru may also be called there. I hope some solution of the deadlock will be found.

At present, my anxiety is about your health which should not be neglected, and complete rest is absolutely necessary for you.

With prayers for complete restoration of your health and with best regards to Miss Jinnah and you,

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD YUSUF  
Nawab, Kt.

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727-39.

*Enclosure to No. 373*

*Statement of Mohammad Yusuf on Mr. Amery's speech*

*F. 469/22-5*

It is amazing that there should have been such a chorus of denunciation of Mr. Amery's speech in the Congress press as well as in that section of the press which gets easily rattled by the Congress propaganda.

Mr. Amery has, in an honest and straightforward manner, reiterated a certain fundamental principle and a condition precedent for drawing up a Dominion constitution for India, acceptable to the Parliament. He has categorically said that the future Dominion constitution for India must be decided by the peoples of India themselves and through such agreed method as they decide upon, subject to certain British responsibilities towards the princes, the services and the minorities. It is obvious that the main demand of the Congress, namely 'self-determination' by India, is met to a considerable extent. The



necessary and inevitable condition that there should be an agreement between the main elements, namely the Hindus and the Muslims, with regard to the type of constitution suited to India according to its concepts, its conditions and its genius, is at once a potent solvent of political difficulties in India in so far as it compels attention of the peoples of India to the vital responsibility of adjusting their differences in the light of the fundamental facts and practical politics. It has been wrongly interpreted that the condition laid [down] amounts to giving the right of veto to the Musalmans. It is futile to argue in this manner. No government with any sense of justice and fair play could possibly have said anything else without opening itself to the charge that it stands for aggression and domination of one community over the other through its supreme authority and power, and instead of attempting to gather moral force from all directions with a view to help[ing] solve the political and economic problems of India in a spirit of understanding, goodwill and reasoning.

The problem of today is how to unite India on the basis of equality, justice and fair play. It is all very well to say that the Two-Nation Theory is absurd, though the historical background and the social conditions today show that the effort, during the Muslim period and the British period, to weld the Hindu and Muslim nations into one has succeeded in failing only. The Two-Nation Theory of the Muslim League is not an imaginary theory or a political stunt to gain selfish political ends but it is a sound theory which is the only beacon for the ship of India to steer clear of the communal rocks. It is the only theory which can raise a united India in co-operation with the British Government with a view to creat[ing] a British Commonwealth of Nations or a British Federation which alone can put an end to the spirit of domination and aggression of small nations, classes and communities. The cry of one nation and democracy may be very convenient to the Congress but it appears, to the frightened Musalmans, an attempt at domination and aggression through controlling the defence, foreign policy and finance, and thus neutralising the wholesome steadying and balancing influence which the Pakistan scheme, as elaborated by the new creed of the Muslim League, can exercise. The demand for a unitary form of government at the Centre on a democratic basis and rejection of the cardinal fact of existence of two nations in India, namely the Hindus and the Muslims, cannot but strike terror into the heart of the Muslim nation. It amounts to the Congress saying in a blatant manner to the



Musalmans, "we mean to rule over you and you can expect no better treatment than that of a scattered minority community, although you happen to be a majority in the north-western and eastern zones of the sub-continent of India." A central government can be conceived only with a third power at the helm of affairs which can hold the balance evenly between the Hindu and the Muslim nations.

Mr. Amery could not say anything else than what he said with regard to the future constitution under the circumstances of 'today' in India. The world has been so much deceived by diplomacy and political tactics that now a frank, straightforward and honest policy alone can carry conviction, and this is the policy Mr. Amery is following. His reference in the speech to the American Constitution as a possible constitution for India may create some misgivings in the Muslim mind as it shows predilection for a unitary form of government without committing him to that policy. However, his reference to the Balkan situation does not support the proposition of a strong central government in the present circumstances and conditions of India, while it may point to a British Federation as a vital conception.

### *Solution of Deadlock*

Mr. Amery has only made it clear that in the present situation of India and during the progress of War, it is not possible to change horses when crossing the stream by completely Indianising the Viceroy's Council in the face of direct opposition of the Musalmans. But there is nothing to preclude the possibility of expanding the Viceroy's Council according to the Viceroy's 'August Offer' in co-operation with the Muslim League. The *Leader* welcomed the suggestion of the extension of the Viceroy's Council and probably a large section of the people will approve of it as a measure of war effort. Mr. Amery has subtly emphasised this aspect of the solution of political impasse in an excellent manner.

Let us hope that all non-Congressmen will concentrate on this question in a spirit of large-hearted and practical politics. It is no use saying that 50 per cent representation of the Musalmans in the Viceroy's Council would amount to the acceptance of Pakistan. If today the non-Congress Hindus are not to accept this position then in all reasonableness they must give the Musalmans a majority of seats in the Cabinet as they are the biggest organised party both inside and outside the Central Assembly.

When the Interim Ministries were formed in the provinces, though



the Musalmans enjoyed majority in some provincial assemblies, such as United Provinces, yet they accorded 50 per cent representation to the Hindus in the provincial cabinets. So the practical proposition is that though the Musalmans may be a majority as a political party both inside and outside the Central Assembly, they should be prepared to accord 50 per cent representation to their Hindu brethren in the Viceroy's Cabinet. Of course, the possibility of the Congress coming in during the progress of the War would not arise and if it arises it is for the Hindu bloc to make room for them without upsetting the strength of the representation of the Muslims in the Central Cabinet. I have made bold to say so, though really the Muslim League demand is "majority of seats" for the Musalmans in the expanded Viceroy's Council. The Hindu [Maha]sabha, the Congress and the other Hindu organisations are going entirely on the wrong lines, creating difficulties for the right solution of the vital Indian problem, namely the problem of the unity of India; and further raising difficulties in focusing our attention single-mindedly on the issue of War which must be won to achieve freedom and equality for the two nations in India, and justice and fair play for all classes and communities.

## 374

*M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung*

*F. 149/3*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
MYSORE,  
10 May 1941

Dear Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,

Since I wrote to you<sup>1</sup> in reply to your letter<sup>2</sup> informing you that I did not wish to drag you all the way to Nandi, I have seen the two *Firmans* issued by His Exalted Highness, the second being dated the 17th of April 1941,<sup>3</sup> in the press, and also I saw in the press today the Gazette Extraordinary issued on the 7th of May<sup>4</sup> by the Government of His Exalted Highness.

Without expressing my opinion with regard to these orders and declarations, I am very anxious that you should not do anything

until we meet in Bombay in the first week of June, as I have already informed you to that effect. But if you still think that you cannot wait, then I shall be very glad to see you either at Nandi or Bangalore as I shall be returning to Bangalore on the 18th.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 319/47, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>No. 356.

<sup>3&4</sup>See F. 30/9-15, QAP. Not printed.

## 375

*M. A. Jinnah to Francis Low*

*F. 498/49*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
10 May 1941

Dear Mr. Low,

I am sorry I have to complain and to draw your attention that your paper has given verbatim the personal statement of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the statement of the Standing Committee of the so-called Sapru Conference, and many other statements that have appeared from the opponents of the Muslim League, whereas the only three important statements on the side of the Muslim League, viz. the resolution of the Council of the Provincial Muslim League, U.P., the statement of the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and my statement were published in the form of summaries, thereby bringing out only such points as appeared relevant to the person who undertook to summarise them. I feel that is not doing justice to our point of view.

Besides, your current topic column not only offers unfair criticism but there is a note of personal feeling against me by the writer of the paragraphs. Of course, I can have no grievance against any newspaper freely criticising, but I think in justice you should fully publish the view of the party before criticising and attacking it, and [not] merely give a summary of what is considered admissible for publication and to launch the criticism. I also noticed that a similar treatment was given to my speech which I delivered at the sessions of the All



India Muslim League at Madras.

I take the liberty of complaining as I know that you as the Editor have always assured me of maintaining the highest standards and traditions of journalism.<sup>1</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Francis Low, Esq.,  
Editor,  
*The Times of India*, Bombay

<sup>1</sup>The Acting Editor of *The Times of India* replied to Jinnah that acute shortage of space and not political bias had caused the shortening of certain reports. See F. 503/11, QAP. Not printed.

## 376

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 335/198-202

GUL-I-RA'ANA,  
HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
10 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter.<sup>1</sup> We are indeed very happy to know that you are feeling better. I thought several times of writing to you before this but as I was not certain of your movements, I did not do so and was waiting to hear from you.

I am sending, under separate cover, two printed copies of all the resolutions that were passed at Madras and a complete up-to-date printed list of the members of the Council. Malik Barkat Ali is a member of the Council.

I have formally forwarded copies of resolutions Nos. 4, 5, 10, 12 and 13 passed by the sessions, to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy requesting him to place them before His Excellency for his due consideration and necessary action. A copy of resolution No. 11 was sent to the Governor of U.P.

Yes, you have been authorised to nominate up to the extent of 20 members to the Council. As there is no hurry about it, I shall consider the matter and let you have my suggestions at some later date. Perhaps we might invite suggestions from some of the prominent

members of the League and then you might make your choice out of the names that may be recommended. As regards the Working Committee, I do not think you should make very radical changes this time. I suggest only the following changes in the personnel of the Working Committee:

#### BIHAR

In place of Mr. Shareef, either Syed Hossain Imam, M.C.S. or Nawab Mohamed Ismail. My reason for suggesting this change is because of [the] ill health of Mr. Shareef. He does not keep good health and will not be able to attend the meetings and because of his health, is unable to take very active part.

#### NWFP

In place of Khan Saadullah Khan, I would suggest the name of Bakht Jamal Khan Sahib, President of the NWFP Provincial Muslim League. I think Bakht Jamal Khan will be more useful.

#### BOMBAY

[I. I.] Chundrigar in place of Sir A. M. K. Dehlavi—this change I am suggesting because Sir Dehlavi does not keep good health and is unable to take very active part.

These are the only changes that I can think of. As regards the two Premiers, I would not eliminate them. Let them go out if they choose to do so. Yes, I have read carefully your and other statements regarding the Sapru Conference. I think the Bombay Resolution is now dead. You did well to publish the correspondence that passed between you and [Tej Bahadur] Sapru. It forced Sapru to publish his correspondence with Gandhi and brought many things to light. I issued a statement on this correspondence. It was published in the *Statesman* of the 7th. I am sending a cutting for your perusal.<sup>2</sup> The moderates, viz. Sapru and Co., are very wild with you as you must have seen by their statements. You have made [*sic*] a short shrift of their resolution and the Secretary of State has put a lid on it. My wife and Akbar are doing very well. She came back to the house on the 24th of last month from the hospital. We are leaving for Mussoorie on the 15th. Delhi has been terribly hot this year. My address in Mussoorie will be Charleville Hotel.

Please take a good long rest before you begin hard work again. We hope Miss Jinnah has been keeping very fit.



Our kindest regards to both of you and love from Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. A number of Leaguers have been wanting to know what the League has done about the situation in Iraq and the use of Indian troops against a Muslim power. There seems to be great concern felt by the Musalmans regarding the developments in Iraq. I told them that I shall convey their feelings to you.

I do not know if you have drawn the attention of the Viceroy to the fact that the situation in Iraq is causing great consternation amongst Musalmans.

LAK

<sup>1</sup>See No. 365.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

377

*M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq*

*F. 281/30*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
10 May 1941

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq,

I am enclosing herewith the representation that I have received from the Bhairab Muslim Students' League for your information to enable you to deal with the matter.

I am sure it will receive your very careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

*Enclosure to No. 377*  
*Jinnat Ali to A. K. Fazlul Huq*  
*(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 769/55-6*

BHAIRAB,  
MYMENSINGH,  
1 May 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to draw your immediate attention to the facts noted below so that you may kindly do the needful in order to have our demands satisfied.

Surely, you know that the Muslims of Ripura area in Dacca District are being inhumanly oppressed at the hands of the military force posted at Doulatkandi by the Govt. with a view to establish[ing] peace and [the] so-called communal harmony. The soldiers are, it is reported, assaulting any Muslim irrespective of social status and age, coming within their range. The Muslims cannot escape the tortures even by endangering their lives by jumping into the river. Almost all the Muslim houses are left deserted. The few old and destitute [Muslims] left there are on the verge of death by starvation along with their innocent children and cattle. The corn-fields are left uncultivated. Thousands of oppressed Muslims are fleeing to us for shelter. Amongst the arrested and oppressed, many are day-labourers and extremely poor men; and as a result of their arrest their dependents are left destitute without food and shelter. They have no other alternation [*sic* for alternative] than to seek refuge with us; the people who can hardly maintain themselves. It has affected us, the people of Mymensingh District, to a great extent. We with our poor means are [*sic* for have been] helping them with food, clothing and shelter for about 27 days. Now we are almost exhausted and ruined of [*sic*] our own scanty provisions, and necessarily for the sake of humanity we cannot throw them away destitute in the hand of certain death [*sic*].

The Hindus have got their Agartala to give them shelter, organization and purse to feed them, and last of all a Govt. to help them in every respect. But the Muslims (the blessed beings!) have no place of shelter except the houses of their starving relatives, and no leader to speak a word for them. All that they have got is a Govt. whose military bayonets seem to be engaged for [*sic* for in] driving them out of their homes.



We can reasonably demand that the Govt. should see that these people with their women and children do not starve to death and the people of Bhairab are not ruined of [sic] their scanty provisions by helping these oppressed people. About five thousand people from the affected area have fled to us for shelter, and in [the] course of these 27 days we have spent not less than a sum of Rs. 10,000 from our own purses on their food and clothing. We have requested the Govt. to make good our loss and to place a sum of Rs. 15,000 at our disposal to provide food for the oppressed.

I would, therefore, request you to take all possible steps to see that our demands, the reasonable ones, are satisfied at a very early date. Kindly inform this [sic] to all our Muslim student brethren there.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
JINNAT ALI  
*Secretary, Bhairab Muslim Students' League*

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*D. G. Dalvi to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 178/11-6*

CONFIDENTIAL

ALEXANDRA ROAD,  
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,  
11 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since you were good enough to explain to me at your residence in November last the full implications of Pakistan, I have taken pains to collect and peruse all available books, pamphlets, etc., written by Muslim leaders in India on the subject since the recent Madras sessions of the Muslim League. I have read in the papers elaborate statements and counter-statements, and voluminous correspondence relating to the Bombay Conference, of which I happen to be a silent, though informed member. It is unfortunate that severe strain has broken down your health and you are compelled to convalesce in the cool and quiet hill-resort near Mysore. However, this brief respite will give you the calm moments during which you will be in

a position to dispassionately reflect upon the diverse consequences of your campaign of the last sixteen months and its effect on the future destiny of our motherland. I hope you will not certainly resent if, as an old co-worker, I address you a few observations on the subject at this juncture.

I am now convinced that Pakistan will not receive the support of the major parties concerned. If, on cool reflection, you are similarly convinced, I am confident you possess the necessary statesmanship to change the direction of your efforts in order to subserve the real interests of our country.

With regard to the Hindu community, it was to be expected that it would strongly oppose Pakistan. It is proving a common platform for consolidating the diverse elements of the community. The Hindu Sabha has got a new fillip and fresh opportunity for strengthening its hold beyond its deserts. Men like Gandhi, Sapru, Setalvad and my humble self may not join it. Its rivalry with the Congress is only confined to winning the next elections as two contending parties in the field. But, on the subject of Pakistan, they will offer a united opposition.

You seem to rely on the verbal support of the leaders of the non-Brahmins like Ramaswami, Naicker and C.R. Reddy and of the Depressed Classes like Dr. Ambedkar. But please assess, in your own mind, what real support they can bring to the realisation of Pakistan. They may be individually inspired by their personal opposition to the Congress. Their support might have served the purpose at the Round Table Conference for giving effect to the preconceived plans of the British Government. But let me assure you they will prove a broken reed when you come to brass tacks. Was it not the support of the vast mass of the non-Brahmins and Depressed Class electorate which gave the Congress its majority in Bombay and Madras Provinces at the last General Elections? Where was the influence of these leaders then? With Pakistan in the field, they will lose even the little influence they may now possess.

In respect of the Muslim community, I am not in a position to speak you can know it best. But, from such information as I could gather, I feel that the bulk of the community is adopting a neutral attitude. Most of these neutral leaders will look to the attitude of the British Government. They would not now openly oppose Pakistan but you cannot count upon them as active supporters. If they find you are winning, they will come forward to reap the benefit. If you fail, they will, at that stage, openly denounce you. The present



attitude of the Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab is significant, while the Premiers of Sind and the N.W.F. Province are opposing the idea and the Premier of Assam is still doubtful.

As to the British Government, you seem to be still hopeful. But did not the retired Governor of Sind speak its mind? Has not the latest speech of Amery given a quietus to the idea of Pakistan? Is not the attitude of Anglo-Indian journals like the *Times of India* and the *Statesman* sufficient indication of the trend of opinion of the British Government? If you rely upon the war situation favouring you, I am afraid you will soon be undeceived. I hope your memory has not dimmed of their attitude towards the Muslim League when it held its session in Bombay in 1915 and again, during the boycott of the Simon Commission,<sup>1</sup> when it had to split into two parts at Lahore and Calcutta; the latter session became a fiasco owing to the Government.

I do not flatter myself with the conceit that any expression of opinion from me will divert you from your chosen course. I have known you intimately enough to feel that you would not lightly undertake a movement unless you had fully revolved it in your mind. However, I feel I may render you some service by placing the other side of the shield before you. A general in active campaign will not flinch from changing his tactics, if he finds that his calculations have gone wrong.

It is evident that Pakistan is the logical conclusion of the system of communal electorates secured by the Muslims in 1910. But a statesman should know that the course of politics is not determined by logic. It is quite conceivable that the arrogant and selfish attitude of Gandhi and the Congress has driven you to desperation. But is it right, is it wise, is it patriotic, to cut the nose of our motherland, India, in order to spite the face of Gandhi and the Congress?

Have you not still realised that your attitude is holding up the progress of the country during the favourable situation of the War? If you are still hopeful of securing Pakistan, one can understand your still persevering in it, whatever others may say to the contrary. But, if the opinion I have humbly expressed herein is well-founded, will not the sin of doing disservice to the country at this juncture lie on your head? I am conscious that there are occasions for circumspection and for recklessness. I leave it to you to judge from the sole standpoint of the interests of India.

It seems to me that, since the War commenced, Gandhi has contributed to strengthening the hands of the bureaucracy in India. Must you also help the Mahatma in unwittingly entrenching the bureaucracy in their present position?

Please excuse the length of this letter. At any rate, it gives me the satisfaction of unburdening myself. I shall feel happy if during your calm moments in your present isolated resort, you will pass in mental review the various factors of the present situation in its relation to the future destiny of India. I need not tell you how painful the present controversy in the press is to me.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
D. G. DALVI

<sup>1</sup>The Royal Statutory Commission, led by Sir John Simon and composed exclusively of Englishmen, was appointed in 1927 by the Conservative Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin's government. The Commission arrived in India in February 1928 and was boycotted by most parties, including the Muslim League. A faction of the League, led by Punjab's Sir Muhammad Shafi, however, chose to cooperate with the Commission.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah said in reply that beyond vague generalities, Dalvi had failed to grasp the harsh realities that the Muslims were facing. See F. 178/17, QAP. Not printed.

## 379

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/140-1*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you are progressing in your health.

I sent a copy of the letter of Mr. Jaipal Singh, M. A. (Oxon), President, All India Adibasi Mahasabha (Aboriginals' League), Tatanagar, for your information and for keeping it in your file for reference in future. I have already forwarded it to authorities in Bengal.

I sent you letters on the 25th [26] April, 1941<sup>1</sup> and also on the 28th April, 1941<sup>2</sup> and the 30th April, 1941.<sup>3</sup> I am anxious to know whether you have received my letters, particularly of the 25th April, 1941, or not.

I am enclosing cuttings from leaders of two Calcutta Hindu papers. The *Telegraph* is issued in three editions daily. It is published in three editions.



Sir Tej Bahadur has exposed himself as a Brahmin. His latest onslaught on Pakistan in the *Twentieth Century* of London, taking his clue [*sic* for cue] from Mr. Amery's speech, must be refuted. The policy of the Muslim League, as defined by you in your Madras address, envisaging an order of collective security within the State, among peoples, as well as among the different States, big and small, as members of a comity of nations pledged to abide by international law and equity, gives a complete refutation to Sir Sapru's thesis.

Sir Sapru's nation-state of the Congress or Mahasabha brand will be only a "nationalist" Fascist state giving security neither to different peoples within the State nor to other States outside the national frontiers.

The Muslim League is for an order of collective security both within the four corners of the State or States as well as for a comity of nations pledged to abide by rules of international law and justice and secure an equitable and just order of collective security among the big and small states. The Muslim League was ready to enter into agreements and alliances with other peoples, parties, and states on such a basis.

Mr. M. N. Roy appears to have understood this part of the League policy. His article in the *Sunday Observer* on the Madras League session deserves your attention.

I hope you will please give an answer to Sir Tej's article. We must give greater attention to foreign propaganda as well as the scientific and literary side of our work.

#### HUQ-SIKANDER MOVE

Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest move at Simla is viewed with general disapproval in Muslim Bengal.

According to our information, Mr. N. N. Sarkar, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee and other liberals are at the back of Mr. Huq.

But Bengal stands by you. Mr. K. Shahabuddin says we should ignore this move. Mr. Ispahani says we should publicly condemn it. We are going to issue a statement.

#### BIHAR MASSACRE

The massacre of Muslim women and children in Bihar Sharif sub-division has been most horrible. Muslims must get licences for

fire-arms for self-defence. Hope you will support Bihar Muslims' demand.

Yours most sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 352.

<sup>2</sup>No. 355.

<sup>3</sup>No. 357.

*Enclosure to No. 379*

*F. 204/142-3*

*MADEENA'S VIEW<sup>1</sup>*

Round Table again.... We see, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq will not take rest without establishing unity between different interests and communities. Some days ago, he approached Mr. Jinnah for the purpose. But Mr. Jinnah did not fulfil his request. So, it is understood that Mr. Huq went over his head to take the shelter of the greatest Governor of the Governors of India. On his way to Simla, Mr. Huq gave out to the representative of the United Press that he was going there to urge upon the Viceroy the necessity of summoning a Round Table Conference representing different interests and communities in India. Later news is that he urged it upon the Viceroy. Can the Viceroy remain without listening to the Premier of the great country and Province of Bengal? It is [*sic* for has] also become known that Mr. N. R. Sarkar, the ex-Finance Minister of Bengal, has also [had] an interview with the Viceroy. But Sir N. R. Sarkar's whereabouts are unknown. Huq Sahib, we think, committed a blunder in not taking him as companion. Is Huq Sahib alone? Is Mr. Huq alone moving in the matter? No, it is understood, that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Premier of the five rivers, is also with him. According [to] the Simla correspondent of the *Hindustan Standard*, their mission is great. It is said that their mission is to give effect to the resolution that was passed [by] the Bombay Leaders' Conference, which has already been rejected. In other words, to establish a national and powerful government at the Centre. Of course, it is a news circulated by the *Hindustan Standard*. If it is true, we can strongly say that government, be it national or non-national, if it is established without Mr. Jinnah—that is Muslim League, that will not [be] lasting, nor can it last. Muslim League, with the help of ten crores of Muslims and seven crores of Scheduled-Castes, will



smash that future government on the rocks of the Simla Hills.

AZAD'S VIEW

The daily *Azad* (Bengali), Calcutta, in its leader dated the 14th May [?], 1941, also condemns the Congress-Hindu Sabha press for giving undue prominence to Mr. Huq's moves. It deprecates Mr. Huq's move and says that nothing can and should be done on the back of the Muslim League and its leader—Mr. Jinnah.

<sup>1</sup>The *Madeena* (Bengali), 16 May 1941 [?].

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*S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 565/21-2*

NAGMATIA HOUSE,  
GAYA,  
12 May 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned from Bihar Sharif (Patna) last night. I hope you must have learnt how in Bihar Sharif since 27th last, the anti-Pakistan day, the anti-Pakistan procession was, after dispersing, organized in batches of thousands and began looting Muslim houses and killing Muslims including small children and old women. This state of affairs continued for many days and spread into the interior but the authorities did not act as they ought to have. People say the local S.D.O. (a Hindu) is responsible for all these. Had the authorities taken strong measures in the beginning, such appalling loss of life and property would not have occurred. The Muslim League is doing all possible in the circumstances to help the Muslim sufferers.

Dr. Rajendra P[rasa]d has also arrived from Wardha and is touring in the *ilaga*. The situation is under control now but the repetition of attack in interior is always feared. Wherever encountered, the Muslims, though in hopelessly less numbers, have given a good account of themselves but they have not been able to save their homes from arson and loot. The number of Muslims killed is about 22 including many women and children of very tender age.

The government must make people in majority responsible for the protection of those in minority and must arm the minorities for

self-defence. This is an organized movement to wipe-off or terrorize the Muslim minority everywhere and it is now necessary that Muslim League should take a timely warning from the outburst, and must be ready for all eventualities.

Hope you are quite well now,

Yours sincerely,  
LATIF

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*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/68-9*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
12 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your kind inquiry re[garding] Bihar Sharif and its rural area riot-ravages situation. Your telegram dated 10th May<sup>1</sup> was received on the 11th May. I have been to the affected area again [*sic*] for the second time since the morning of Saturday the 10th May and came back [on the] 11th night.

I have already despatched to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan a brief report dated the 7th May and an express letter of the same date requesting [him] to sanction, if possible, from [the] All India Muslim [League] Fund Rs. 700 towards [the] cost of relief of refugees who have assembled [*sic*] in large number from affected and attacked villages, and who are about 200 in number. I have requested Nawabzada to kindly oblige me by sending [a] copy of my first brief report to you as I am too much worried at present.

I have no mental peace since the outbreak of this serious rioting, although it is confined in one part of one sub-division only. Still Patna and Gaya are full of wild, vague and panicky rumours; tension and feeling of hatred are running high everywhere, whether in town or rural areas. God alone can save unprotected and unprovocative Muslims in Bihar. For we are not only in hopeless minority but are [also] really very poor and helpless. The flammable materials are everywhere; only the spark can be spread at any moment [*sic*].



Therefore, there is no feeling of the sense of security [sic] anywhere or in any one community. More so in Muslims.

I shall send you report on the situation later again. This is only a brief statement of mine which the local dailies of Patna have refused to publish. Even the *Star of India*, Calcutta, has distorted it most deplorably. However, I have handed [it] over to His Excellency personally and to his Adviser in charge of Law and Order. They are therefore fully acquainted with [the] Muslim feelings. We want to live peacefully in Bihar without sacrifice [sic for sacrificing] our ideal and our determination. We want to restore fellow feeling and good sense of responsibilities of citizenship. For sometime I feel [that] public processions of all sorts shall have to be suspended; even mass meetings, otherwise there is always a danger of serious reaction. The brunt and burden is on me and if I make a reasonable request in the interest of my community, it shall be, I hope, favourably considered. We are well able to cope with the situation; only financial assistance is all that is needed. I hope you are by now fully recovered. May *Allah* keep you well. I may add that Government is fully convinced that Muslims were the aggrieved [party] but Government was slow to realize the gravity of the situation in the beginning.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

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*Azad Samdani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/107-9*

HARDOI, OUDH,  
13 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I feel it a duty to bring to your notice that the mischievous and mean designs of the sister community are now surpassing all limits and on the verge of breaking the self-restraint and patience of Muslims.

Riots are spreading fast from place to place and they are

preparing ground to make it a country-wide conflagration. Every class of Hindus is at the back of this evil and actively taking part in it. Now they do not consider it necessary even to set up a cause for riots. The most dangerous feature of the situation is that in vast numbers Hindus are converting to Sikhism simply because the Sikhs can keep *kirpan* and sword as a religious emblem. The position is that Section 144 is promulgated in almost every district. Musalman is quite empty-handed and Hindu, under the guise of a Sikh, is fully armed. They carry processions through Muslim *mohallas* and recite provocative slogans and poems. If, even after this, the Musalmans keep silent, they take the initiative and either attack them or compel them to come to the front. The Government is turning a deaf ear to the representations of the Muslims and it appears as if the Britishers are deliberately allowing the Hindus to commit acts which are decidedly against law and order. The Government are simply unmindful of the delicate plight of the Musalmans with the result that the Muslims are crushed from two sides, viz. (1) under Section 144 and Curfew Order; (2) under the armed attacks of Hindus.

To be frank, the Musalmans are being kept in check and made to observe the existing law (extremely defective though it is) simply out of the love and respect which they owe to you. Now it is becoming extremely difficult and is likely to go out of control unless effective steps are immediately taken to remedy the highly grave situation. Pray find some solution at once. Draw the attention of the Government immediately; otherwise the Muslims having been hard pressed will ignore the League commandments and themselves adopt measures, in self-defence, to safeguard their lives and property.

I have very briefly put the situation before you. The Musalmans are silent simply in obedience to your orders but if even now, you do not take [*sic* for make] an immediate move, they will be compelled to settle their affairs with the Government and the sister community, in whatever way they possibly can.

Quaid-i-Azam! Pray do pay attention to the report of a humble soldier of yours and boldly, fearlessly and courageously put the whole case before the Government and do your best to get a fair judgement. In the alternative, I would request you to permit your highly perturbed and anxious nation to take whatever



measures they think proper in safeguarding their life and very existence.

I shall await a reply to this letter on my Hardoi address.

Your respectful soldier,  
AZAD SAMDANI

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*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/217*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
13 May 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I have received your two letters of the 3rd of May.<sup>1</sup>

Yes it is very sad, some of our Leaguers are easily moved and make ill-considered and irresponsible utterances and sometimes they are influenced by their immediate personal consideration. That should not dishearten us, specially a veteran like yourself.

I am very glad that Sayed and others, with your full support and cooperation, are carrying on work of organising the Musalmans of Sind. I should like to know really what happened to the election of Sukkur and Shikarpur. I have not yet received the copies of the Acts of which I reminded you and Mr. Rashdi.

With regard to Mullick [H. S. Malik] in America, I have moved in the matter. As regards your other letter of the 3rd of May about Mr. S. M. Ahmed, the matter requires very careful consideration as to what the Muslim League can do to assist him financially. But it is quite clear that his activities should be fully supported by us, and that he should be supplied with all literature. I would get in touch with him directly but you should also remain fully in touch with him. I would also like to know what financial assistance he would expect from India.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See Nos. 361 and 362.

384

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 199/67-8*

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
13 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been meaning to write to you for a long time but could not do so owing to my preoccupations in connection with the University examinations and the marking of answer books. The reports about your illness caused me deep anxiety. The subsequent reports, however, have been reassuring. Your sojourn in the hills, I hope, has restored you to good health. The prayers of millions are with you that you may live for many more years to guide the Muslim nation safely to its goal!

You might have heard about the happenings at the meeting of the University Court on April 2 and the ugly and unseemingly [*sic* for unseemly] demonstration staged by a clique of mischief-makers led by such men as Dr. Zakir Hussain, who has been aptly described as the fifth columnist of the Congress among the Muslims, and Zafar Umar, K. B. Habibullah and others. Dr. Zia Uddin's success, I may tell you, represents a signal defeat of the Hyderabad coterie led by Sir Akbar Hydari, the Sikander Hyat junta from the Punjab, and the Bhopal clique. A foolish attempt to drag in the name of H.E.H. the Nizam, who is above all these differences, was made but it fell through. I have learnt at close quarters that Dr. Zia Uddin refuses to submit to the bullying tactics of Hydari and Sikander. But he willingly submits to you for, as he says, you are the mouthpiece of Muslim India. With your support behind him, he says, he is prepared to face any opposition. I will write to you in detail about the whole matter in my next [letter]. For the present let me tell you that he has already won the goodwill of the students and a large section of the staff.

I hope you have received a copy of my book *The Indian Constitutional Tangle*. The publisher, I believe, has done well, for the printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired. I would very much like to have your opinion of the book in a few words. I am now preparing the manuscript of your speeches which the same publisher proposes to



bring out. You kindly promised me to send me typed copies of the speeches which you have with you. To save time I would suggest that you may kindly send me the speeches as they are. I will get them re-typed and return them very soon. I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly see to it as early as possible.

With regards,

Yours very sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

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*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/69-70*

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
14 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already dropped you a letter.<sup>1</sup> I am taking the liberty to write again, as I want to draw your attention to some recent developments. I enclose<sup>2</sup> herewith a cutting from the *Hindustan Times* giving a press interview of Mr. Fazlul Huq. This is another occasion on which Mr. Huq seems to have lost his moorings and talk[ed] glibly as is his wont.

The very first sentence shows his puerility. He is jubilant to think that he has left a very good impression on the Viceroy. What a thing to be proud of! His reference to the Sapru-Jinnah correspondence shows that he harbours some personal grudge. Were it not for the fact that people don't take him seriously, his personal reference to you would cause the deepest indignation. We thought that he would learn a lesson from the stupid 'unity move' which he launched in December last. But it seems he is past praying for. Now he comes forward with another absurd suggestion for a Round Table Conference and has the temerity to say that, whatever be the attitude of the Muslim League as such, a large section of the League would cooperate in the formation of a national government. What does it mean? It can only mean that he is banking on some weathercocks in the Muslim League like him to disobey the mandates of the League and go in for fat jobs. His meeting with Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan at Meerut also gives rise to suspicion. Nawab Sahib, I am sorry to say, has always

shown an inclination to have a compromise with the Congress even at the cost of vital principles. These developments are rather disquieting.

I believe the time has come to call an emergency meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee so that the attitude of the League might be clarified beyond doubt, and disgruntled men like Mr. Huq bound down. Or at least you may issue a statement clarifying the position. But of course it is for you to take the decision.

May I repeat my request for copies of your speeches?

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>See No. 384.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 386

*M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 261/27-8*

KARACHI,  
14 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am extremely grateful to you for your letter of the 8th instant.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that I have been returned unopposed to this office of Mayoralty.

As far as Sind is concerned, there is a sort of stalemate. Our Assembly Party is being depleted everyday due to promises or threats from the Ministers. Most of these people, who had recently joined us, did not do so on account of their conviction but it was to get advantage out of the League Ministers.

As regards the joint electorate in Shikarpur and Sukkur, they passed off quietly at the first place and at the second place, three-fourth[s] of Muslim candidates had withdrawn. But after the visit of the Premier and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Sukkur, they have agreed to seek re-election by nomination. As I had stated before, the Muslim League organisation requires to be strengthened in Sind and, for this purpose, we require workers and funds. Mr. G. M. Sayed is doing his very best in this regard. My hands are more than full with the League and other activities in Karachi. I request you to write to Sir



Haji Abdoola Haroon and Sheikh Abdul Majid who are now absolutely free to do this work.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. H. GAZDER

<sup>1</sup>No. 372.

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*M. H. Saiyid to J. G. Laithwaite*

*F. 498/6*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
*14 May 1941*

Dear Sir Laithwaite,

Mr. Jinnah has received certain information from America through Sir Abdoola Haroon, with his covering letter, and has asked me to send the papers on to you to place them before His Excellency the Viceroy for his consideration.

I am enclosing<sup>1</sup> herewith the original letter from Sir Abdoola Haroon and the annexures to it. Please return them at your convenience and oblige.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,  
SAIYID

Sir J. G. Laithwaite,  
Private Secretary to the Viceroy

<sup>1</sup>See No. 359.

388

*M. A. Jinnah to Roger Lumley**F. 498/52*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
14 May 1941

Dear Sir Roger,

I am taking the liberty of enclosing<sup>1</sup> herewith a letter from the Honorary Secretary, Bombay Provincial Muslim League. This paper, *Janambhumi*, has published false and imaginary reports in the course of the last few days which are, to say the least, highly undesirable and calculated to create trouble between the two communities—first, my communication with Moulvi Obedullah Sindhi; second, my letter to Sir Currimbhoy, and lastly my having sent telegrams to *The Times*, London, Mr. Amery and Members of Parliament to the effect that in the event of Sapru recommendations being accepted, rioting and disorder will ensue in India, and also my threatening the British Government with the Muslim boycott. This is pure fiction.

I do not remember having met Moulvi Obedullah Sindhi, much less having had any communication with him either in writing or otherwise. I have never written any letter to Sir Currimbhoy, which [has been] given publicity in this paper, *Janambhumi*, nor have I sent any communication to *London Times*, Mr. Amery or members of Parliament about Sapru proposals.

I draw your attention to it as I think it is a very serious thing for a paper like *Janambhumi* to do so, as I understand it enjoys a fairly wide circulation. I have no doubt it will receive your careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.



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*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/5-8

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

14 May 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I believe the special messenger sent from here by H[ydari] must have put you in possession of all the facts regarding the political situation here, and also you know who is the chief man, or who has caused all this trouble in these critical times, I mean B[ahadur] Y[ar] J[ung].

I am afraid unless he mends his ways and things improve, drastic action will have to be taken one day against him in order to put a stop to all this mischief.

I trust you, as my personal friend, will do your best in making him see things in proper light and also to reprimand him to be careful and to give him sound advice to behave better in future. But if he cannot accept your advice, that being in his own interests (as you know he is a fire-brandchap), then the best thing for him will be to keep himself [sic] aloof from politics at least till the War is over. As you know I don't want him to suffer for nothing as far as possible.

However, any help you may be able to give me, need I assure you, will be greatly appreciated by me and my P[resident] of C[ouncil].

Hope your health is improving by the change and that we shall meet some day in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

MOAK

[MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN]

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*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

F. 335/204

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
15 May 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th May.<sup>1</sup> Many thanks for it. I

am very glad to hear that Begum Sahiba and Akbar are doing very well. I note that you intend going to Mussoorie and leave Delhi on the 15th.

Yes I saw your statement, but I don't know whether the full text was published in the papers here or not. You say that you are sending me the cutting of your statement published in the *Statesman*, but I find that you have forgotten to enclose it. I should like to see the full text of your statement.

I thank you for your sending me the copies of the resolutions passed at Madras and a list of the members of the Council of the All India Muslim League and also your various suggestions, which I shall certainly bear in mind.

As regards the situation in Iraq I can quite understand the grave concern felt by the Musalmans regarding developments there; but what is it that you exactly suggest should be done by us in the matter? What do the Leaguers, who have been to see you, suggest we should do? My merely drawing the attention of the Viceroy to the fact that the situation in Iraq is causing great consternation among the Muslims is rather vague. However, I am thinking over it very gravely.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 376.

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*M. A. Jinnah to P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar*

*F. 183/38*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
15 May 1941

Dear Mr. Mudaliar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th inst[ant]<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. I should like very much to see the letter of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Sir Patro. At any rate you can let me have a copy of it. I do not quite see why Sir Patro thinks it delicate to have the letter published when truth and justice demand it, having regard to the way in which we have been attacked, specially myself.



Please convey my kindest regards to Mr. Nathan and also to our other friends.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 369.

392

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/144*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
15 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing<sup>1</sup> cuttings and translations from the Bengal Muslim press on Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest mission to Simla. I had a talk with Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. He unequivocally condemned and deprecated this action of Mr. Fazlul Huq and said that it was primarily motivated by Mr. Huq's opposition to Mr. Jinnah. But Mr. Suhrawardy said that he did not take Mr. Huq seriously as he was confident that Mr. Huq himself will not stick to his plans for a long time. He will soon shift his ground and change his mind.

Mr. Suhrawardy expressed his complete ignorance about the plans or proposals of Mr. Huq.

Bengal solidly stands by you. We are, tonight, passing a number of resolutions on the subject which I will communicate to you tomorrow.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 393.

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 204/145-6

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
16 May 1941

## HUQ-SIKANDER MOVE

The following resolutions were passed in a meeting of the Working Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League under the Presidency of Moulana Nazir Ahmed Choudhury, Director, the *Madeena*, a Bengalee journal of Calcutta.

- A. The Calcutta District Muslim League views with resentment and disapproval the reported interview of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq given to the press at Meerut and the statement published in the *Statesman* of the 15th May, in which he is alleged to have made formal proposals for a change in the Central and Provincial Government of India to the Viceroy and making press propaganda for the same without consulting the All India Muslim League, the only representative national organization of the Indian Musalmans capable of delivering the goods.

In the opinion of this Committee this individualistic action and purely personal move of Mr. Fazlul Huq is positively detrimental to Muslim solidarity and Muslim interest at this juncture and the Musalmans of Bengal and India will never be bound by any commitments made by Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Sikander Hyat or any other person without the authority and approval of the All India Muslim League.

## FAITH IN LEAGUE LEADERSHIP

- B. This League expresses its complete faith in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, and warns the Government of India and His Majesty's Government that they should not be misled by any individualistic action or proposal of person or persons who claim to speak on behalf of the Muslim nation over the head of the All India Muslim League. The Muslims repudiate their position and condemn entertainment or encouragement



of such individualistic moves by the Government as deliberate attempts by the Government and the enemies of Islam to break Muslim solidarity and torpedo the Muslim nation.

This League emphatically declares that the Muslims of India are an organized nation with one organization, one leader, one flag and one goal and only their accredited organization and leader can speak on their behalf. No other person has any right to speak on their behalf.

RAGHIB AHSAN

[PS.] This resolution has been published in this morning's Bengal papers.

R. A.

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*S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/145*

ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
16 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I pray you to give an earnest thought to the enclosed. As you know, I have, during the last few years, in my own humble way, tried to support the cause of the [Muslim] League, and so I hope you will not misunderstand me when I have ventured to suggest a compromise at this stage with the other parties on the basis of conceding to the Muslims the substance of your demand.

I am not in the habit of raising an alarm, but allow me to say that your Madras Resolution has saddened some of your best friends, including me. The Pakistan idea has served its purpose; it has roused the necessary political consciousness among the Muslims. But that consciousness now needs to run into practical channels. And I suggest to you that if you should find that the Congress, in particular, is willing to consider in consultation with you the formula advanced in the circular, you will do well to welcome such a move.

I have too great a regard for you to see you handled roughly by your critics, and I am afraid that that will be your experience if the League is allowed to persist in an overstatement of its case any

longer. As I have made no secret of my views to you, I may repeat that the Pakistan scheme in its latest form will neither establish Muslim states, so called, get rid of the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh problem, nor afford security to the Muslim minorities in the proposed independent Hindu India unless a wholesale exchange of population is effected which no one favours. I am not the only person who holds this view. A compromise on the basis of complete separation is unthinkable, and I, therefore, entreat you to give your best thought to the proposal. It will save faces on either side. The proposal is a compromise between two extreme views and should be worthy of your kindest consideration.

Should replies favourable to the formula be received by me from leaders of the other parties, I shall, without waiting for their publication in the journal, at once communicate them to you for your consideration, if you so desire.

I hope you have improved in your health.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF

*Enclosure to No. 394*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/146*

ADIKMET,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
15 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The unfortunate and growing cleavage between the Muslim League and the Congress is causing immeasurable damage to the progress of India; and I think it is high time that earnest minds in the land strive and co-operate in finding a solution—not a patchwork compromise but an agreeable and permanent solution—by bringing about some sort of harmony between their respective ideologies and programmes.

Obstacles in the way of a rapprochement are of diverse character, and one in your position could not be unaware of them. But there are two obstacles which we shall have to get over at all costs. One is the ideology which the Muslim League has developed, aiming at the partition of the country; the other is the opposition to that ideology. It will serve no useful purpose to bring to mind the conditions under which the League ideology took its birth and thrived. The fact stands



that it is now a force to reckon with. There was a time when it could have easily taken a different shape but opportunities were missed allowing it to grow more and more rigid in its form. I, who knew its trend from the beginning, while supporting the cause of Muslim solidarity through my publications—the *Cultural Future of India* (1938) and the *Muslim Problem in India* (1939), was particularly anxious to see that this newly growing Muslim outlook was set against an all-India background by dwelling on the need for an alternate constitution such as would "allow none to gain an upper hand over the other, and yet afford them all every moral urge to care for each other and work together for the lasting good of their common motherland and thereby make each party a trustee for every other party. But the atmosphere was not helpful.

The 'Pakistan' idea of the Muslim League has its strong as well as its weak points and no one, I fancy, has drawn the attention of Mr. Jinnah to its weaknesses with greater earnestness than I have in the course of personal discussion and correspondence. That idea now is part of the League's creed—a logical end as it might seem in the absence of any direct attempt at compromise. But I have not lost hope of readjustment; and in this I seek your co-operation.

The primary impulse, as you may be knowing, which ranged the Muslim League sternly against the federal part in particular of the Government of India Act of 1935 and engendered in its mind the idea of partition, was the fear of a strong centre where the Muslims would be submerged by non-Muslims. That fear must be removed if a lasting settlement is to be reached. But it is for the majority party to show how this could be done. For aught I know, it seems to me that a solution is possible if at least the substance of the Muslim League demand is conceded. Shorn of its separatist touch or character, that demand amounts to no more than a strong desire for the utmost freedom from an external centre in the internal administration of the provinces in the North-West and the North-East of India where the Muslims are in the majority. If that is the actual objective, it should not be difficult for the League to favour an arrangement under which those provinces, as constituent units in a new constitution, are assured, equally with other units, the maximum or the utmost possible autonomy consistent with the safety of India as a whole. This will argue that the residuary powers shall vest in the Units and that the Centre should be such as not to allow any particular party to dominate other parties. Such a plan will afford to the contending parties the substance of their respective demands—sense of security and sovereign status to each unit on the one hand and



political unity for the whole of India on the other. If this were possible, and I see no reason why it should not be, then the question of effective and adequate constitutional safeguards for the minorities in constituent units—the only other basic demand of the League—would not present any serious difficulty. Details, of course, will take time to settle. But if the leading parties in the land agree on some such principles of settlement, as indicated above, the present deadlock might easily be resolved by setting up an interim composite government at the centre and like composite governments in all provinces for the duration of the War. The Indian Princes may be invited to enter into the picture on agreed terms at the time of framing a new constitution.

Such is, in broad outline, my view of a possible settlement. Other views may as well be advanced with equal conviction; but I feel certain that no agreement is likely to be lasting unless it is conceived on an all-India basis. Ideas may differ on what maximum autonomy for a unit should mean and what a centre should be like where the Muslims could feel absolutely safe. But the two ideas must go together and blend in a manner agreeable to all the parties concerned. To attain this end and to mobilize the opinion of leaders in all camps in favour of reaching a settlement at the earliest possible moment, I have thought of organizing a monthly magazine, called *Rapprochement*, to be issued from Madras early in July 1941.

The first number will contain all replies to the view I have ventured to advance in this circular, which, I may inform you, I have addressed to a select number of leaders of every party and also to a few gentlemen who belong to no party. My own contribution will consist of such analysis of replies as will show what agreement is possible on the lines proposed, as also where further elucidation will be necessary, in order that the next number coming in August might clarify issues for possible joint discussion between accredited representatives of the different organizations with a view to a settlement.

Let us hope and pray that through this combined endeavour, some way may be found for a happy solution. I shall feel grateful to you if you will be good enough to favour me with your views on the subject, if possible, by the first of June in order to facilitate publication in time.

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. LATIF



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*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 203/41*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
16 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you sometime ago that I intended to pay you a visit and requested you to send me your programme. I have just returned from Simla where I had an interview with the Viceroy and I would like to place before you a few more points to enable you to come to some decision. I made it quite clear to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Congress is gambling. They are putting forward conditions with the explicit intention that the negotiations may breakdown; on the other hand, the Muslim League is putting forward conditions with the intention of co-operation. If in the absence of the Congress, we have sole responsibility of peace and order, we should also have power, but there are a number of details which I would like to mention to you. I got the impression that the Viceroy wishes to have some settlement, but he will not do so without the Muslim League. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know your programme till the 15th June, 1941. The Viceroy also expressed his wishes and sympathy for your health.

We did not have any talk about the Railway Memorandum which you sent to the Viceroy, but I understand that the Memorandum is being carefully examined by the Railway Board and Sir Andrew [Gourlay] Clow<sup>1</sup> himself.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor

<sup>1</sup>Member for Communications, Viceroy's Executive Council.

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*M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad**F. 199/71*

NANDI HILL STATION,  
BANGALORE,  
16 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I have read your book, *The Indian Constitutional Tangle*, with very great interest. Let me congratulate you for your effort. I think you have put our case very well.

Please let me know what steps you are taking for its wide circulation and broadcast.

I shall be reaching Bombay by the first week of June and I would like you kindly to send me at least one hundred copies of the book by [*sic* for at] my Bombay address.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

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*Bihar Provincial Muslim Students' Federation to M. A. Jinnah**F. 769/87-92*

RAMNA, BANKIPORE,  
PATNA,  
16 May 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of the Bihar Provincial Muslim Students' Federation, we are forwarding to you full details of the attack of riotous Hindu mob on village Ajaipore, P.S. Bihar, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna. It will give you a full idea of the atrocities perpetrated against Muslim inhabitants of the village. You can rest assured that the facts are true and accurate and have been personally investigated into [*sic*] by responsible members of the Federation.

As for the trouble that took place in Bihar Sharif proper, we need



only state that the Hindus had been organising themselves for some time past in a systematic manner to carry on loot, murder and destruction against the Muslims of the place. They took out an anti-Pakistan procession on the 27th of April 1941, to which they invited Hindus from neighbouring and even distant villages, who came fully armed for the occasion. The total number of participants was never less than 25 to 30 thousand. They broke into houses, damaged the mosque, destroyed a part of Madrasa Azizia and killed and assaulted the Muslims. In some places the Muslims tried to defend themselves by firing blank shots. But on hearing this the District Magistrate issued orders confiscating the guns of the entire population. This rendered the people entirely helpless, especially when it was realised that though the mob was [*sic* for had been] for several days carrying on organised raids, the police did not, at any single place, open fire on them. Then again they were always late in arriving at the scene of rioting, so that the mob almost always escaped after having done considerable damage to life and property. This also prevented arrests, and, what is more important, conclusive evidence against those who participated in the rioting and have been arrested now that the situation has come under control. In view of this the Muslim League ought to take in hand the task of giving legal assistance to the Muslims and the prosecution.

Another interesting fact about the administration is that even the mounted police guards were deprived of their rifles by the District Magistrate. Muslim public opinion is very much indignant against the District Magistrate. The Muslim League must agitate for departmental action against the said officer.

#### COMMUNAL RIOT AT VILLAGE AJAIPORE, SUB-DIVISION BIHAR

When the trouble of [*sic* for at] Bihar Sharif abated, the mob turned its direction towards the neighbouring villages doing considerable damage to fields and cultivation [*sic*]. Close to village Ajaipore is another village Dharampur—an entirely Hindu habitation. Trouble was fomented by the son of the wealthy zamindar of that place who collected a large body of Hindus through leaflets and instigated them to loot and kill the Muslims. On the 30th of April, the Muslims of Ajaipore got scent that the Hindus would be raiding their village some time in the course of the day for which purpose they were collecting in thousands at Dharampur. People of Ajaipore actually saw Hindus gathering at Dharampur from their housetops. After some time it was observed that the mob proceeded towards another village close by, Lakhi Chak. There they killed one male Muslim



and ransacked four or five Muslim houses of the village, so much so that even Hindu women took part in the performance and shared the spoils. It was fortunate that most of the Muslim females of Lakhi Chak had, in anticipation of the trouble, gone over to Ajaipore.

When the attack on Lakhi Chak was over and Muslim houses of the place had been burnt and destroyed, the mob dispersed for a while and it was surmised that the attack would not take place the same day. However, as a precautionary step all the females of Ajaipore were kept in one house and all the males continued watching developments from housetops. After a while the Hindus were again seen gathering at Dharampur in large numbers, as also towards the west of village Ajaipore in the fields and cultivation [*sic*], the combined strength being estimated at several thousands. The mob that had collected at Dharampur attacked another village Ajnaura this time, where there are hardly 3 or 4 Muslim houses. There they killed two Muslims, and having burnt and destroyed their houses, proceeded with shouts of *jai jai* towards Ajaipore and overwhelmed it from all sides at about 2 p.m. The mob at this time numbered not less than 10 thousand. They showered brickbats on the houses for a considerable time; so well-prepared were they for the occasion [that they] badly damaged the roofs of the houses. There were hardly more than 20 or 30 male Muslims in the village. But they had fortunately two guns with them. When it was felt that any other method was of no avail and this vast swarm-like mob was bent upon rushing into the house where all the females had been lodged, the villagers fired from their housetops, killing about four or five out of the mob. All these dead bodies were removed by the mob itself, which took to its heels when it was confronted with the firing. The Muslims were terror-stricken and passed sleepless night after this event. But there was no attack in the night. The next morning, i.e. on the 1st of May 1941, the Hindus were observed collecting again at Dharampur in even larger numbers than previously. They were also collecting in batches in fields adjacent to the village.

In the meantime, news of the trouble had somehow reached Bihar Sharif and a Hindu Sub-Inspector arrived on the spot with a handful of constables. Although the Muslims related to him, in detail, the brutal attack of the previous day not only on this village but also on Lakhi Chak and Ajnaura, explained to him the danger lurking in the neighbourhood, and implored him to summon an armed force from the Sub-Division, he did not pay any heed to their request and went away to Bihar Sharif leaving behind about a dozen constables who were all Hindus. Hardly a couple of hours had passed when the



Hindus, numbering not less than 15 thousand, attacked this village having hardly 25 houses in it. The constables immediately disappeared. The Hindus entered into the village and rushed upon houses in mad fury. Firing was again resorted to by the Muslims from the house in which they had all collected. This time also some four of the rioters were killed. But unfortunately some Muslim men, women and children, who were very much upset by the happenings, relied upon the sympathy of their Hindu fellow-villagers and sought protection in their houses. There they were all butchered ruthlessly by the Hindu fellow-villagers acting in league with the Hindu mob. The number of the Muslims thus killed was 13, including three men, six women and four children. Among these were an old man of 70 and a child of a year and a half. Though Muslims were firing their guns cautiously, it was feared that if the Military force, which arrived at the critical moment under the leadership of Mr. Abul Khair, DSP, [had] come a few minutes later, the Muslims would have all been done to death. For they were almost short of cartridges. The DSP arrested a considerable number of Hindus from Dharampur and the adjoining villages, and dead bodies of the Muslims were recovered from Hindu houses as well as the village lanes. But it is a strange commentary on the efficiency of the administration that the dead bodies of the rioters could not be recovered so that detection might be facilitated. The figure of the Muslims killed in the adjoining villages of Lakhi Chak and Ajnaura is 1 killed and others [*sic*] injured and 2 killed and others [*sic*] injured, respectively.

Village Ajaipore now presents a very desolate appearance. Almost all the houses have been burnt to ashes and even the most necessary articles have been taken away by the Hindus. Except for a few, almost all Muslims of the village have taken refuge in Bihar Sharif. In village Palwalpore, P.S. Ekangar Sarai, two Muslims have been killed and injured and one mosque has been entirely wiped out of existence. This is just one part of the ghastly drama of loot, arson, murder and destruction undertaken by the Hindus in Bihar Sharif Sub-Division of the District of Patna.

The villages affected are:

Kapalia, Marhi and Bain—P.S. Salao

Ajnaura, Ajaipore, Noorsarai, Lakhi Chak, Chooti Dargah, Chandwara, Malikchak, Saidi, Sultanpore, Sakoonat, Imadpore, Sherpore and Mohammadpore—P.S. Bihar Parwarpore and Bhadaul—P.S. Ekangar Sarai

Daudpore—P.S. Chandi

Asthawan and Desna—P.S. Asthawan.

The death toll in the whole of Bihar Sharif Sub-Division, according to Government report, is 23 Muslims and 7 Hindus. The Muslims killed the Hindus only in self-defence. The number of those seriously injured is near about hundred, among whom are women of 60 and 70 years of age and tender children of 6 to 10 years of age.

Although it is now more than a fortnight since the riots broke out, the atmosphere is not yet normal and Muslims from interior villages are thronging in large numbers to the Bihar Sharif Town. They stand in need of urgent and immediate relief which must be adequate enough to restore them to a normal state of living. The Muslim League of the Province has sent out a few workers to give relief to the sufferers. But that is much too inadequate for the occasion. The Provincial Muslim Students' Federation has also started collecting funds for the purpose. But the total amount sent out by the Federation and the League for relief work hardly exceeds Rs. 350. Moreover, the work is not being systematically conducted. We would like to draw your attention to this slackness on the part of the League authorities. This negligence on their part may not only entail sufferings to the Muslims of Bihar Sharif Sub-Division but also means loss of political strength to the Muslim League. We are sure, with your quick grasp of things and your keen political vision, you would feel the necessity of taking prompt action in the matter.

Awaiting your bold lead,

We have the honour to be,  
BIHAR PROVINCIAL MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION

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*Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 393/2-4

SULAIMAN BUILDINGS,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
16 May 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum,*

It is now about two months and a half since our Pakistan Session and the constitution of our Rural Propaganda Committee. This was only a starting point for the programme we had set before us. I was



President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in 1939 when we submitted our Pakistan—Caliphate Scheme to the League Constitution Committee. In 1940, during the Lahore Session of the [Muslim] League, despite our best efforts, you were kept aloof from us. We rejoice that we found you among ourselves in 1941.

If during this intervening period since March last [year] we have been unable to report to you, it is because we have been under the full blitz of those elements who see their death-knell in the organisation of a League which should be responsible to you and not a tool in their hands.

They coaxed us, they wooed us, they threatened us; they tried every temptation and every terror that they could command; and now that they have failed, they are blackmailing us. You will see all this from a cutting of the C. & M.G. [*Civil & Military Gazette*] which I am attaching.<sup>1</sup> The gentleman who has dubbed us as "semi-educated" was, some time before, particularly anxious about our "safety". He invited us to tea in different groups about a dozen times. Very delicious tea! We were the "flower of the nation". We had an awful "responsibility" on our shoulders. The Premier had himself deputed him to say that he was anxious lest this "venomous communal propaganda" should pollute the fair land of the five rivers." Lest there should be communal riots like Dacca and Bombay. "Lest we might come to harm". But we were "wonderful youngmen". Our life was so valuable for the nation... Now we are "semi-educated", outcasts.

On top of all this is the difficulty of funds. As you know, the collection of funds from the masses requires a vast organisation and a sustained barrage of propaganda. This is what we are undertaking only now. Anyhow, organisation and propaganda both require funds first. The intelligentsia in this Province is not so rich, nor are they going to identify themselves fully with the League unless they are satisfied that it is Muslim League and not Unionist League. This requires success in our campaign first, which again needs funds. So we are only left with the vested interests. This resource we are tapping as best we can. But the difficulties are obvious.

The Secretary of the Muslim University Aligarh Muslim League, Mr. Anwar Ahmad Samdani, told me that he was given to understand by you that if a model League is established in one district of the Punjab, you will be prepared to finance us further.

We want to discuss this proposal with you personally as well as any contingency which might arise as a result of the hostility of the party in power.

In the present state of our finance it would be much easier for us if we could see you nearer Punjab. However, we should not delay.

We passed many an anxious day on account of your health. May *Allah* sustain you in your stand for His [*sic*] cause.

Victory and future are only for Islam!

MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI

M.A.

*Secretary,*

*Rural Propaganda Committee,*

*Punjab Muslim Students' Federation*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

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*Hasan Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 874/110-2*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

60 QUEEN'S WAY,  
NEW DELHI,  
16 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am, as you know, Chief Editor with the Orient Press of India Limited since the latter's inception in January last. This Muslim venture, the only one of its kind in India, is now reaching the end of its tether and I shall not be surprised if it closes down one of these days.

In the larger interests of the Muslim nation I deem it my duty to inform you, our Quaid-i-Azam, of this impending disaster. Disaster, because the Muslim nation in India loses its standing counsel before the latter had even time to prepare the case for submission before the bar of public opinion, and the nation finds itself once again in the same old unenviable position of a helpless eyewitness to its case going by default.

The prospect pains me to the core, for it has always been my fervent desire to see a Muslim news agency established in India and to have an opportunity to serve and organise the same. And I think I wrote to you about this time last year on the indispensability of such an agency for the Muslim press in India.



Intervention in the affairs of this concern, before the final crash comes, is no longer avoidable. Once that crash comes no amount of fresh effort is likely to succeed in view of the confidence that will have been lost. And nobody is competent to intervene save the saviour of Muslim India. This being a Muslim concern, started ostensibly to serve the interests of the Muslim nation in India, you, our Quaid-i-Azam, have reason to intervene as a matter of right.

What is needed is just a change of command, as it were, and everything may straighten out again. And if that is not possible the Directors of the company should be prevailed upon to sell the goodwill forthwith to those who may be willing to carry on, instead of obstinately barring the way of others to the detriment of the nation, and heading for certain doom which they have almost reached.

In case nobody relishes the idea of flogging this almost dead horse, I humbly volunteer to do the job; for I know it is not dead yet. And with twelve months' expenditure assured, and with the same inadequate team with which I am at present working, I hope, with faith in God and confidence in myself, to give this or any other news agency that momentum which is never likely to abate, gathering speed as it goes. That expenditure amounts approximately to Rs. 57,000 (recurring yearly expenses) plus Rs. 9,600 (expenses for extensive travelling in the first year) plus Rs. 2,000 (stationery etc.) plus Rs. 10,000 (telegraph deposit) plus Rs. 9,270 (typewriters, bicycles and furniture) plus a reserve bringing the total to the round sum of Rs. 1,00,000—actual expenditure may be less, not more, than Rs. 68,000 because typewriters, bicycles and furniture, though inadequate, are already in possession of this company and the money for "bearing telegraphic authority" has already been deposited with the Telegraph Department. But before accepting that responsibility I must satisfy myself that the amount has been deposited in the bank, that the company or whoever has in his hands the direction of affairs has absolute confidence in me and that I shall have unfettered discretion in pulling the company out of the mire in which it has landed itself.

I do not propose here to enter into details of how it all came about. The question before you as the leader of Muslim India is this: Can the nation afford to lose this much-needed weapon which is ever so indispensable in peace and war alike?

If she cannot, I think I have done my duty by drawing your attention to the gravity of the situation, while there is perhaps yet time to remedy things.

If, on the other hand, she can, I must ask your forgiveness for this rather rude intrusion on your attention.

Hope this finds you in the best of health,

I beg to remain,  
Respectfully and sincerely yours,  
HASAN AHMAD

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 204/151-2

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
16 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Here is the resolution<sup>1</sup> I mentioned in my letter of yesterday.<sup>2</sup> It was drafted by me. Mr. M. A. H. [Mirza Abol Hassan] Ispahani moved it. Maulana Hakim Mohammad Mohsin *Mohaddis* seconded it. Maulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry explained it. It was passed unanimously.

Mr. Syed Badruddoja, MLA, whole-heartedly supported the second part of the resolution, marked "B", and about "A" he took the position that we should first ascertain the real facts from Mr. Fazlul Huq. But Mr. Badruddoja was defeated.

It occurs to my mind that seeing the scandalous character and behaviour of Mr. Fazlul Huq, you should no more select him for the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. In case you decide to drop this rogue of Muslim politics, it will be advisable to select honourable Maulvi Tamiz-ud-Din Khan in his place. I suggest the following [names] from Bengal:

1. Maulana Akrum Khan
2. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy
3. Maulvi Tamiz-ud-Din Khan, M.A., B.L., Minister of Agriculture

Maulvi Tamiz-ud-Din Khan belongs to Faridpur. He was a leader of the non-co-operation movement and also one of the founders of the Proja Party in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1924.

He has been a member of the League since its foundation in 1906. He was elected to the Bengal Assembly on the League ticket. He is the staunchest supporter of Pakistan in Bengal. He attended the Patna,



Lahore and Madras sessions of the League. He has delivered over a dozen lectures in support of Pakistan.

His greatest merit is that besides being a staunch Leaguer, he has great hold on the Proja, being their champion for a long time in the Bengal Legislative Council of the Montford Reforms<sup>3</sup> days.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>See No. 393.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 392.

<sup>3</sup>Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms incorporated in the Government of India Act 1919.

## 401

*P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. H. Saiyid*

*F. 773/260*

15 GENERAL PATTERS ROAD,  
MADRAS,  
17 May 1941

My dear Saiyid,

I have received just to-day your letter of 16th<sup>1</sup> and our Quaid-i-Azam's of 15th instant.<sup>2</sup> I shall write to our leader on Monday after discussing with Sir Patro. I shall try to persuade him to give me a copy of [Tej Bahadur] Sapru's letter to him. What he told us when we asked for a copy of it was that it was a private letter that Sapru wrote to him in reply to his letter enquiring after Sapru's health. Therefore, he thought he would be betraying the trust reposed in him. Now, we shall make a further attempt and see whether we can get a copy.

As regards T. T. Krishnamachari, he was elected in the last general elections on non-Congress ticket by the South India Chamber of Commerce, defeating Mr. Jamal Mohammad. His success was possible because of the support given to him by the Kumararajah of Chettinad who is very influential in the S. I. [South India] Chamber of Commerce. After his election he was sitting on the opposition bench and was speaking now and then against the Congress Ministry; but in the main, he was supporting the Congress. He belongs to the same community as Mr. C. R. and Mr. K. Srinivasan. When the Congress went out of office he began to advocate openly the return of the

Congress. Since then his speeches have been definitely pro-Congress. I shall also try to send cuttings of his speeches to our leader. More in my next [letter].

Please convey the respectful regards of Mr. Nathan and myself to Quaid-i-Azam. With best wishes,

Yours ever sincerely,  
BALASUBRAMANYA MUDALIAR  
Managing Editor,  
The Sunday Observer Weekly

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>No. 391.

## 402

### *Resolutions passed by Musalmans of Narsinghpur (Copy to M. A. Jinnah)*

*F. 826/74-5*

*17 May 1941*

1. This meeting of the Musalmans of Narsinghpur expresses its deepest sympathies with the unfortunate victimised Musalmans of Gotegaon who are subjected to every sort of humiliation and boycott by the local Hindus. This meeting, while holding the Hindus of Gotegaon to be solely responsible for the present communal disturbances, urges upon the Govt. to give all protection to the lives and property of the Muslims at Gotegaon, which are in grave danger owing to the highly prejudiced and rank communal attitude of the Hindus towards the handful of Muslims who are hardly 350 in all as against 5000 Hindus of the place.
2. (a) This meeting further urges upon the Divisional Officers that since there have been innumerable acts of tyranny and atrocity done [*sic*] by the Hindus of Gotegaon on the handful of Muslims and Police investigations have already been made against mischievous Hindus concerned, therefore, prosecutions in all the cases so far investigated should immediately be put up in courts for trial thereby giving satisfaction to the Muslims of Gotegaon who are still living in a reign of terror.  
(b) This meeting further demands that a Government pleader should be appointed to conduct all the cases against the Hindus



accused of Goteagaon just as all the Burhanpur riot cases were entrusted to the Public Prosecutor at Khandwa.

3. This meeting of the Musalmans of Narsinghpur appeals to the Provincial Muslim League C.P. & Berar to express practical sympathies for the much-oppressed Musalmans of Goteagaon, who are victimised by the Hindus of that place, and further make immediate necessary enquiries into the whole matter and render every possible help which is so urgently needed for the poor unfortunate Muslim victims of the place.

Passed unanimously.

MOHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN  
President,  
Narsinghpur Muslim League

## 403

*Abul Bayan Azad to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>*

F. 335/205  
[Original in Urdu]

JAMIA MASJID,  
DELHI,  
17 May 1941

Respected General Secretary,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

The Working Committee, Provincial Muslim League, Delhi, passed the following resolution on 16 May 1941. Necessary action may please be initiated in this connection:

The situation prevailing in Iraq, Syria and other Muslim countries has created deep unrest amongst the Muslims of India. The Working Committee of Provincial Muslim League, Delhi, expresses in unequivocal terms that there is an unbreakable bond between the Muslims of India and other Muslim countries.

The Muslims of India would help the Muslim countries against any power which tries to deprive them of their freedom or makes any attempt to desecrate their holy places. The Muslims of India have sympathy with all the Muslim countries and they pray to *Allah* to save them from the

clutches of non-Muslim powers.

The Working Committee, Delhi Provincial Muslim League, requests the General Secretary of All India Muslim League to forward this resolution to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah so that he may know the views of Delhi Muslims.

ABUL BAYAN AZAD  
*Office Secretary*

<sup>1</sup>Liaquat Ali Khan forwarded the letter in original to Jinnah on 19.5.1941.

## 404

*Nazir Ahmad Choudhry to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 250/1-2*

CALCUTTA,  
17 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

Let me trouble you for a while. I think you have seen the mischievous move of Mr. Fazlul Huq. I do not like to suggest how to pull him down now. Whatever we have done, I understand, has been sent to you. I am going to ask you not to take Mr. Huq into your Cabinet. So I have to revise my previous suggestion in the following manner:

1. Maulana Mohammad Akrum Khan
2. Masud Ali Khan Panni, MLA, Karatia, Chittagong

or

Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, MLA

As regards the third member, I would have asked you to take Khan Bahadur Mohammad Abdul Momen; but he is now not a staunch Leaguer. So, though ashamed, I suggest my own name in confidence. I am perhaps the oldest member of the All India Muslim League Council after Messrs Akrum Khan and Fazlul Huq in Bengal. I had been Secretary of All-Bengal Proja Samiti till our quarrels with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq prior to the last General Election. I may humbly tell you that I am in touch with all the districts of Bengal and Assam. Yet I would have been ashamed to suggest my own name. But circumstances compel me. In order to get rid of Mr. Huq, you cannot take any minister. As regards the three gentlemen above named,



none of them can keep you [posted] with necessary informations [sic] both of the League and anti-League circles, as Maulana Akrum Khan resides outside Bengal, i.e. Madhupur in Santhal Parganas. Mr. Hasan is unknown to interior of Bengal. Mr. Panni resides at a distant place from Calcutta.

Believe me, please, my dear Quaid-i-Azam, I have never sought any position during the last 30 years of my journalistic and publicistic career. I like to work hidden and concealed. But circumstances in Bengal compelled me to suggest my own name. If you think otherwise, I shall have no grievance against you and shall gladly accept your decision and follow you as before.

Yours sincerely,  
NAZIR AHMAD CHOUDHRY

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/156-9*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
18 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my letter.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fazlul Huq has openly challenged the Muslim League. Please see the enclosed cuttings.<sup>2</sup> We are now on a parting of the ways. Mr. Fazlul Huq cannot be retained as President, Bengal League. We are very soon going to hold the annual meeting of the Council of the Bengal League and elect Maulana Akrum Khan as President.

The most hopeful point in the Bengal situation is that the whole Muslim press is against Mr. Huq. The *Star of India* [English], the daily *Azad*, the weekly *Mohammadi* and the *Madeena* (Bengali journals), and the daily '*Asre-Jadid* (Urdu) have supported Calcutta League and opposed Mr. Fazlul Huq.

I, on behalf of the Leaguers of Bengal, appeal to you to stand by us by supporting our position and undermining the move of Mr. Huq. Please also instruct by wire the Provincial League leaders and Presidents of Provincial Leagues to condemn Mr. Fazlul Huq's move to torpedo the League and the Muslim nation.

According to the latest information, Mr. Fazlul Huq has been

trapped by Sir N. N. Sircar, Mr. B. C. Chatterje, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarcar, ex-Finance Minister and a banker of Bengal, an old friend of Mr. Huq, with the bait of the first premiership of the Central Government of India. Mr. Nalini Sarcar interviewed the Viceroy the same day when Mr. Huq was at Simla. Sapru Committee also met at Simla. Mr. Gandhi, in his letter to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, advised him to pursue the subject of Hindu-Muslim unity with whomsoever he may think fit. The *Eastern Times*, dated the 16th May 1941, commenting on this Gandhian hint writes:

This was undoubtedly an indication to Sir Tej Bahadur to pursue the subject with the other influential Muslim friends, over and above the head of the President of the All India Muslim League.

Please decide and strike down [*sic*] this quisling of Muslim India who is preparing to stab the Muslim League in the back.

#### MR. HUQ'S VENDETTA AGAINST CALCUTTA LEAGUE

Mr. Huq's vendetta against Calcutta League has not only been expressed in the form of a statement declaring war on the League and personally on us, the poor workers of the League who have dared to question his action, but he has [also] called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League for 23rd May 1941 to condemn our action and also to condemn our control and supervision of the Calcutta Corporation League Party. His plans seem to condemn us and take [away] the Corporation Party of the League from our control.

Syed Badruddoja is siding with Mr. Huq. Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sir Nazimuddin, Tamiz-ud-Din, Maulana Akrum Khan, Ispahani, Siddiqi and others are solidly with Calcutta League but they are outside Calcutta. Badruddoja and Mr. Huq want to outvote and kill [*sic*] us in their absence. This is their plan.

[*Next para omitted*]

Now Mr. Badruddoja is aspiring to be the leader of the Corporation League Party. Mr. Huq is patting him on the back and has instigated him to revolt against the decisions of the Corporation Sub-Committee of the Calcutta League and also against the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Calcutta League. Mr. Badruddoja, for his selfish interests and at the instigation of Mr. Huq, has created a split in the League Party of the Corporation, but the majority of the members are with us.

So far the Bengal League did not move its finger for the Corporation League Party. But now Mr. Huq has decided to undo



the Calcutta League and the Corporation League Party against the rules of the pledge and against the rules and the constitution of the Corporation League Party laid down by its parent and plenary body, namely the Calcutta District League. Mr. Ispahani and Suhrawardy say that Mr. Huq's interference is illegal, unconstitutional and *ultra vires* and against the pledge the members had signed before their election.

The object of Mr. Huq is to break the Calcutta League as well as the Calcutta League's Corporation Party and to cow down and disintegrate our forces. Please do not let him go so far. Do not leave us alone. We are firm as Himalayas with our faith in God. We appeal to you to condemn the actions of Mr. Huq.

Hoping for your action,

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 400.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 406

*Tamiz-ud-Din Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 335/3*

CENTRAL HOTEL,  
DARJEELING,  
18 May 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the liberty of enclosing a statement that I am going to issue to the press. I have an uncanny feeling that India is on the verge of a civil war. Such a catastrophe will be ruinous to all sections of the people and I consider it to be our imperative duty to avert it if we can. I have made certain suggestions in my statement. Kindly try to make time to read it. If you agree with me in substance, may I suggest that you will kindly take the initiative and try to bring together all the parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
TAMIZ-UD-DIN KHAN  
*Minister-in-charge,  
Agriculture and Industries,  
Government of Bengal*

*Enclosure to No. 406*  
*Proposed Statement by Tamiz-ud-Din Khan*

F. 355/4-6

A suggestion that the three major organizations in India, namely the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, should, without prejudice to their political principles or programmes, immediately set about looking after the greatest common measure of them all, namely the maintenance of internal peace and order, is made by the Hon. Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din Khan, Agriculture and Industries Minister, Bengal, in the course of a statement to the Associated Press.

The following is the full text of the statement:

"Gandhiji in his anger and exasperation at the reaction of the British Government to the Sapru proposals, as expressed in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, issued a surprisingly acrimonious statement in the course of which he said that if Britishers were sincere in their professions to concede freedom to India they might quietly withdraw from the country leaving it to be ruled by the children of the soil as best as they could. This might, Gandhiji added, lead to civil war in the beginning amongst the different communities but in the long run everything will settle down to his expectations. Gandhiji's statement has been variously criticised by different interests. My purpose here is not to add anything to this already large volume of comment. But what I want to tell my countrymen is that I see in the communal clashes breaking out all over the sub-continent the beginning of the civil war envisaged by Gandhiji in his statement. The British, of course, have not yet withdrawn but I suspect that many people in the country have been reading in the events of the war clear signs of the slackening of British hold on India. Everyone knows that there are certain dangerous and misguided people in the country who honestly believe that the best way to emancipate India is by creating at the outset a state of disorder. They have not been extirpated but have only been driven underground. They will be again in evidence as soon as a suitable opportunity occurs. Is there any doubt that the outbreak of the war has inspired them with new hope? The communal riots may not be engineered by these [one line missing] background of vanishing confidence in the British power, may easily be and are in all probability being taken advantage of by these people who, if my surmise is correct, will take good care to see that not only these disturbances may not subside but that there may



be further outbreaks all over the land. But irrespective of whether the hand of the revolutionary can be traced in these happenings or not, the portents are ominous and unless we take the warning, we shall have only ourselves to blame for the serious consequences that will follow. Those who believe in the maintenance of peace and order have an immediate double duty to perform. A countrywide propaganda must be made to dispel the baseless notion, wherever it exists, that the outcome of the war will be unfavourable to the Allies. The War Committees should take up this work in right earnest without the loss of a single day. A definite programme should be chalked out and executed with relentless regularity and vigour. Secondly, the present riots must be stopped and further outbreaks effectively prevented. Efforts hitherto made to this end have been to my mind inadequate. The Congress, the Muslim League and the Mahasabha must join hands for this purpose. None of these organisations want disorder, bloodshed and pillage. That will ruin the prospects of all. India in sanguinary turmoil will be an equally unsuitable ground either to foist on it the foreign graft of western democracy or foster nascent Pakistan or good old *Ram raj*. If a general outbreak is allowed to occur, apart from the inhuman atrocities, the loss of millions of innocent lives and destruction of thousands of peaceful homes that it will bring in its train, India will emerge out of the ordeal a thousand times weaker to groan and grope in darkness for how long no one knows. May I humbly and respectfully suggest that the three organisations should, without prejudice to their political principles or programmes, immediately set about looking after the greatest common measure of them all, namely the maintenance of internal peace and order. Is it not possible for Gandhiji, Quaid-i-Azam and Vir Savarkar to meet for this limited purpose? If my suggestion is acceptable, no false sense of prestige should stand in the way. It will be most appropriate if Gandhiji takes the initiative and writes to Mr. Jinnah and Vir Savarkar requesting them to meet. But it will be equally graceful if any of the latter two chooses to break the ice. If they meet they will certainly be able to settle preliminaries, and thereafter larger conferences may be arranged as the exigencies of the situation may demand. Joint visits by these leaders to the affected and other dangerous areas will have a far greater soothing and heartening effect than anything hitherto done. I am convinced that safety lies only in these three organisations making a determined attempt to maintain peace. I hope they will not fail to discern the inevitable danger lurking in the rapidly thickening

shadows, even if not in our immediate neighbourhood, but certainly within an easy distance, and that they will bestir themselves before it is too late. I appeal to the three leaders with all the earnestness I can command to ponder and decide as quickly as possible.

I feel inclined to make yet another suggestion. All political issues should be kept in the background for the time being. The more we press, puff up and push forward our conflicting political claims, the more intense are the bitterness, jealousy and distrust that ensue. To my mind even the moderate and interim proposals to form a national government at the centre should no longer be pressed at the present juncture. Everyone agrees that if such a government could be formed, war efforts would have been greatly stimulated. But we have miserably failed and those that still entertain hopes are incorrigible optimists. The edifice, if and when established, will certainly be magnificent but we should realise that in the attempt to erect it we are going to destroy ourselves by mutual fight and are unconsciously doing a positive disservice to the cause of the war. Wisdom demands that we lay aside all controversy for the time being and make a supreme united effort to create an atmosphere of peace".

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*Abdul Salim Khan & Others to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 965/31-4*

KHURJA,  
19 May 1941

Sir,

Most respectfully we beg to submit that since his appointment as S.D.O. of Khurja, Mr. Shiam Narain Mahrotra is determined, by his communal enthusiasm, to destroy all personal and other rights of the Muslim community. When Mr. Mahrotra carried on anti-Muslim activities, the Musalmans were not unaware of them; but having always been the most loyal subjects of the British Government, they, while honouring Mr. Mahrotra's position, patiently and quietly bore the gross invasion of their rights and interests. But this quiet and loyal forbearance on the part of the Muslims has emboldened Mr. Mahrotra and the anti-communal feelings have been fanned by him, and now Mr. Mahrotra deigns to terrify the Muslim community whose position is in danger. Therefore, we the Musalmans



of Khurja, do hereby most forcefully protest against the communal passion of Mr. Mahrotra and pray for the protection of our rights and interests.

Except the *Kotwal* of Khurja, all local officers are Hindus. This almost complete absence of Muslim officers has further encouraged Mr. Mahrotra. The *Munsif* and the *Tahsildar*, in particular, are party politicians and deadly against the interests and rights of the Muslim public and take specially keen interest in those public and private matters which can be given a communal colour. Their biased attitude has gravely affected the public mind and has disturbed the placid atmosphere of the city. Mr. Madan Mohan Saran Manglik, the *Tahsildar* of Khurja, is prejudiced and a diplomat who is Mr. Mahrotra's confidant and special adviser. Mr. Mahrotra has driven many an evening in his car from Bulandshahr to Khurja *Tahsil* where the *Tahsildar* acquainted him with various communalists. Messrs Mahrotra and Manglik are dealing [*sic*] a dual policy of destroying the rights of the Muslims on the one hand, and veiling those actions and suppressing the Muslims on the other. It is a fact that the *Sahukars* of Khurja are the richest men in the Meerut Division who pay lakhs of rupees as income tax. Even though the Muslims form half the population of the city, there is no trade in their hands. When the Musalmans of this place complain against the communal aggression of the said local officers, Messrs Mahrotra and Manglik direct the attention of the District Magistrate and the Government to the pressing necessity of contributing towards the war fund, thereby completely obliterating the real picture. The Muslims have left no stone unturned to subscribe for the war and help Britain's war efforts, but still the voice of the Muslims is hushed in the loud gingle of the wealthy local subscribers, and the Muslim community cries in vain for help and assistance. Therefore, we the Muslims of Khurja, once again wish to draw the attention of the Government to the undermentioned high-handed and gross activities of Mr. Mahrotra.

In the census, Mr. Mahrotra was the District Census Officer, the present temporary Executive Officer and the *Tahsildar* of Khurja served under him. In this connection, the Municipal employees, who were engaged for the census work, repeatedly complained against the Executive Officer and the *Tahsildar* to Mr. Mahrotra, but the latter not only connived at his subordinates but also made them bold enough by such connivance to carry on their ruthlessness. Hence it became necessary to send applications through Ayaz Mohamad Khan to the District Magistrate and His Excellency the Governor of



United Provinces. But as Mr. Mahrotra was entrusted with the work of investigating the matter, we have always remained in the dark as to what action was taken on those applications.

Messrs Mahrotra and Manglik in their social circle declare, it has been rumoured by many Hindus, that in place of Pandit Piarey Lall and Deokinandan, not only they will ground down [*sic*] the Muslim influence in every walk of life, but even raze [*sic*] those Hindus who in any way co-operate with the Muslims. Hence in a few cases which had come up in Mr. Mahrotra's court such rumours, already in the air, have proved true, and many people also know those injustices which are likely to be perpetrated in those cases which are yet undecided. This also is widely known that on Mr. Mahrotra's gesture many fresh suits are to be filed in his court.

A first information report, which was instituted under section 377 I.P.C. and which was finally quashed, was again taken up on Mr. Mahrotra's hint and under the influence of Mr. Manglik in the form of a complaint (Zafar Ahmad Khan vs Amanulla Khan and others) the final report of the police was rejected. By this policy, Mr. Mahrotra wants to suppress the *Kotwal* on the one hand, and on the other hand to bring pressure on the Muslims to whose community the accused belong.

In short, no Musalman of Khurja expects justice and fair treatment from Mr. Mahrotra. Not only this but the continued success of Mr. Mahrotra has emboldened [him] and he compelled [*sic*] the presence, at different times, of Syed Jafar Ali and Mr. Hussain Ali Khan, both Municipal Commissioners, and in the *Tahsil* asked them, privately of course, to give their opinion in favour of Pandit Piarey Lall, and told them to bear in mind that they were zamindars and that he and Mr. Manglik were, respectively, their S.D.O. and *Tahsildar*.

Mr. Mahrotra, who has no experience of the ups and downs of life, on whose account the position and post of every honourable Musalman has been most seriously endangered [*sic*]. Therefore, we the Muslims of Khurja, having always rendered most loyal services to the British Government, most humbly and respectfully request that if, after enquiry, Mr. Mahrotra is asked to give over the charge to some other more experienced officer, the Muslim public of Khurja will be deeply gratified and peace and happiness shall once again reign in the city. For this act of kindness and justice, we shall always remain thankful and continue to render loyal and faithful service to the British Government. Our honour, our respect and rights are in



immediate danger and we pray for protection and preservation.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

ABDUL SALIM KHAN & OTHERS

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*Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 565/60*

SADARGALI,  
PATNA CITY,  
19 May 1941

Sir,

Very respectfully, I beg to enclose herewith for your perusal copies of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, [at a meeting] held yesterday, i.e. the 18th May 1941. Copies of the same are also being sent to the Hony. Secretary, All India Muslim League.

I have sent to you at your Bombay address, per registered post, a private and detailed report about the recent Bihar Sharif riot. Another report, when completed, will be submitted to you for your perusal.

With all devotion I ever remain,

Most obediently yours,  
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD  
*General Secretary,  
Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

*Enclosure to No. 408*

*Resolutions by Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee*

*F. 565/61-3*

18 May 1941

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

This meeting of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, after reviewing the grave and serious situation created in the Bihar sub-divisional town and rural areas as a result of an

organised Hindu mob's savage outrages and indescribable mad frenzy which have resulted in the loss of so many human lives in the town and villages and also in defiling a number of sacred mosques, *Qur'an Sharif*, and other religious books, and also in looting and burning the houses has, after a very careful and dispassionate consideration come to the conclusion that the district and the local authorities concerned and the police have hopelessly failed in realizing the gravity of the situation and have shown lamentable lack of knowledge in allowing the procession on the 27th of April 1941, in spite of the knowledge that the tension was running high and the situation was unsatisfactory. Having made the mistake, they failed in taking recourse to effective and deterrent measures for controlling and checking the further spread of conflagration even after the outbreak of riots.

Resolved that a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen wait upon His Excellency the Governor of Bihar as quickly as possible to lay before him the grievances of the Musalmans of the Bihar sub-division in connection with the situation which has arisen out of the planned aggression organised by the Hindu mob which led to the brutal murder of defenceless Muslim women, infants and old men and the looting, dacoity, arson and destruction of properties and the desecration of mosques and the holy *Qur'an*.

[Names omitted]

This meeting of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee appoints an Enquiry Committee consisting of the following three members to make a thorough enquiry into the brutal victimization of the Muslims of the Bihar sub-division and submit the report to the Working Committee at its next sitting.

[Names omitted]

Whereas the growing intensity of communal troubles in Bihar and other parts of India seems to be the outcome of the deliberate attempts by Caste-Hindus to wipe out Pakistan creed of the All India Muslim League by resorting to frequent outrages of law and order resulting in chaos, arson and inhuman ravages of un-offending and defenceless Muslims, the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League deploring this perverted mentality emphatically asserts that the Muslims cannot be coerced by such mischievous tactics to shelve their demand for Pakistan which constitutes an article of faith. This meeting mentilating [*sic*] its unflinching determination for achieving Pakistan records its implicit faith in Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League deplores the apathy of the Bihar Government to have so far ignored the demand of the Working Committee passed at its meeting held on January 26, 1941, to include the *Star of India*, the only Muslim daily in English, in the approved list of the newspapers subscribed by the schools and colleges, Government and semi-Government offices in Bihar. This meeting once again draws the attention of the Bihar Government to pass immediate orders to the effect that the *Star of India* be subscribed by such schools and colleges where the Muslim students constitute a majority [sic] of 12 per cent or the employees are Muslims.

This Committee sympathises in general, and with the victims of the Bihar riot in particular, for the cruelties done to them. The Committee strongly holds that atrocities perpetrated on the Musalmans of the sub-division are cowardly and inhuman and the result of subversive propaganda carried on by some Hindu organisations and some Hindu press.

The Committee further appeals to all the Muslim League organisations of the province and the Musalmans of the province to help their brethren in Bihar Sharif to their utmost.

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/160-61*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
20 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my letters<sup>1</sup> and cuttings from press regarding Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest challenge to the Muslim League. We learn from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 19.5.1941, that the Viceroy is going to invite Mr. Gandhi to see him. Sir Sikander and Mr. Huq have issued statements supporting the idea of a round table conference of Provincial Premiers and Leaders of the Opposition. The fact that both Sir Sikander and Mr. Huq have issued their statements on the round table conference on the same date of 19th May 1941, and both statements have appeared in the same issue of

20.5.1941 of the *Statesman*, shows that both have been inspired by Simla. *Patrika*'s report also shows that the Viceroy is anxious to break the ice of deadlock and also to break Muslim League solidarity.

Another development is that all the Congress-Mahasabha papers are applauding Mr. Huq but all the League papers are criticizing him. The few Congressite Muslims are also supporting him.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy has called the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal League on 23.5.1941 to consider the resolution passed against Mr. Fazlul Huq's Simla mission and to decide the question of Mr. Huq's interference in the affairs of the Calcutta Muslim League Municipal Association against the decision of the Calcutta League and with the object of breaking our party. Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din Khan and others will attend. We hope that we will defeat Mr. Fazlul Huq and get a confirmation of the position of the Calcutta League both in the Corporation's matter and the all-India inter-communal agreement, raised by Mr. Huq.

I only request you to kindly support the position of the Calcutta League and torpedo the Huq-Sikander plan to barter away the whole fate, future and freedom of Muslim India.

At this stage do not refer to the Corporation matter in your letter or statement unless it is referred to you. But do not wait for anything regarding Huq-Sikander move. We cannot tolerate such treachery and treason against the Muslim nation. Mr. Huq should either be loyal to the League or leave it for good.

So far not a single Muslim Leaguer has supported Mr. Huq. There is great unrest at Mr. Huq's move and I have no doubt that if a public meeting is held, he will be unanimously condemned.

Mr. Huq called Mulla Jan Mohammad of the Khilafat Committee, an old henchman of Mr. Huq, and asked his help in crushing and breaking the Muslim League. Mulla refused to do anything in this matter and expressed his utter inability to stand against the League in public.

Please do clear League's position regarding Huq-Sikander move for (i) national government at centre responsible to the legislature and (ii) for holding a round table conference.

Hoping for your prompt lead,

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN



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*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah**F. 302/80-4*

PISHIN,  
BALUCHISTAN,  
20 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of the 5th.<sup>1</sup> Before I left Bhopal on the 28th, my attention was drawn there to a press statement by Dr. Khan Sahib, the ex-Premier of the N.W.F.P., which was in fact a reply to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung's statement in some Hyderabad paper about his Frontier tour. I could not bear his hypocritical statement, so I gave an answer which was published in the two English dailies, the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore and the *Statesman* of Delhi on the 29th. I am sure it must have been brought to your notice—do you approve of it? On my way home I stayed for a couple of days at Lahore where I had the opportunity of meeting Mian Bashir Ahmad and the office-bearers of the [Punjab Muslim] Students' Federation. The students were in their best form, ready to do a lot. Mian Bashir Ahmad is also good in his own way but is a kind of fellow who believes in slow and steady. [He is] against Sikander and yet afraid to oppose him openly. I found that Sikander has lost a good deal of prestige by bending to the demands of Sikhs, first in that Sargodha riots detenus and then in the recent shopkeepers *hartal* as a protest against the Marketing Act. Musalmans feel that he who resorted to firing in the case of Khaksars has so easily bent before the Hindus and Sikhs and now they have no need for him. Several candidates are trying to stand for the by-election which would be called when K. L. Gauba leaves the Punjab Assembly. The President of Lahore City Muslim League, Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, is extremely anxious to come in. He is not a bad fellow, better than his brother Khurshid, but he is very weak and I am afraid he has not the courage to oppose anyone in power in the province. Then there is the young Secretary of the Students Federation, who spoke on the Pakistan Resolution when you visited Lahore last February. He is the editor of the *Tulu'-i-Islam*. There is another candidate also who has been backed by the Unionist Party—I think he is Amir Ahmad (Sub-Registrar). What we need is a pure Leaguer, a creation of the League, above the intrigues of the Unionist clique. Here nearer

to me in Sindh, Allah Bakhsh and his party are working day and night to strengthen their hands. Allah Bakhsh personally goes to see the joint elections in the Municipal Boards. In order to oust this enemy of Islam, we must work full steam ahead. Organized tours should be arranged in Sindh and the League propaganda should be carried right into the villages. This is the only way to smash the opposition. Sir Abdoola Haroon should start working under your personal guidance immediately. You must now take up a big stick and personally supervise the work of the Punjab, Sindh and N.W.F.P. Leagues. We must capture these provinces in the coming election. Village to village propaganda must be carried out in these provinces.

Please forgive me for bringing all this to your notice as you yourself are well aware of the whole situation. I am just putting forward my own opinion. Wherever I go I am asked by our men and others as to the attitude the League would take if the war spreads to Islamic countries. My only reply that I know and that I can give is—even Turkey, Iran and other Islamic countries who are independent and who are even bound by Saadabad Pact with Iraq, are keeping quiet so far; why should you hurry us up—we go whichever way the Musalmans of the world go. Musalmans would always put up a united show, whichever side they decide, as we have learnt a lot from the present European struggle.

I do hope you are keeping perfectly fit now and must have reached Bombay.

My *adaab* to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
ISA

<sup>1</sup>No. 363.

## 411

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/147*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
21 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th May.<sup>1</sup>

Although I do not get disheartened or despaired at set-backs, yet,



possessing a human weakness, I feel the shocks, though I know they must be faced.

[G. M.] Sayed is doing very good work, and is organising the League well. I shall be leaving for Sultankot on the 23rd for Sukkur District League Conference. From the look of things, I am sure that [the] Conference will be a great success.

With regard to the elections in Sukkur and Shikarpur, they have been held, although in some wards in Sukkur they were boycotted. But [on] the whole, the movement could not succeed because of personal selfishness, and I had come late from the Madras session to organise the movement well. I had received the complete file in Madras but I did not hand it over to you because of your health, but I am sending the same to you today by registered post.

I have written to S. M. Ahmed asking him what financial aid he would require and as to the sum [sic]. I am also supplying him with as much literature as possible from time to time.

Enclosed please find my reply to Doctor Abdul Latif, to his letter for Hindu-Muslim unity.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>No. 383.

*Enclosure to No. 411  
H. Abdoola Haroon to S. A. Latif*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/148*

*21 May 1941*

My dear Syed Abdul Latif,

I am in receipt of your circular letter of the 15th,<sup>1</sup> which is full [of] noble thoughts and ideals about the progress and welfare of India.

I find that all proposals for peace, settlement and negotiations are being sponsored by the Musalmans. It seems to me that the generous and the kind heart of [a] Musalman cannot view dispassionately the present state of affairs and his patriotism wishes to end this quarrel even at a loss to himself. But I regret to say that I do not find the same feeling reciprocated either by the Hindus individually or by the Congress collectively. Their attitude is that they should and must have the complete unit of India under their domain and, under no circumstance, admit or accept equal partner or partners in this concern.

Viewing this attitude of the opposition, I find that our honourable motives are being misconstrued and are being taken as a sign of weakness and disunity, and therefore I am of the opinion that such moves are detrimental to the Muslim nation and its cause. Still, however, if you feel [that] I am wrong and wish to proceed with your adventure, I wish you all success.

Yours sincerely,  
[H. ABDOOLA HAROON]

[PS.] I have no objection if you publish this in your monthly magazine *Rapprochement*.

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure to No. 394.

412

*Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 962/20-21*

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
21 May 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

I want to draw your attention to the circular of Dr. S. A. Latif dated the 15th May<sup>1</sup> regarding Hindu-Muslim rapprochement issued from Hyderabad. I am sure you must have received it and taken note of it. It is undoubtedly a move likely to misrepresent the Muslim issue and will create confusion among our people. Coming as it does in quick succession to a number of inopportune and ill-conceived moves from individual Muslims, including Mr. Fazlul Huq, it will certainly be exploited by the Hindus and the British in their unremitting efforts to break the Muslim solidarity behind the Muslim League and especially the Lahore Resolution.

I, therefore, request you to see to it that such moves do not succeed in creating disruption among the Musalmans, nor should they confuse our issue which you have clarified beyond any ambiguity at Madras.

In view of the fact that Dr. Latif's circular will create apprehensions



among our people and that the Hindu press might exploit it, I am issuing a statement shortly; I shall send it to you as soon as it is ready.

Trusting you are recouping satisfactorily from the Madras strain,

I am my dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours devotedly,

MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure to No. 394.

413

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/84*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
21 May 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope by *Allah's* grace you are perfectly recovered and enjoying the best of good sound health. May *Allah* in His holy mercies through the blessings of our holy Prophet, our lady of light *Hazrat* Fatima Zahra, and all our twelve most immaculate *Imams* grant you longest life and sound health to guide our destiny. *Aameen*.

I trust you have received my wire and express letter and a brief statement on Bihar rioting dated 12th May<sup>1</sup> by now. I have also sent you a telegram yesterday, i.e. dated 20th May,<sup>2</sup> communicating the good news that the condition is now absolutely normal. Although it is normal—panicky, false and malicious rumours, likely to cause dissatisfaction and trouble, are brewing everywhere. We are passing through [a] critical time. May *Allah* protect us. We are endeavouring our best to ward off all apprehensions and troubles.

May I be favoured with your future programme and address so that, in case of any need, I may keep you informed.

The relief response is encouraging and well supervised personally.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>No. 381.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 304/83, QAP. Not printed.

## 414

*M. A. Jinnah to Raghieb Ahsan**F. 204/147*BANGALORE,  
22 May 1941

Dear Mr. Raghieb Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 12th<sup>1</sup> and 15th<sup>2</sup> of May and beg to inform you that I have received all of your letters and in particular that of 25th<sup>3</sup> of April and thank you for all the cuttings that you have enclosed from the *Star of India*, *Madeena* and *Azad*, concerning the latest move on the part of Mr. Fazlul Huq. All this is painful. I am very glad to hear from you that Suhrawardy, as you say, unequivocally condemned the action of Mr. Fazlul Huq. It is a kind of "God save us from our friends".

Perhaps Mr. Fazlul Huq does not realise the incalculable harm that he is doing to our cause. Let us hope that in spite of all these developments, we will come out of it successfully.

Please keep me in touch with further developments in Bengal.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>No. 379.<sup>2</sup>No. 392.<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 415

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad**F. 149/4*BANGALORE,  
22 May 1941

Your Exalted Highness,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th of May 1941,<sup>1</sup> and let me in the first instance thank you for your very kind enquiries about my health. I am quite alright now and I wanted complete rest as I was



really over-worked. Yes, I also feel that we should meet in the near future.

With regard to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, it is somewhat difficult for me to explain to you in a letter but when Sir Akbar Hydari spoke to me about the matter in Delhi in the end of March and subsequently, he was good enough to send me the papers by his covering letter of the 2nd of April;<sup>2</sup> it was understood that Your Exalted Highness' Government should not take any step in the matter until my return from the Madras Session of the All India Muslim League, which was to be about the end of April or beginning of May. But I find, much to my regret, that without further intimation to me and while I had taken up the matter, a *Firman*<sup>3</sup> was issued by your government dated Friday the 4th of *Rabi-us-Sani* 1360 H., which has made the position somewhat difficult. However, we must find a solution in the interest of all concerned. I have requested Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung not to do anything to precipitate matters. Similarly, I hope that your government will not do anything further which will create more difficulties in the way of a solution which, I am sure, all right-minded men will desire, specially at this critical juncture.

Your Exalted Highness was good enough to say in your letter: "However, any help you may be able to give us, need I assure, will be greatly appreciated by me and my government." May I, most respectfully, assure you that you can always rely upon my services, as I have said before, in the best interest of Your Exalted Highness and the Musalmans of Hyderabad.

I may also mention to you that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung had come to see me at Nandi and I had a long talk with him a few days ago, after the visit of Mr. Taquiddin who brought me the various papers with the letters from Sir Akbar Hydari and Syed Abdul Aziz, dated the 8th of May.<sup>4</sup> I have requested Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung not to take any step which might create more difficulties in the situation which is already a difficult one and I have been assured by him that he will abide by my advice.

I find the only way in which I might be able to smoothen matters will be that I should have the opportunity of having a free and frank talk with Your Exalted Highness, the earliest possible opportunity the better. My programme which is [word illegible] due to recuperating my health which has undergone a very severe strain recently, is that I propose to go to Ootacamund and I hope to reach Bombay on or

about the 8th of June.

Hoping Your Exalted Highness is quite well. With best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 389.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 30/14-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>Not traceable.

## 416

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 199/72-5*

CIVIL LINES,  
ROORKEE (U.P.),  
22 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your very kind letter<sup>1</sup> reached me today. I am very grateful, indeed, for your appreciative reference to my book. I feel greatly encouraged.

I wish I could send you as many books as you desire. But the position is this. I haven't got the book published at my expense. The publisher, Sh. Mohammad Ashraf of Lahore, came to Aligarh and I gave him the manuscript. I didn't lay down any stipulation as I wanted to encourage him regarding publication of political literature for the Muslim cause in future. He readily agreed to bring out the book at his own expense and to see to its circulation and sale later on. Indeed I told him that I did not want to make business out of the book and I expected him also to treat it as a matter of service. I am glad that he entered into the spirit of the task and brought out the book with commendable zeal and fortitude. He sent me thirty presentation copies which I could send to my personal friends. He also asked me to furnish him with a list of prominent persons to whom the book could be presented. Accordingly, I gave him a list of about 15 persons including Hindu, Muslim and British leaders and statesmen. I am writing to him today asking him to send you as many copies of the book as he can spare.

As for arrangements for the circulation and publicity of the book, I am afraid I can't do much myself at the moment. I have asked the



publisher to send the book to all prominent papers of the country for review. He has also printed a leaflet containing a brief advertisement of the book, copies of which are enclosed.<sup>2</sup> I believe he is advertising the book in *Manshoor* also. As soon as our University and other universities reopen, I shall of course take steps to popularize the book. I shall be very grateful if you could kindly suggest other methods for giving wide publicity to the book or do something yourself or ask someone else to do it.

You might have noticed on the back cover of the book the advertisement for your "speeches". I have almost completed the manuscript and I am now busy writing an introduction. May I remind you of your kind promise to supply me copies of some of your speeches? In this volume, I am only including speeches delivered by you since the revival of the Muslim League in 1936. I would like to have copies of important speeches delivered by you in 1936, 37 and 38 till the Patna Session. I would very much like to have a typed copy of your speech at Madras. I have got the cutting of its report as published in the *Hindu* of Madras. I believe it is fairly full.

I have been reading with distress the fulminations of Mr. Fazlul Huq in the press recently. These occasional irresponsible outbursts, besides exposing Mr. Huq to ridicule, also reflect [badly] on the prestige of the League. I believe he is guilty of violating the rule, laid down by the Working Committee, that no important statement on a vital matter of policy should be made by any member without reference to the Committee or the President. He should be called upon to explain his conduct. It is well that the Muslim League in his own home, Calcutta, has censured him and repudiated his claim to speak for the Musalmans. May I suggest that the exigencies of the situation demand another unequivocal re-statement of our position and policy! It may be done either by a resolution of the Working Committee or by having an all-India demonstration or by both. Our position, I believe, is briefly that we are irrevocably opposed to any reconstruction of the Central Government according to the Congress proposal or the Sapru proposal but we are prepared to co-operate with the British Government and such other parties as care to work with us during the duration of War on terms which would in no way prejudice our position at present or in future. Further, though we always adhere to Pakistan as the only permanent solution of the Indian problem yet we do not make its immediate acceptance a condition precedent to our co-operation during the pendency of War and we reserve our right to press it and strive for its realization at

the proper time. I believe some such clarification by you or the Working Committee in a categorical statement is necessary. I hope you will kindly consider my suggestion. Apologising for the length of this letter,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>No. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Not traceable.

## 417

*M. A. Jinnah to Azad Samdani*

*F. 874/113*

BANGALORE,  
22 May 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13 instant.<sup>1</sup> I am giving it my careful consideration and to what you describe as the proposal on the part of the Hindus to attack the Musalmans in a systematic way. What are the steps that you desire the Government to take to deal with it in a concrete manner and what are those definite preparations and designs which can be established with reasonable amount of proof?

I do not think you are right in saying that the Muslim League or I have ever gone to the length of saying that the Musalmans should not adopt measures in self-defence to safeguard their lives and property. At the same time, it is true that the Muslim League does expect the Musalmans to observe law and order until it is decided otherwise by the League.

I hope that you will give me concrete suggestions in the matter and concrete instances of what you have described in your letter.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 382.



## 418

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 383/89-90*

CAMP PATNA,  
22 May 1941

My dear uncle,

I wrote<sup>1</sup> to you about four days back. Then again I wrote<sup>2</sup> another letter in which I apologised for the delay in sending my full report. Now here is the report.

The Council is the best barometer for judging political weather, and our Council showed signs of bad weather. The most outstanding feature of the whole programme was rowdyism and cheapness. It looked as if all our politics was a great farce. Since the Congress resigned the ministries, there has been an appreciable difference in the attitude of the flunkies who were never seen within a hundred yards of the League circles. Now they dare to form the centre and the fulcrum. Dr. Jaffrey from Allahabad, Nawab of Chhatari, Nawab Sir M. Yousuf and other British hirelings seem to be trying to dominate and capture the inner machinery of the League and they get all the help required from somewhere. The first "hundreds" of the League are being pushed into the background. This is not happening only in U.P. It is a methodical move and the line has been taken up in nearly every province. I know that political organizations throw up men, but no political organization ever throws up puppets and arch-leaders. There are now three distinct groups in the U.P. League; (1) the highly pro-British (2) the Madhe Sahaba-Tabarra agitators (3) the Congress fifth columnists. As to the first group you know them perfectly well and I will not recite their names here. The second group takes shelter under the slogan of Islam, i.e. Sunnis in danger. This has a backing from the Muslim new-rich class. K. B. Ahmad Hosein, tobacco merchant from Lucknow, and Nisarullah from Gorakhpur being the live veins of this group. The common ground between the first and the second group is the class interest. One wants to save the other from extinction. Fanaticism is the password. The Congress fifth columnists, finding no old Leaguer who could support them financially, have fallen on the side of number one and two. The one [sic] fear is that to-day if cry of Sunnis in is danger can be raised for the benefit of the League, it can also be turned against it.

With all these facts in view as well as the methods that were

adopted in the last elections of the League, we have set up a strong party which will in a very short time wipe them out. In Shahjanpur District the elections for the District League have been delayed on account of the enforcement of Section 144 which was promulgated by the District authorities on the excuse that there was a fear of breach of peace in connection with the League elections.

We are not disheartened for all this. Opposition always accelerates our speed. With Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib as our president, we will face every quisling that may be in stock for us.

Here I may sound a note of warning that this very line has been taken up in other provinces.

I have come to Bihar in connection with the Bihar Sharif riots and while I am here I will get in touch with workers of the League and select some on whom you can rely for true versions. This sort of inter-provincial contact will in the future prove of great value to the cause.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's statement will soon be condemned by every district in India. I will be going to Calcutta from here.

I am sending the report from Bihar Sharif and the reply from Punjab. Hope you are well, *Insha Allah*. Respects to *Phophi* and [your]self,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1&2</sup>Not traceable.

419

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 29/10*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
23 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Fakhruddin Hassan, B. A., LL.B., is a man of my full trust and confidence. I am deputing him to deliver to you my message personally.

Hope it will find you in the best of health.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG



*Enclosure to No. 419*  
*Message by Bahadur Yar Jung*

F. 29/11

The situation here is developing fast since I met you last Friday and requires your immediate attention and guidance:

1. The Government has granted us permission to hold our session on [the] condition that objectionable political speeches should not be made. This is a double-edged weapon and places us completely at the mercy of the Government.
2. In pursuance of the latest *Firman*,<sup>1</sup> which is with you, rules and regulations are being rushed up [*sic*] by the Government with the intention to enforce them before the session begins. You know I am the target of the *Firman* and the rules are being framed as they would unmistakably hit me.
3. During our last visit I was advised:
  - a. Not to renounce title and not to retire from politics, but that the *Firman* should be revised or withdrawn.
  - b. That you should have time to think peacefully.
  - c. That the situation could be eased only on your coming down here.
4. My submissions are:
  - i. What should I do in case the rules are enforced before the session?
  - ii. The most important question is that the present situation has created a life and death issue for the organisation and myself. It is one of [the] many problems which you have to solve and apply your mind, but it is the question for me and the Majlis [*sic*].<sup>2</sup> Your coming down to Hyderabad before the session or your intervention in a suitable manner can alone save the situation.
  - iii. Is it possible for you to write and advise the Government to postpone the promulgation of rules till you are in a position to come down to Hyderabad and discuss matters with the Government?

<sup>1</sup>See F. 30/14-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen.

## 420

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah**F. 29/12-5*

BEGUM BAZAAR,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
24 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent a telegram<sup>1</sup> to you yesterday to know whether you are in Bangalore or not, but till now I [have] received no reply. Today I have sent to you a special messenger with a note<sup>2</sup> to seek your advice. After his departure from here I found the *Gazette Extraordinary* which is enclosed.<sup>3</sup> In this *Gazette* the Government has published the rules in compliance with the *Firman*<sup>4</sup> regarding *jagirdars* and title-holders not to take part in any political activity. You will find in these rules that I am the main target of it. According to it, I have to choose one of these three things.

1. To renounce [title] before my meeting to be held on 29th May.
2. To send my presidential address to the Home Secretary and deliver it with such alterations as the Government may direct.
3. To deliver my address without submitting to the Government and be ready for its punishments which will not only [be] the confiscation of my *jagir* or title but also any other action under any other law as said in [the] last section of these rules.

Now I want your advice. I sent another telegram<sup>5</sup> to you today informing about these rules. If my messenger, Mr. Fakhruddin Hassan, is there, dictate him your orders in detail. And if you are not in Bangalore or he has left the place, please let me know your orders as soon as possible.

Very sorry for my wrong English and bad hand-writing.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

<sup>1</sup>See F. 29/9, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See Enclosure to No. 419.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 30/14-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>5</sup>See F. 29/16, QAP. Not printed.



421

*D. S. Ramachandra Rao to M. A. Jinnah**F. 487/158-9*

CONFIDENTIAL

ANANTA BHAVAN,  
BASAVANGUDI,  
BANGALORE,  
24 May 1941

Dear Sir,

I trust you have forgiven me for inflicting quite a long visit on you the other day in Madras while you were far from well. As a medical man, I felt guilty of dragging you into a conversation, no doubt of utmost importance to us all, on that hot April noon as you were just convalescing. I have kept quiet all these days giving you time to recover your normal health, and noticing in the papers that the rest on the Nandi Hills has restored your health, I now take the liberty of writing to make clear a few points which have been oppressing me.

At the outset I may tell you that I have sent our own executive a gist of our conversation, and they appreciate your point of view now better than they have hitherto done. It has raised hope in their breast though they are aware that the path they have chosen to tread is very thorny. And they are determined to go ahead and see what can be done to improve matters. I have been thinking over and over again the points raised at our discussion at Madras. In the meanwhile, I have had the opportunity of reading the correspondence<sup>1</sup> that has been published in the papers, as liberated by Sir T. B. Saprú. Be that as it may.

I am not without hope that we shall arrive at an amicable settlement finally provided we are willing to give and take handsomely and generously. We should taboo niggardliness from our national outlook.

I have not yet got in touch with Wardha. Arrangements are being made to fix a date of meeting. I along with a few colleagues of mine expect to visit Wardha in a few weeks now, soon after the great heat passes off. There are two points which I want to be absolutely clear about before I go to Mr. Gandhi. You told me that you would be glad to meet Mr. Gandhi as a Hindu leader. But he disclaims such communal leadership. We may not see eye to eye with him with regard to his attitude to the Hindu community. He may be a typical Hindu but he does not desire to stand on that platform in discussing political affairs of the country. Don't you think it is best not to rub



him, as for that anyone else, in the wrong way if our real object is to arrive at a settlement rather than the attainment of mere dialectic triumph? It may be wise not to press the point.

As Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees, we belong to different religious communities, and we cannot help being influenced by the hopes, fears and aspirations that our faiths, cultures and traditions inspire us with. Yet we can meet, discuss and come to a settlement as Indians. As communalists, we shall be nowhere, but as Indians we shall be somewhere. So, may I suggest, rather request you to meet Mr. Gandhi as an Indian. Gandhiji may have millions of Hindus as his followers and a few of others while Jinnah Sahib may have millions of Muslim followers and some others as well, yet why should they not meet as two great Indians determined to arbitrate the destiny of their motherland?

You made it clear to me the other day at Madras that while you advocate the cause of Muslims, you have an eye for the good of India as a whole. So, I trust you see no inconsistency in one leading Indian meeting another leading Indian to discuss matters of India's interests while not ignoring the interests of the minorities from the Indian point of view.

Therefore, may I have your permission to tell Mr. Gandhi that you would like to meet him as one Indian gentleman meeting another Indian gentleman to discuss matters relating to the good of India? It is on that basis alone that I could venture to pay a visit to Wardha.

Pardon me for a reference to the past. You made an excellent speech at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1920 or 1921 when the non-cooperation movement was inaugurated. You spoke in terms of most affectionate regard about Gandhiji. You then stood on a broad national platform which embraced all India. My brief conversation with you at Madras made me realise that you still stood on the same platform though twenty years of political experience has made you more cautious. I appreciate your difficulties and diffidence. Yet I trust you have not lost the regard you then had for Mr. Gandhi. Let me assure you that I do not hold a brief for him. You know I am not a lawyer nor a Bar-at-Law but am only a matter-of-fact surgeon. But I look on him in spite of his many failings as the best that the Hindu India has produced during our time and generation, and that at times he could rise to great heights. It seems to me to be wise to arrive at an all-India settlement while he is alive and well and wields considerable influence in the Congress.

As you are an erudite politician, I need not press that point with you. Again, I have another point to clear. You said at Madras that



you would not negotiate with a man who holds a pistol to your head. You were of opinion that Mr. Gandhi should call off *Satyagraha* before you would meet him. You must have seen in the papers his recent declaration about it that he never meant it against the minorities, but it was directed only against the British.

Are you now prepared to take him at his word, or do you still stick to your original position? Could you not make it a point to be discussed on its merits at the meeting? Of course, the burden of proof as to its necessity and its implications would lie with Mr. Gandhi, just as you said that the burden of proof as to the necessity of Pakistan lay with you.

As the international affairs are becoming more and more involved every day, we cannot afford to lose time, but come to grips with facts forthwith. Of course, I shall insist on calling off *Satyagraha* in my talks with Mr. Gandhi; but if he finds it impossible to do so straight away on account of the British Government, will you give me the latitude of suggesting a *via media*—whatever it may be—a kind of agreement that may be agreeable [*sic* for acceptable] to both parties?

Though there may be differences of outlook, still as sons of motherland and as brothers, we have got to solve our own problems in our own way, and the sooner we are able to do it the better for all of us.

Trusting that you will not consider me a nuisance, and hoping that you will give me all the support you can in my approach to Wardha,

Yours sincerely,  
D. S. RAMACHANDRA RAO  
President,  
*All-India Council of Indian Christians*

<sup>1</sup>See Nos. 242 and 257. Also see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 235-9.

422

*M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung**F. 149/8*MYSORE,  
26 May 1941

Dear Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung,

I have received your telegrams<sup>1</sup> as well as your letter,<sup>2</sup> delivered to me by hand, but I have not received the copy of the rules referred to in your telegram. I have been in communication and am awaiting a reply. In the meantime, I can only repeat my advice, which I gave to you at Nandi, that nothing should be done by you or by Ittehad-ul- Muslimeen which would in anyway force the Government to take any action.

All the talk between us and the correspondence must be kept strictly confidential. If necessary, you can tell the people that you saw me at Nandi and that I will give my very close attention to the situation and pending that nothing should be done which would make the situation more difficult. Beyond that you should not refer to anything else which has taken place between you and me and give a version of it which may not correctly represent the situation and may lead to misunderstanding.

I will strongly urge upon you to have patience. Nothing is going to happen but any wrong step may create a very serious situation.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH<sup>1</sup>F. 29/16, QAP. Not printed.<sup>2</sup>No. 420.

423

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Abdul Aziz**F. 149/6*MYSORE,  
26 May 1941

My dear Aziz,

I have been receiving all sorts of information, although I cannot



vouchsafe the correctness of them. I have written a long letter to His Exalted Highness in reply to him. I wonder whether you have had any talk with His Exalted Highness.

For the present, I would most earnestly request you and Sir Akbar Hydari<sup>1</sup> to see that no further step is taken which would add to the situation which is already very difficult.

I am waiting to hear from His Exalted Highness.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah wrote identically to Akbar Hydari as well. See F. 149/7, QAP. Not printed.

## 424

*G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad II/149*

SANN,  
28 May 1941

My dear Sir,

It is long since I have not heard from you. I do hope and pray that you are now quite hale and hearty.

2. Herewith I enclose copy of my reply that I have addressed to Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, Deccan, in response to his letter of 15th instant.<sup>1</sup>

3. I have undertaken an intensive tour in the rural parts of this Province, and, so far, I have visited over 20 important villages and addressed thousands of villagers. Two conferences have recently been successfully held in Larkana District and another, which was attended by over 6,000 people, was held at Sultankot in Sukkur District under the presidentship of Nawab Murid Husain Sahib of Multan. You will thus be pleased to see that I have taken up the organisation[al] work in right earnest and it is already bearing fruit as, in almost every village that I have so far visited, a branch of the [Muslim] League has been formed and a definite impression created amongst our people in favour of the League.

4. I have been expecting receipt of literature from you but so far,

perhaps due to your absence from the headquarters, it has not been convenient for you to arrange despatch thereof.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G. M. SAYED

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

*Enclosure to No. 424*  
*G. M. Sayed to S. A. Latif*  
*SHC, Hyderabad II/150*

SANN,  
DISTRICT DADU,  
28 May 1941

My dear Dr. Syed Abdul Latif,

Your letter of the 15th instant<sup>1</sup> to hand. Thanks.

I appreciate the motives behind your desire to bring about a rapprochement between the Muslim League and the Congress. But according to me, partition of India is the only lasting solution of the problem. In the light of our experience of the past several centuries and more especially of the last few years, it is idle to hope for any satisfactory results from the attempts at rapprochement between elements that are poles apart in their very nature. Such attempts, however genuine, are, on the contrary, likely to be interpreted as signs of weakness and affect our cause, which demand complete unanimity and unshakable resolve on the part of all the Muslims in the rigid pursuance of the goal that the Muslim League has placed before them.

For myself, I am convinced that the attitude of the Congress and the mentality and outlook of its leaders should serve as an unmistakable sign of the correctness of our goal and as an incentive to us in our endeavour to work for the achievement thereof.

Such being my personal views, which I have a good reason to believe, are shared by many Muslims in Northern India. I regret I cannot support, much less co-operate in any move at this stage for settlement with the Congress that envisages unity on a basis other



than partition of India and ultimate federation of independent Muslim states in the Near East.

Yours sincerely,  
G. M. SAYED

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

425

*Siddique Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 352/9-12*

NAGPUR, C.P.,  
29 May 1941

Sir,

We are very happy that God Almighty has spared you to lead us at this juncture. Our constant prayers are that you should live long to see Pakistan established.

I wish to draw your particular attention to a very important and serious matter which is agitating our minds. This is, in my humble opinion, the right moment to check it. I hope you will come to our rescue as you have done in the past on innumerable occasions in saving us from this impending danger.

The Khaksars are doing a mischievous propaganda by telling people that they are the right wing of the Muslim League. They quote some passages from the alleged speeches of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. The unwary and good-intentioned people are entrapped in this manner. During my recent absence from Nagpur they succeeded in enrolling about 250 Khaksars.

Some of them are the pick of our National Guards. On my return, I found that the Hindu-Muslim tension had grown in Nagpur. I started reviving the Muslim National Guards organisation which had become a defunct body by now due to the ordinances issued by H.E. the Viceroy, although the Hindu organizations are in full swing. You will be surprised to hear that about 3000 Hindus from different parts of India have assembled here and are encamping.

I am glad to inform you that, in co-operation with my friends, I have succeeded in enrolling about 700 volunteers during a fortnight's time. Some Khaksars have also left their organisation and have joined us. This has enraged the Khaksars and they have threatened to kill

me and my friends. Of course, I am not afraid of these threats but there is every possibility that there will be a clash between us and the Khaksars because they have now started abusing Muslim League and its leaders.

We are passing through a critical time. The Hindu Mahasabha is concentrating all its forces in Nagpur. People like me are openly abused in filthy language if we happen to pass through Hindu localities. Stray assaults are going on. On top of it, the Khaksars wanted to start civil disobedience to get their leader released and had chosen Nagpur as the centre of their activities. Situation would have been worse, but fortunately for some reason or the other it was postponed.

Yusuf Shareef—ex-Congress Minister—who deserted us and was rightly served by his ignominious dismissal from Congress Ministry, has been trying by hook or by crook to capture the hearts of the Muslims. He tried his best to secure the Seerat Conference platform. This chance was given to him by Abdul Majeed Qarshi of Patti (Lahore). He failed. Then in my absence he tried to be in the good books of Momins of Nagpur (who are in majority here) by according a right royal reception to Asim Bihari—No. 1 enemy of Muslim League. Momins sided with him as long as Asim Bihari was here. Thank God, they are now with us. Having failed a second time, he invited Abdul Halim Siddiqui—General Secretary of Jamiat-ul-Ulema. They formed a nominal provincial branch at the cost of being beaten with shoes. Now Yusuf Shareef himself and his *chelas* want to capture the Khaksar organization.

The *chelas* have become Khaksars and the *guru* may join very shortly as is the report.

In the circumstances, may I request you to issue, at your earliest convenience, a statement similar to the one issued in connection with the All India States Muslim League defining the position of the All India Muslim League with regard to the Khaksar Movement.<sup>1</sup>

With apologies for the trouble given,

Yours obediently,  
SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he was considering the matter very carefully. See F. 1301/96, QAP. Not printed.



## 426

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 29/17-20*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
29 May 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I was glad to receive your letter of 22nd May 1941.<sup>1</sup>

As to my *Firman*, dated 4th *Rabi-us-Sani* 1360 H.<sup>2</sup>, which was published, it was absolutely necessary not to lose time in issuing it as you know, owing to Bahadur Yar Jung's pernicious activities, the political situation had become very grave here; so it was essential to clear the misunderstanding or avoid further complications. So, in my view, what I or my Government did in that respect was perfectly correct and justified.

2. Besides, you know, the affairs of Indian States completely differ from those of British India. I mean the States are under the protection of the Paramount Power and have their treaty obligations to perform as well; and also they cannot afford to allow their loyalty to the British Government to be shadowed by the acts of any particular community residing in the boundaries of the States. So naturally all these things must be taken into consideration before consulting any party or person whoever they may be.

3. I may add that I came to know that what was done in this connection was also approved by the British Government as they think that the Ruler has got certain responsibilities of his own, of which he cannot very well dispossess himself. I trust what I have said in this connection you have understood thoroughly.

4. Besides, you must know that I am not the Ruler of Muslims alone in the Hyderabad State, but also the Ruler of other nations or communities as well who are my subjects; therefore, my dealings with all of them should be one and alike without making any obvious distinction between them. And this is most necessary nowadays when the whole world has gone under a complete change or evolution; and also this fact cannot be denied that the Muslims in the Dominions are in the minority, I mean not more than fifteen lakh and compared to that other communities are in the overwhelming majority. So it was essential to take this important factor into

consideration prior to arriving at some solution of the problem.

5. In the end, I cannot help saying that it is my duty, as a Ruler, to preserve peace and tranquillity in my State at all costs and also to safeguard the interests of all different communities that peacefully live under my protection and not to give the slightest chance to other communities to say that I was biased or prejudiced in any way against them and that I was not just in doing proper justice to them which they deserve. Besides, the action so far taken by me and my Government is calculated to do good to the whole State and particularly to the Muslim community, and will, I am sure, save Bahadur Yar Jung himself from falling into the pitfalls. On the other hand, if he pursued his bad policy, he will be doing great injury to the Muslim community in the long run. Therefore, it was essential for the Ruler and his Government to put things right before it gets too late.

6. I may add that I came to know through a reliable source that since Bahadur Yar Jung has returned from Bangalore or Nandi Hills, where I believe he had gone to see you, he openly says amongst his co-workers that though Mr. Jinnah has announced his policy in the papers that the Muslim League has no connection whatsoever with the Muslim institutions in various Indian States, as circumstances there differ a good deal from those prevailing in British India, and that Mr. Jinnah has refused to give help to Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen in Hyderabad in time of need, he does not care for this, as he, being an independent man, is free to do what he thinks best or proper on his own responsibility. For Mr. Jinnah has treated him on more than one occasion as if he was a man of no position at all and that this has greatly affected his feelings, etc. I do not know what truth is there in the statement that has reached my ears, still I can say so much that, knowing Bahadur Yar Jung's character personally, I consider that there might be a good deal of truth in it. However, this thing has no connection with me and my Government, still I thought it best to bring it to your notice for what it is worth.

7. Sir Akbar Hydari sent a copy of your letter dated 24th May<sup>3</sup> addressed to him for my perusal and also he had a long talk with me prior to sending a special messenger to see you at Nandi Hills the other day regarding this very subject and also the messenger put up a note of his interview with you before us on his return. In the above letter you have requested the President and his colleague, Syed Abdul Aziz, not to take any further action regarding Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen's



activities. But on the other hand, if Bahadur Yar Jung does not behave properly or abide by your advice that was given to him (as it appears from your letter to me) then what is to be done? You should also consider this aspect of the case. For, as far as we are concerned, we will avoid taking further action as far as possible; but if Bahadur Yar Jung, by his deeds, forces us to take action then there is no other course left but to pay him in the same coin in order to maintain the prestige of the Government. As circumstances show that Bahadur Yar Jung has not changed his old tactics yet, but is doing it with still firm mind irrespective either of your's or of somebody's advice that was given in his own interest. And if this state of affairs continues then, I am afraid, the time is not far off when he will come to grief for which nobody, but he alone, will be responsible.

8. However, all these matters are of primary importance to be looked into and that the interest of the State, which is the first and foremost thing, is not to be sacrificed for the sake of one particular community or in preference to the indiscreet acts of a man like Bahadur Yar Jung who is not a born politician or a far-sighted man. But, on the contrary, he is surely an inexperienced and narrow-minded person regarding whom there cannot be any doubt, as his own antecedents bear ample testimony to what I have said in this connection and to my mind he is a regular bull in a china shop.

9. I trust your health is improving by the change in the cool climate of the Nilgiris.

Yours sincerely,  
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 415.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 30/14-5, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

427

*M. A. Jinnah to Tamiz-ud-Din Khan*

*F. 335/2*

OOTACAMUND,  
29 May 1941

Dear Tamiz-ud-Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th May<sup>1</sup> along with the copy of the statement, which you say you propose to issue to the press.

If you really wanted to make any suggestion then in my opinion the proper course for you was, as one of the prominent members of the Muslim League, to place your suggestions before me or before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League; and let me assure you that I would have given my very best consideration to them and if that had been placed before the Working Committee it would have equally examined any suggestion coming from so a prominent member of the Muslim League as yourself with great care and consideration. But the unfortunate course that is adopted by some of the Muslim Leaguers that individuals should rush to the press and make suggestions and proposals through the columns of the newspapers is really most undesirable and, in my opinion, most harmful to the cause which we all have at heart and, therefore, I must say that I cannot approve of it. Besides, it only leads our opponents and the hostile press to make capital [out] of it and hold up the League as a body that is lacking in solidarity, and they carry on propaganda that there are divisions and differences amongst us, and that the League is on the verge of splitting up.

Hoping you are well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 406.

428

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi*

*F. 393/5*

OOTACAMUND,  
29 May 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th of May<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it. Let me thank you very much for your kind enquiries about my health and inform you that I am quite alright now.

Of course, I shall be very glad to see you and your colleagues. My present programme is that I have to return to Bombay by the first week of June and I do not see any chance of my going anywhere near Punjab for sometime.

I read your letter very carefully and I quite understand your difficulties but that should not dishearten you. I really do not know



exactly why you want to incur the unnecessary expense and trouble of coming to meet me. You can easily communicate with me and put before me any definite proposal or if you wish to seek my advice with regard to any difficulty you can formulate it and communicate with me. I think the position seems to me very clear that you must primarily depend upon your own Province for help, financially or otherwise, and carry on your good work steadily and determinately, and I am quite sure that you will succeed and overcome the difficulties far more rapidly than you imagine provided that you carry on your work peacefully, steadily and in a humble spirit.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 398.

## 429

*Syed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 29/21*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
31 May 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 26th May.<sup>1</sup> We are passing through difficult times and anxious moments. It is hardly necessary for me to assure you that I will do all I can within my powers and opportunities to serve the best interest of the Ruler and his State. I am hopeful of the matter being improved gradually. You will have a correct and fuller picture of the situation here when we next meet and discuss the affairs of Hyderabad. I hope to see you at Bombay as soon as you return there.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
SYED ABDUL AZIZ

<sup>1</sup>No. 423.

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*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah**F. 494/28*

242 STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
2 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I trust that rumour is correct in reporting [that] you [have] quite recovered from your illness. You are most wise to make for Ooty [Ootacamund] for a spell.

I had a most cheering letter from Parker today wishing to be informed of the trouble which I have had with the censor. He enclosed a letter he had received from Amery in connection with the withholding of my letter.

Many thanks for your letter enclosing cables from India which I return. I have no reason whatever to suppose that Major Gardiner's letter to you has been stopped by the censor and think it is more than likely that the delay is in transit. I believe that some letters from India dated October which went through the ordinary mail did not arrive here until last month. But I am making enquiries.

I was officially informed that the letter was held up. My cable was not despatched, according to Parker, until the 7th January. It looks to me like the most wilful obstruction which it is even hoped to conceal from the Secretary of State [for India]. I hope to get away about the end of the month, probably from Bombay, when I may see you. If you feel that there is anything further you would like to say to the Secretary of State or the Prime Minister, I shall be only too happy to be the bearer. In fact, on second thought, it might help a lot, both your point and my desire to assist, if you should do so.

Trusting that your recovery continues,

Most sincerely yours,  
PAT GARDINER



## 431

*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 204/162-7

[Extracts]

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
2 June 1941

The first conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League, constituted under the new constitution (1940) of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, was held at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta, on the 1st June 1941. Moulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry, ex-Editor, *Azad* and *Mohammadee*, Director, the weekly *Madeena*, a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, was unanimously voted to the chair. Moulvi Mohammad Naim opened the proceedings by reciting *Surah Rahman*.

Moulana Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry delivered a spirited and masterly presidential address and wholeheartedly supported the Pakistan ideal of the All India Muslim League. Quoting Mr. Jinnah, he opposed the idea of any constitution of an all-India character with one government at the centre and characterised it as inimical to the national integrity of the Indian Muslims.

Referring to the history of Muslim awakening, he said that political unrest among the Muslims began from the year 1757—the Battle of Plassey. But after the mutiny of 1857, Muslims were so much submerged by adverse forces and revolution that till the foundation of the Muslim League in 1906 at Dacca, by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and other leaders, they practically did not exist at all on the political stage of India.

In 1916, the Congress, however, realising the fact that, without Hindu-Muslim agreement, no political and constitutional progress was possible in India, made a pact with the All India Muslim League. This pact was recognized by the Montford Report<sup>1</sup> and the British Government made it the basis of reforms of 1919. This was really the handiwork of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gokhale.

But unfortunately after the death of the realist, Mr. Gokhale, added Moulana Nazir Ahmad, the Congress came under the mystic influence of Mr. Gandhi who converted it into a semi-religious organization for his new cult of Gandhism and the supremacy of the Hindus. A

complete change was effected in the whole attitude of the Hindus. Instead of honestly trying for a mutual agreement based on equality and justice, the Congress, under Mr. Gandhi, is trying to dominate the whole of India and reduce the Muslims to the position of serfs and slaves. I have no doubt, said the president, that if the Congress is allowed to establish its totalitarian regime in India and a national government is formed under the Congress junta, the position of the 90 million Muslims in India will be no better than that of the Jews in Nazi Germany and the *Shudras* in *Aryavarta*. The Muslims will die rather than submit to such a position in a land which they ruled for centuries. The Muslims as a nation stand for their right of national self-determination and demand that in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of the sub-continent of India, where they are in majority, [they] must be allowed to form their own independent, autonomous and sovereign states as their national homelands which will be ready to form alliances with other states in the sub-continent of India. The Muslims have no design against any people or land. They are eager to live in perfect peace on terms of perfect political equality with their neighbours. But they cannot be ready to be the camp-followers of a Hindu State. They are determined to secure their own independent place in the sun.

The president also opposed the proposals of the Sapru Conference and observed that the first and fundamental essential of a real political settlement in India was the unequivocal recognition of the fact that the Indian Muslims were a separate nation and that under no circumstances could they be a party to any political formula which was not based on the complete equality of their status as a nation.

Emphasising the need of organisation, the chairman remarked that the proper organisation of Muslim Calcutta was really organisation of the whole of Muslim India as Calcutta epitomised the life of all parts of Muslim India.

After the election [to the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Muslim League] a number of resolutions were passed.<sup>2</sup>

RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. See Ahmad Saeed, *Trek to Pakistan*, Lahore, 2002, 139-43.

<sup>2</sup>Annex.



*Annex to No. 431*  
*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/168-72*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
2 June 1941

RESOLUTIONS

- i. This conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League affirms its firm faith in the goal, ideology and policy of the All India Muslim League, as defined at the Madras Session of the League, popularly called the Pakistan Plan, and expresses its complete confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah.
- ii. This conference declares that no individual Muslim is entitled to make commitments on behalf of the Muslim nation with regard to any change in the Central and provincial governments or any matter concerning the fate and future of the Indian Muslims on the back of [*sic*] their only representative national organization, the All India Muslim League. The conference hopes that the British Government would not entertain any attempt to break the solidarity of the Indian Muslims. Any such entertainment [*sic*] will be regarded by the Muslims as a breach of faith with the Indian Muslims and the Muslims will resist such attempts with all the power at their command.
- iii. This conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League views the spread of the European War to the Islamic countries of the Near and Middle East with greatest concern and warns all powers that the Muslims of India will never tolerate the subjugation of any Muslim land or people of Asia, Africa or Europe and resist all attacks on the sanctity of the holy lands of Islam with their lives. The Muslim India hopes that the powers will unequivocally make their intentions and policies clear regarding the integrity and independence of the Muslim lands and peoples of the Near and Middle East.
- iv. (a) This conference, welcoming the Five Year Plan Committee of the All India Muslim League, formed to chalk out a constructive programme of work for the League, suggests that some able social workers and '*Ulama*' should be co-opted onto the Committee,

- and Bengal and Punjab should be accorded better representation.
- (b) This conference also requests the President of the All India Muslim League to direct all Provincial Leagues to set up Provincial Plan Committees to study and collect material for the Central Committee and to generally help it.
- v. This conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League resolves that a standing committee of the following members [*names omitted*] with the right of co-option up to three [members] be, and is hereby constituted, to control and supervise the affairs of the Muslim League Corporation Party and the Muslim League Municipal Association in the Corporation of Calcutta; and to see that the programme of the Calcutta League is followed and solidarity and discipline of the party is maintained and the rights and interests of the Muslims are properly looked after.
- vi. (a) This conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League resolves that the constitution prepared and passed by the Corporation Committee of the Calcutta District Muslim League, for proper working of the Muslim League Municipal Association of the Corporation be, and is hereby, confirmed and adopted.
- (b) The Muslim League Municipal Association may frame bye-laws within the framework of the said constitution provided they are not against any rule or principle of the constitution.
- (c) The ruling of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta League will be final and binding in the matter of the constitution of the Municipal Association as well as in all other matters of the Association.
- vii. This conference of the Calcutta District Muslim League condemns the communal riots at Dacca and expresses its sympathy with the sufferers of all classes and communities.
- viii. This conference condemns the one-sided, planned, deliberate and organized massacre of Muslim men, women and children in Bihar Sharif by a section of the Hindus, the desecration of mosques, *dargahs*, tombs, graves, *Qur'an Sharif*, and the total failure of the district authorities in protecting the Muslims. Further, this conference demands that an independent enquiry committee should be formed to make enquiry into the Bihar Sharif riots.
- ix (a) This conference of the general council of the Calcutta



District Muslim League regrets to record that the management of the Titagarh Jute Mill have failed to re-appoint a number of labourers who were most unjustly axed by the then Labour Liasion Officer, Mr. Fazlul Karim, for the labourers' sympathy with the Muslim League. This action of the mill's Labour Officer was actuated by his antipathy with [sic] the Muslim League and his plan to break the Titagarh League and victimise and axe all the League members.

(b) This conference requests the management of the Titagarh Jute Mill to re-appoint all the workers who were axed through the machinations of their ex-Labour Officer.

- x. This conference of the general council of the Calcutta District Muslim League expresses its sympathy with the sufferers of the devastating cyclones and storms in the Districts of Noakhali, Tippera and Bakarganj.

RAGHIB AHSAN

## 432

*S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah*

*SHC, Hyderabad, II/151*

DHANMANDI,  
AJMER,  
3 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had been to Madras for the last sessions of the All India Muslim League where I also wanted to have a long chat with you on some important matters, but your illness and mine (I also fell ill immediately after the sessions) came in the way. I then left for Bombay to await your return but your return was delayed and the Hindu-Muslim tension took a serious turn, so I had to return home disappointed.

As advised by you and as I already stated in a previous letter, I joined the Muslim League and have since taken up the work in right earnest. I am the President of my Primary League here, Vice-President of the District and also of the Provincial Muslim League, and a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League. But, I am sorry, I am not fully satisfied with my work. I can do only as much as the prevailing local conditions permit and, to be frank, the local conditions are very discouraging. The

Muslims here are divided into factions and they keep on fighting constantly, even to the detriment of the Muslim cause. The disease has become chronic and ordinary persuasion does not have any effect. Unusual tact and outside influence may improve the situation. It was one of the several matters I wanted to speak to you about. Is there any likelihood of your visit to us in the immediate future? The State Muslim League, as you already know, is holding a session here at the end of July. What do you think of the idea of holding a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League at Ajmer at that time?

As to my other activities, I try to come in contact with men of light and leading who come in large numbers from all parts of India to this spiritual centre of the Muslim League and I try to open their eyes to the needs of the hour. Thank God, I am having good success in it. I am also President of the local Seerut Committee and am very particular about seeing that the Seerut [Committee] co-operates with the League in all matters. I wish the League, the Seerut, and the Khaksars could be amalgamated into one grand whole, the League, to look after the political work; the Seerut to do the social reconstruction and economic uplift, and the Khaksars (rather a difficult body to be brought round) to do the work where physical exertion is needed.

I got a printed letter the other day from Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad asking my views on his new idea of rapprochement. I enclose herewith for your perusal a copy of my reply to him.<sup>1</sup>

Very difficult times are ahead of us and we are not yet fully equipped to shoulder our responsibilities. I am very sorry I had no occasion to discuss matters with you. I only pray that God may give us light, strength and courage and may lead us on.

I hope, by the grace of God, you are now quite hale and healthy.

With best wishes and prayers for your success,

Yours sincerely,  
S. M. ZAUQI

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, Hyderabad II/152. Not printed.



433

*Chaudhuri Mohammad Zafrulla Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 358/4-6*

CONFIDENTIAL

THE RETREAT,  
SIMLA,  
3 June 1941

My dear Jinnah,

The Government of India have decided to set up a Defence Consultative Committee, which will be composed of Members of the Central Legislature. Its present strength will be ten—six from the Assembly and four from the Council of State. The Committee will meet whenever summoned by His Excellency the Defence Member, and in any case not less than once a quarter. Its proceedings will be formal and an agenda will be circulated to Members in advance. In addition to the discussion of the agenda, a statement on the progress of the war, in particular, as it affects India, will be made to the Members. A record will be maintained of the proceedings and the proceedings will be strictly secret. The functions of the Committee will be to give His Excellency the Defence Member the benefit of its views on matters connected with defence and to receive information from him, which though strictly confidential and, therefore, not to be divulged as such, will be intended to give the Members a valuable background of information which will help them in the discharge of their public and political duties.

As the Legislature is not in session and it is desired to set up the Committee immediately, His Excellency the Defence Member has decided to nominate the Members of the Committee forthwith in consultation with party leaders. Members nominated on this occasion will hold office only until the 1st October next or until the Legislature meets, whichever is the earlier date. When the Legislature meets, the Members will be elected in the usual manner by each House.

His Excellency the Defence Member has requested me as Leader of the House to get in touch with the leaders of parties in the Assembly and to request them to let me have the name of one member [each] from their respective parties, whom they desire to be nominated

to the Committee. His Excellency the Defence Member will himself select two Members from among Unattached Members in the Assembly so as to make up the quota of six allotted to the Assembly. As I have explained above, this arrangement will be in force only till the next session of the Legislature when all the six Members will be elected by the Assembly in the usual manner. I shall, therefore, be much obliged if you will kindly let me know the name of the member of your party whom you desire to have nominated to the Committee. I may add that His Excellency the Defence Member is anxious that the Committee should be set up and should start functioning as early as possible. An early reply will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,  
ZAFRULLA KHAN

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*Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 204/173-8*

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
3 June 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry I could not reply to your letter from Bangalore earlier. I was very busy with the troubles created for us by Mr. Fazlul Huq in the Bengal Provincial League regarding (1) the Corporation League Party, (2) the Calcutta League's resolution on Mr. Huq's Simla Mission and support to national government at the Centre. Moreover, I was engaged in holding the Calcutta Muslim League Conference. I am sending you reports of the Conference.

#### *Bengal Situation*

Mr. Fazlul Huq, as I reported earlier, as President, called the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League on the 23rd May 1941, to consider the resolution passed by the Calcutta League on Mr. Huq's move as well as to override the decisions of the Calcutta League in the matters of the League Party in the Calcutta Corporation and thereby to break the Calcutta League.

Thank God, Mr. Fazlul Huq has been foiled in all his attempts against us. We are poor Muslims. We have no big supporters save



our firm faith in Islam and its great destiny. We, therefore, remained firm in our position.

Mr. Huq first called Mulla Jan Muhammad, Secretary of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee, his old henchman of the Proja Party days. But as Mulla Jan and his Khilafat clique have absolutely no hold on the public and Muslims are against the so-called Khilafatists for their past misdeeds and present hostility to the League, Mr. Huq failed in getting their support. Mulla Jan expressed his utter inability to stand in the public against the Calcutta League.

Mr. Huq then invited Mr. M. S. Ali, Secretary of the Ward Muslim League of Ballyganj, which is the *Mohallah* of Mr. Huq, to condemn the Calcutta League and support the statements of Mr. Huq. Mr. Ali, who is also a relation of Mr. Huq, refused to do so saying that Mr. Huq's Ward League will rather support Calcutta League and oppose Mr. Huq's move.

#### *Mr. Huq's Utter Failure*

Thereafter, Mr. Huq tried his level best to get some person in Bengal to issue a statement in his support but you will be glad to know that in the whole of Bengal he got not a single Muslim Leaguer who was ready to support him. The only persons who supported his move were a few Congressites, like Mr. Jalaluddin Hashmy and others. This fact further worsened Mr. Huq's position and exposed the real nature of his move.

Even the members of Mr. Huq's Proja Party refused to issue any statement in his support because these persons are also members of the League and they realized the general feeling of the Bengali Muslims against Mr. Huq's move.

Seeing his utter isolation and disillusionment, Mr. Huq sent two emissaries to me. One of them was his sister's son, Nanhey—Mr. Huq's most favourite relation. Nanhey deposed to me that he had stoutly opposed his uncle's move and characterised it as illogical in view of Mr. Huq's support for Pakistan and the two-nation theory. Nanhey, however, requested me to accompany him to Mr. Huq.

But I refused to go to Mr. Huq unless he issued another statement declaring, first, that he was not opposed to the League and its ideal; secondly, that in all Hindu-Muslim negotiations, the League was the only body which could represent the Muslim nation; thirdly, that by national government he never meant that India was one nation and there should be a national government of India, but that the Muslims must get [that] equal representation in any composite war

government; [and] fourthly, that no settlement or agreement can be made without the ratification of the League.

Mr. Huq issued a statement, more or less incorporating these principles. Unless this statement had been issued, a public meeting was going to be held against his action.

### *Bengal League's Meeting*

Mr. Huq, finding that he was not getting any support, tried to evade and postpone the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal League which he himself had called for 23.5.41. He requested Mr. Formuzul Huq, the Assistant Secretary, to postpone the meeting. But he expressed his inability to do so, because members had already arrived from Dacca and other parts of Bengal.

The meeting was held under the presidency [*sic*] of Mr. Fazlur Rahman but Mr. Huq failed to attend it on ground of illness, which was a mere pretext.

Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din Khan, Mr. Shahabuddin and all other members, who attended the meeting, expressed their disapproval of Mr. Huq's move. Mr. Waseque, another henchman of Mr. Huq, was the only exception.

*[Fourteen lines omitted]*

### *Present Position*

Now, the present position is that Mr. Huq is losing the confidence of the League-minded Muslims as well as of sane people. Mr. Huq's Proja Party exists only on paper with no office, no organization, no branch, no party fund and no paper.

The Krishak Proja Party, which exists, is a different body and is in the hands of Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, both of whom are opposed to Mr. Huq. Mr. Momin is deadly against Mr. Huq because it was Mr. Huq who rejected Mr. Momin's application for a League ticket to stand in the recent Assembly bye-election at Chuadanga, and also because Mr. Huq managed to oust Mr. Momin from his office of the Waqf Commissioner of Bengal and make a gift of the office to his own son-in-law, a mere deputy magistrate of no position or ability. This was a palpable act of nepotism.

This Proja Party of Momin Shamsuddin is running a Bengali daily—the *Krishak*. Mr. Momin is financing it. He is giving Rs. 100 a month to the paper. However, Mr. Momin is still a member of the League and congratulated us on our resolution on Mr. Huq.

But even this Krishak Proja Party was defeated in all the Assembly



bye-elections by the League. The League defeated it in all elections to the local bodies and district boards. It has no power to stand against the League provided the League stand solid and firm and work hard for the people.

So, Mr. Huq is losing ground both in the League as well as in the Proja. Stories of his jobbery, corruption, nepotism and bribe-taking have now become household stories and are alienating the sympathies of his friends.

But still Mr. Huq is trying his best to break the Calcutta League. He is mobilizing the force of *Mohallah goondas* and the Khilafatists on his side to oppose and frustrate our efforts.

### *The Calcutta League Conference*

The Calcutta League Conference was held on 1st June 1941. A few selfish people and henchmen of Mr. Huq tried to oppose us. But they sustained heavy defeat. I am sending you a copy of the report.<sup>1</sup>

### *Five Year Plan Committee*

I invite your attention to resolutions on Pakistan and the Five Year Plan Committee.

Practically, no Punjabi Muslim is there on the Plan Committee. I suggest that Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, your deputy in the Central Assembly, should be co-opted from the Punjab. As Secretary of the Anjuman Tablighul-Islam, Ambala, he has a special knowledge of the social conditions of Muslims.

Bengal is also practically without representation because Mr. Ispahani knows something of Calcutta but little of Bengal. He neither knows Bengali nor Bengal. I suggest that at least two persons from the following may be co-opted, i.e. Maulana Abdur Rauf Danapuri, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Maulana Akrum Khan.

### *Crux of Muslim Social Problem*

As the crux of the social problem of the Indian Muslim society is the emancipation and purging of Indo-Muslim society from the pernicious influences of caste and Hinduised customs, I suggest that some prominent Leaguers, who have personal and intimate knowledge and experience of the Momin problem, may be co-opted. Mr. Latifur Rahman or Khan Bahadur Maulana Mobarak Karim, ex-Director of Islamic Studies, Bihar, a member of the League, may be of great help to the Committee.

### *Calcutta League's Latest Victory*

The latest victory scored by the Calcutta Muslim League is the

unopposed election of Haji Muhammad Husain, M.L.C., to the Corporation of Calcutta from the Colootola Ward. This was caused by the resignation of Dr. Syed Zafar Ahmad, our Councillor, who has been appointed as Health Officer. All candidates withdrew their names in favour of the League [nominee].

Haji Mohammad Husain, M.L.C., is our newly elected Vice-President and was nominated by the Calcutta League.

Yours sincerely,  
RAGHIB AHSAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 431.

## 435

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M.A. Jinnah*

*SHC, U.P. IV/26*

*5 June 1941*

My dear uncle,

I realise that my guilt is unpardonable for not writing to you until now. But now that I have achieved some of my desires, I hope you will give these your due consideration and order me or anyone else you may think fit to carry them out. You may have heard from any member of the D.C. that I suddenly made up my mind to proceed to Calcutta. Before leaving, I had unconsciously written to you regarding a certain old gentleman who met you in Calcutta when you were there last. I also had gone to meet him. He is an old man with knowledge and full of experience. We discussed and deliberated on various topics in connection with the Muslim League. The conference ended up successfully and I have come back more experienced, if not wiser. These I shall relate when I have the pleasure and the honour of coming to Bombay after the 26th of June.

2. Recently, the Governor of Sind made a very revealing speech in the course of which he referred to the murder of a Hindu Assembly Member who had a hand in organizing the Hur activities. If this is right, then the Hindus must generally be involved in these outrages. It is a well-known fact that Pir Pagaro has been all along with the Congress. Even in the Manzilgah affair, he did not help the Muslims. If all this is true, then it is a most intricate conspiracy on the part of the Hindus with a view to encouraging persecution and wholesale repression of the Muslims in Sindh. Pir Pagaro, unfortunately, does



not realise this. I am, herewith, enclosing a draft of a letter I want to send to the Viceroy and I submit it for your approval.

3. The students' defense organisation in this Province is nearing completion. They are holding their supreme command's camp in Mahmudabad from the 9th June for a fortnight. After this camp concludes, I propose sending three students to other provinces.

4. Shall we not do something for [those] across the Durand line? A little help from us now will oblige them for ever. Congress hold is weakening and this is the time to tackle them.

With affectionate regards from your ever-loving,

AMIR

*Enclosure to No. 435*

*SHC, UP IV/27*

I am taking the liberty of addressing Your Excellency on a subject which is causing deep concern and anxiety to all lovers of peace and order in the country. I am referring to the series of murders, train and bus hold-ups, derailments, flooding of the countryside by cutting the banks of the canals, and other acts of sabotage and violence perpetrated during the last few weeks by the Hurs which resulted in most regrettable loss of life and property and has created a situation bordering on anarchy in Sind, compelling the Government to call in troops which would have otherwise been employed in the defence of the country.

I have no doubt that the Government of the Province is taking all possible and necessary steps to stamp out the Hur terror, but it would not be considered, I hope, meddling with the machinery of Government if I make a few suggestions, which if acted upon may strengthen the hands of the Government.

That Hurs, a set of ignorant and fanatical people, should be committing these outrages on such a large scale and in such a systematic manner as to become a serious menace to peace gives strength to the view held by some responsible people that the Hurs have the benefit of the advice and guidance of persons who have studied and practised terrorism in its modern technique. The terrorist organisation in India started for political purpose is apparently scotched but not dead. The *modus operandi* of the movement—murder of prominent as well as ordinary people in order to paralyse Government—is too well-known and has been too long in vogue in widely separate parts of the country to be regarded as a mere

coincidence in the case of Hurs. The extremist section of the Congress has been long identified with these methods and it is not outside the range of possibility that these extremist sections may be using these misguided Hurs as their tools. One well-known Hindu M.L.A. of Sind who was murdered not so long ago is said to have been suspected of having a liaison with these fanatics and he was chosen out for death because, it is alleged, he fell out with them. Be that as it may, one thing is certain. Pir Pagaro, to effect whose release these outrages and murders are being committed, is known to have political leanings towards the Congress. He has an extraordinary hold on his followers and what [is] more natural than that this influence and hold should be exploited by people and turned to [good] account.

My humble suggestion is that some prominent Muslims, who may be willing to make the attempt, be allowed by the Government to interview him with a view to prevailing upon him with reasons and arguments to issue a *fatwa* calling on his followers to desist from these outrages. I would like to go with these Muslims. Where pressure from Government has not succeeded, persuasion by an unofficial agency may. The Pir may see the error of his attitude towards society and the Government. In any case, if permission as sought by me is given, the situation, I am sure, cannot become worse as a result of these interviews. On the other hand it may improve.

His Excellency the Governor of Sind in a recent statement said that the Hurs will be suppressed by every means in the power of the Government. I do not want these attempts at suppression to be abated but it will not do any harm if other means are also tried. I could submit these proposals to Your Excellency by giving them publicity through the press. But I thought it would be better if I approached Your Excellency through this representation.

I apologise for the length of this letter which I am afraid will take up some of Your Excellency's precious time but the urgency of the question is my excuse.



436

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M.A.Jinnah**F.199/76-7*

CIVIL LINES,  
ROORKEE,  
5 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you and I hope you have received my letter. The other day I heard from the publisher of my book; he says he has written to you on the subject.

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter received by the publisher from Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University, to whom a copy of the book had been sent. The letter shows the poisoned mentality which infects almost every Hindu mind today. The Hindu intelligentsia, it seems, has been carried off its feet in its horror of the growing strength of the Muslim League movement, so much so that they are not prepared even to observe ordinary courtesies. I have suggested to the publisher to reply to Mr. Jha to the effect that the book is in no sense an indictment of the entire Hindu community as such unless he believes the Congress to be synonymous with the Hindu community, a position which Congressmen themselves vehemently deny. I think I would publish Mr. Jha's letter and any reply which is received from him.

I was very glad to learn from the papers that instructions had been issued to Provincial Leagues to broadcast your revised statement on the Sapru Conference. Some such step is indeed necessary. It would also prove useful if District and Primary Leagues are moved to hold meetings in mosques or elsewhere to explain the situation to Muslim masses and caution them to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency. You will also have noticed the second statement of Fazlul Huq, wherein, I believe, he makes suitable amends for his mistake in issuing the first statement. Only if he could still learn to avoid issuing statements on vital matters which lend themselves to all sorts of interpretation.

I believe you will be returning to Bombay soon. The manuscript of your speeches is almost ready. I am only awaiting copies of certain speeches which you had promised to send me. I shall be much obliged

if you will very kindly arrange to send me copies of the speeches you have with you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

*Enclosure to No. 436*

*F. 199/78*

Dear Sir,

I have received a copy of the book *The Indian Constitutional Tangle*, which I have read through. I cannot understand why this book should have been sent to me. It is not merely—what nobody could object to—a propaganda pamphlet in favour of the Muslim League point of view, but it is an indictment of the entire community of which I am a member. I consider it impertinent on your part to have sent the book to me.

Yours faithfully,  
A. JHA

437

*M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Gazder*

*F.261/29*

OOTACAMUND,  
6 June 1941

Dear Mr. Gazder,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th May<sup>1</sup> and as I was busy with many other things, I was unable to write to you. I have read your letter carefully and all I can say is that it is up to you leaders to work together and organise our people.

I am glad to note when you say "my hands are more than full with the League and other activities in Karachi." I have written to Sir Abdoola Haroon and I gather from the information and reports that I have received that they are doing their bit.

You all must put [yours] shoulders to the wheel and I am sure that you will very soon realise the change.

Yes, I have also been watching the results of the joint electorate in



Sukkur and Shikarpur. Even the British-edited papers have declared them as failure. However, Sind is official-ridden and worships power. The only remedy for this evil is organising and creating healthy public opinion.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M.A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 386.

## 438

*M. A. Jinnah to Nazir Ahmad Choudhry*

*F. 874/121*

OOTACAMUND,  
6 June 1941

Dear Moulvi Nazir Ahmad,

I have received your letter of the 17th May<sup>1</sup> and I shall certainly give my best consideration to it.

I have not yet decided upon the personnel of the Working Committee. I shall announce the names on my arrival at Bombay by the 15th of June. Nevertheless, I thank you for your various suggestions. I quite agree with you that the statements and move of Mr. Fazlul Huq was certainly inappropriate and harmful. However, he has by his subsequent explanation tried to minimize the harm of the unfortunate move that was made by him. I am really glad to note that the Muslim League of Bengal is wide awake and is following the various developments that are taking place. We have to be very vigilant as you know our opponents are moving heaven and earth to frustrate our aims and objective; but I am confident that now Muslim India is wide awake and they will ultimately succeed.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 404.

## 439

*M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon*

*F. 274/224*

OOTACAMUND,  
6 June 1941

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th May<sup>1</sup> together with the cuttings. I am glad to note that the Sukkur District Muslim League Conference was a great success.

I agree with you that we have to keep a vigilant eye on the various movements and manoeuvres that are going on with regard to the Sapru Conference.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards

Your sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 440

*Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M.A.Jinnah*

*F. 393/6-7*

NO.1 SULAIMAN BUILDING,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
6 June 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo-'Alaikum*

I have already written to you a letter on the 16th of May.<sup>1</sup> But I have not, as yet, received any reply from you. We are keenly waiting for it.

In the meanwhile we have been up and doing. We have done some spadework:



- i. In the first place, we have laid the foundation of a local Pakistan Propaganda Committee in Lyallpur [now Faisalabad]. We also held a public meeting. You may see the cutting of the *Eastern Times*, Lahore.<sup>2</sup> A Pakistan Conference will be held in the third week of June. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has promised to preside.
- ii. A mammoth meeting was held at Lahore on the 30th of May to mark the inauguration of Pakistan rural propaganda campaign. Details are given in the accompanying cuttings<sup>3</sup> of the daily *Ihsan* and the *Civil & Military Gazette*.
- iii. From 20th June, we are ourselves starting intensive and extensive propaganda,—intensive, in order to reform the existing Leagues and extensive—with a view to establishing new Leagues where there are no Leagues.

You will see from the cuttings of newspapers that everywhere it has been our endeavour to condemn the waverers and to strengthen your hands because you are the custodian of the All India Muslim League. We need your blessings and prayers.

I hope, as soon as convenient, you will consider the request in my earlier letter for a personal interview of our delegates with you.

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI  
*Joint Secretary, All India Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>No. 398

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

## 441

*Hossain Imam to M.A.Jinnah*

*F. 296/17-8*

HASNAIN MANZIL,  
 GAYA,  
 7 June 1941

Dear Mr.Jinnah,

Yesterday, I received a confidential letter from our Leader of the House, asking me to nominate a member to the Defence Consultative

Committee on behalf of Muslim League Party of the Council [of State]. I gather that a similar letter has been sent to you too. I feel that in view of your past attitude towards these shadow affairs, we should not weaken our demand for substance of power by being side-tracked in these petty committees.

I await your instructions and will be obliged if you kindly send me a telegram for acceptance or refusal.

After the Bihar Sharif riots, I toured the affected area in connection with an enquiry committee of our Provincial League. Our enquiry has shown that ordinary law is quite ineffective both in checking and in punishing the culprits. We, therefore, wish to recommend certain amendments, but doubt our own competence to tackle such an important matter without your guidance. If you can find time to help us, I can send the notes for your scrutiny and come over to your place for further discussion, if necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
HOSSAIN IMAM

442

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M.A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/228*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
7 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have gathered from the newspapers that the Government of India has decided to appoint a War Advisory Committee, which will be drawn mainly from the existing parties in the Central Houses.

Previously, when the Government wished to appoint a committee to visit munition factories and military centres, you thought it wise not to associate the League with this move, to which I completely agreed. But, for this Committee, my personal opinion is that we must join this Committee, for it will enable us to be in touch with the true war situation and also to come in contact with the army officials.

However, if you feel that it may, in any way, prove injurious to our cause, you can adopt any policy which will be most beneficial, and



I shall be a willing seconder.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
H.A.HAROON

443

*Abdur Rehman Rais to M.A.Jinnah*

*F. 30/16*

DISPENSARY ROAD,  
BANGLORE CANTT.,  
8 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah

Please find a note on situation in Hyderabad. I know that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has seen and acquainted you with the situation last month. A letter from Hyderabad reads that a strong rumour of wholesale arrest[s] of the Muslim leaders is circulating. It is also rumoured that Nawab's *jagir, mansab*, etc., will be confiscated. This note may be of some help to you, if you feel inclined to take up the matter in your hand. We cannot invite intervention as a matter of principle, but you can use your person and influence to put things right. You may ask for my credentials as you did two years ago when I approached you in similar circumstances arising out of anti-reform agitation in Hyderabad which had resulted in your visit to Hyderabad. This time, too, I have no credentials. But if, in your opinion, my note can furnish a ground for you to help us, I will see that the Nawab meets you at Bombay. When Mr. Gandhi could initiate [a] subversive movement and at the same time bring relief and confidence to the Hindus of Hyderabad, so much so that the government has to think a hundred times before they resolve against them, I believe Jinnah will not fail in finding a way out.

Yours faithfully,  
ABDUR REHMAN RAIS  
*Editor, The Waqt, Delhi*

Enclosure to No. 443

F. 30/17-20

SITUATION IN HYDERABAD

As you know, the present calamity of the Muslims of Hyderabad is the change in the attitude of the H.E.H. towards them. Is this change spontaneous and inherent? If not, who is responsible? What is the background?

There are two views: One is that as the Government of India was blaming H.E.H. that he is in league with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, he had to take up the present attitude to pacify the Political Department of the Government of India. The other view is that the change is worked up by the Government both through the agents of the Paramount Power and directly through the *Durbar*. Thus they are revenging themselves on the Muslims [for the] success achieved two years ago whereby they had to submit to an outsider, Mr. Jinnah.

Analyses may differ, but it cannot be disputed that the Government, while neutralizing themselves and leaving H.E.H. to clash with the Muslims, are vigorously exploiting the situation to repress the Muslims. The political propaganda missionary is let loose upon them; the Muslim press is either subsidized and captured or is to struggle under the shadow of terrorism by the Government. The exploitation by the Government has taken the worst form of repression, namely political suffocation.

Security can be demanded from Muslim press orally without giving any reason and even without any reference to the objectionable matter, and similarly it can be confiscated within three weeks and it is not necessary for them to show cause. The Police, without any order with them, without giving any receipt and even without showing any authority, can take over non-proscribed literature. Is it a sin to apply for permission to hold a public meeting in order to protest against a minor appointment? It is so there [*sic*] a responsible local leader was sent for by the police and was warned that he would be seriously dealt with. The subsidized, semi-official and Hindu press can write anything they like against the Muslim creed, Muslim leaders and Muslim organizations but no Muslim organ can bring out a rejoinder. Consequently, the whole of the Muslim press is to endure and if it is to express itself, it can do so at the risk of being stopped without giving any cause and reason.

The Government is also exploiting the extraordinary state what is called war conditions. They are misusing the defence



regulations. An order under Section 25 has been executed on a man owning a Muslim news agency who is neither a writer nor a speaker. Perhaps, they thought they could bring an end to the agency, but the owner has transferred the news agency and it is being run now [*sic*]. Government have failed in this. But that does not acquit them of the charge of misusing the law.

Now they have enforced new regulations affecting the liberty of *jagirdars*, the majority of whom happen to be Muslims. *Jagirdars*, who were directly connected with the Court, have now been brought under the rigid control of the Government by virtue of the new regulations. It is a hard fact that the Government, which will control them, is nominated by the Paramount Power as is the case with almost all the States. This is all done under some pretext apparently to penalise the Nawab [Bahadur Yar Jung]. But what they really mean is to detach this influential privileged Muslim class from the Muslim community, gain hold over them and enslave them.

For everything, they take shelter in *Firmans*.

In short, liberty of thought and expression is denied for which a nation has to live. What is left of the Muslims of Hyderabad after the new *Jagirdars* regulations? Government servants were already banned; now the *Jagirdars* and *Sardars* are detached. Who else lives in Hyderabad? They are either Government servants, *Jagirdars* and *Mashdars* or their dependents who are also banned. Only *Jutkewallas*, *Tongawallas* or a few other interests, who form a fraction of the whole community, are left out.

The Government is so determined against the Muslims that they have gone to the extent of defeating the very cause of war aims. Every now and then, they bring out a communique or gazette-extraordinary always with a reference to war conditions, as if Hyderabad is going anti-war. As a matter of fact they have created such an impression outside Hyderabad. It is so detrimental to law and order that had I been in a position to deal with, I would have certainly subjected them to the defence regulations.

To conclude, while the Government are up to a crusade against the Muslims, their policy towards the Hindus is one of appeasement. Why?

I could not and cannot bring home the situation as we feel to-day. This note, I believe, cannot make you feel as we do. But we have to endure [and] tolerate.

Whether the change in H.E.H.'s attitude has travelled from Simla or Delhi or is inherent, it makes no difference, as it is the

Government and Government alone who are everything to-day, having behind them the sanction of Delhi. The Paramount Power interfered and got their Government. Why should we then attribute the evils to H.E.H.? They intervened under the pretext of mal-administration. Englishmen and their nominees were thrust upon us. Is it not more than maladministration that a community of three million should be denied ordinary rights of citizenship and be repressed to suffocation? I believe, Delhi does not know what is going on. All the three all-India news agencies—Associated Press, United Press and Orient Press—are heavily subsidized and the news is controlled. The Anglo-Indian press is least interested and the Hindu press is antagonistic. Moreover, Delhi is busy with war efforts. They can hardly spare time for local matters. Therefore, the Hyderabad Government remains the sole master of the situation. They may represent whatever they like and they may bring any pressure [to bear] indirectly upon H.E.H. and neutralize themselves. Under the circumstances, there are two alternatives: Action from within or pressure from without. But we have to be content with our lot as the remedy, it is said, is not in our hands. It is elsewhere. Yet something must be done.

444

*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M.A. Jinnah*

*F.392/45-8*

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
10 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry for the delay in replying to your letter. In the beginning, I was out on tour and did not get back till the day when I sent you the wire. After that I was not sure what your address was, and while I was trying to ascertain it, I had to go to Simla. Besides, the subject had lost much of its importance after the publication in the *Star of India* of the last statement by Mr. Fazlul Huq. I will now try and give you all the information that I possess on the subject. It will help you to get some idea of Mr. Fazlul Huq and his statement.



I learnt from a very reliable source that Mr. Fazlul Huq did not put up any definite proposal before the Viceroy when he went up to Simla. He had lunch and a short interview in which he did not particularly discuss the problems which he is reported to have discussed with the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, the whole thing fizzled out after Mr. Fazlul Huq's last statement in the *Star of India*, which you must have read and enjoyed. He practically takes back all he had said against the League and makes himself to be the follower and supporter of the League and speaks of Muslims as a nation, thereby indirectly agreeing with the Pakistan scheme. He wanted to discuss the resolution of the Calcutta Muslim League at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, but finding no support he did not let the question come up at the meeting at all.

While I was in Simla, I had a conversation with the Viceroy when he asked my views about Jinnah-Sapru controversy. I told him what I had stated at a public meeting in Shillong. I said that constitutional issues could only be settled by an agreement amongst the leaders of recognised political parties. Those who are in active politics cannot go against the political party to which they belong. I said, for example, I personally could take no part in any conference nor accept any office without the approval of Mr. Jinnah. He fully agreed with me and was of opinion that no responsible Muslim leader could go against Muslim League. It was apparent from the Viceroy's conversation that in his opinion, Muslim League has got such a strong hold upon the Muslim masses that Muslim politicians cannot afford to ignore or go against the Muslim League.

May I now refer to a subject which is, in our opinion, rather important. It is just possible that owing to the various statements published by the two Premiers of Bengal and Punjab, you may decide to leave them out of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Shahabuddin and myself have discussed this amongst ourselves, and we are definitely of opinion that it will be very unfortunate if, just at present, the two Premiers are left out. It is true that, from time to time, they make statements which appear to be in conflict with the decisions of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League. But Muslims have given no support to them, and what is still more important, the two Premiers, all along in spite of their statements, acknowledged the leadership of the President of the All India Muslim League; and they have never openly disassociated themselves from the



League or its organisation. It is possible to argue that the League has acquired such position that if the two Premiers of Bengal and Punjab go against it, they will get no support and will have no option but to submit to the dictation of the League. It may be correct, but, on the other hand, we have in Bengal the experience of what happened when disciplinary action was taken against Mr. Subhas Bose. He managed to establish a non-official Congress Party in Bengal, and in spite of all the disciplinary action taken against him by the Congress, he remained a powerful figure in the all-India politics until he disappeared. I may not be able to speak with authority about the situation in the Punjab, but from what I heard it appears that the rural areas in the Punjab are not very League-minded; and it is only in the big cities that the League has got strong followers. But leaving the Punjab alone we are definitely of opinion that in Bengal, at the present time, it will be fatal to give Mr. Fazlul Huq an opportunity to raise the standard of revolt. There are many cries that may be raised in his favour and although he may not have a very big following, but still it can be sufficient to divide the Muslims in Bengal and do a lot of harm.

It is not possible in the course of a letter to deal with the various aspects of the question. Luckily, Raja of Mahmudabad and Mr. Khaliquzzaman happened to be in Calcutta and we have discussed with them and the Ispahanis the present situation in Bengal and placed all facts before them. I earnestly request you not to omit the name of Mr. Fazlul Huq from the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. It will create innumerable difficulties for us and it will be a source of great embarrassment as well. Whatever may be the justification from an all-India point of view, I can assure you, as being the man on the spot, that from the provincial point of view it will be fatal and disastrous if, just now, any opportunity is given to Mr. Fazlul Huq to divide the Muslims in Bengal. In my opinion, he will not have the slightest compunction in doing so. I do hope you will kindly take into serious consideration our views and if you are not convinced, give us another opportunity to place further material before you.

Last of all, both Shahabuddin and I would request you to increase the Bengal quota by one and include the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. He, at the present moment, is the chief organiser of Muslim League in Bengal; he is taking a great deal of interest and he is a hundred per cent Leaguer. His inclusion in the Working Committee will make



him organise the League in Bengal with greater vigour and enthusiasm. We cannot advise you to remove the name of Maulana Mohammad Akrum Khan, because we think he ought to be there, specially as his paper wields very great influence in Bengal.

I hope the change and the rest have proved beneficial and you have by now fully recovered your health.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

## 445

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

NAINI TAL,  
12 June 1941

My dear uncle,

Two days back I arrived here from Calcutta. I was about to write the report about Bengal when I was struck by a most violent pain near the heart in the chest. This is the reason for the delay, and I beg to be excused.

In Calcutta, I tried to get all the points of view and discuss various aspects of Mr. [Fazlul] Huq's misbehaviour. You know perfectly well that Nazim probably is the most honest of the whole lot. [Huseyn] Shaheed [Suhrawardy] is self-centred and egotistically patriotic. Nawab [Habibullah] Bahadur is apocryphally [*sic*] self-conceited. Shahabuddin leads Nazim by the nose and Shahab's nose is mortgaged to the British. Therefore, we cannot rely even on our best man in Bengal (in position), fully knowing that he is not his own master. Then comes Ispahani about whom, even if I go on writing pages after pages, I will not be able to do justice. Suffice it to say that he is the light in impenetrable darkness. But he is not a Bengali and the Bengali is jealous of all non-Bengalis, so that is that. Fazlul Huq has many advantages; he is an old politician, he is a Bengali, he is charitable to the extent of waste, he is sly, he is cunning, [and] he is all that can easily defeat our honest efforts.

This is the talk we had with Nazim.

Probably Mr. Jinnah will be driven to take a similar action against

Fazlul Huq as he took against Abdur Rahman. Therefore, I want to convey the following facts through you in the interest of the Muslim League, the Muslims [in general], and the Muslims of Bengal in particular.

F[azlul Huq] is committed to the League; the aberrations that he off and on indulges in are temporary and superficial. This time even he did not stick to his statement and contradicted it in his old style. As long as he is in the League Working Committee, he will always come for shelter to the League. In his last statement, he has said Muslim nation, and the question is that if he does not believe in Pakistan, how does he utter such a thing? My fear is that if he is thrown out of the Working Committee, then he may start a parallel organisation in Bengal and even go to the extent of giving that organisation the same name. Then our position in the masses will be nothing. We even will not have a reply that he is not in the League. Later on, he may form a coalition with [Sarat Chandra] Bose and other Hindus and thus do the utmost harm to the Muslims of Bengal. Europeans will support him. The position would have been quite different if new elections were coming on. But until the Muslim League becomes a house[-hold] word in Bengal, F[azlul Huq] cannot be dislodged from his position, and even new elections cannot help.

I said, then how long do you expect us to bear these insults to our organisation. You don't even try to make the League strong among the masses. Can you tell me what you have done for the Muslims? How many tours you have taken during the year? How many Leagues have been formed?

Shaheed: Yes it is true that we have been criminally negligent in our duties but you will be pleased to note that now there are 38 branches of the League all over Bengal and we [are] now determined to make it stronger. Until then I agree with Nazim that F[azlul Huq] should not be touched.

I said: But, for instance, Mr. Jinnah does not agree to take in F[azlul Huq], then what?

All (i.e. Nazim, Shahabuddin, [Hassan] Ispahani and Ahmad): Then don't take any minister from any province.

In the end of these discussions, Hassan and even Ahmad [Ispahani] were agreeing with Nazim, and there was no other way. A few days later, I met Rahman and he also was of the opinion that in the interest of the League no action should be taken against F[azlul Huq]. But, he said, sentimentally I feel that all this rotten material be



turned out of the League. Logically, I agree with the rest.

I also remember putting a very categorical question to Shaheed. I asked: What will happen if we come to some critical juncture when every member is put to the test and sacrifice is demanded. Shaheed: Then we can turn him out.

Therefore, Sir, with the disinterested colleagues, with the shadow of a Provincial League, with the devils working against us and with no financial independence, I have to confess that we cannot do any better but to go on giving a long rope and if *Allah* wills he F[azlul Huq]) will hang himself.

Another misunderstanding has arisen and that is, the people think that Pakistan has been provisionally shelved. As to its source, I am unable to trace. It is rampant in U.P.

I wonder if you received the Bihar reports?

With respects to [your]self and *phuphi*,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 208-11.

## 446

*M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 306/70-71*

5 CAMAC STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
12 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your telegram,<sup>1</sup> received half an hour ago. Not knowing your whereabouts I was awaiting your return to Bombay, which fact was published in the newspapers only yesterday.

Last week [Raja Mohammad] Amir [Ahmad Khan] went back to Lucknow and from his telegram received today, I find that he is at present in Naini Tal with his family. When he was here I afforded him several opportunities of meeting the so-called Muslim big guns in the political world of Bengal. He had several long talks with Shaheed, Nazim, Shahabuddin, [Nawab of] Dacca,<sup>2</sup> [Abdur Rahman] Siddiqui and even Fazlul Huq, and the consensus of opinion of our League leaders like Nazim, Shaheed, Shahabuddin and Abdur Rahman [Siddiqui] seems to be that Fazlul Huq should not be thrown out of the Working Committee of the All India [Muslim] League just

yet, because, if we do so, it would be a tactical mistake. Fazlul Huq will either openly revert to the Proja Party and join hands with the Hindus to cause a rift amongst the Musalmans in Bengal, or will go round saying that he has been victimised and thrown out of the League and will start a bogus League to run parallel to ours, following, in this instance, [in] the footsteps of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose who is running a parallel Congress organisation in the province. Fazlul Huq may plead that he has always rectified by subsequent statements "any misunderstandings that may have cropped up by his innocent expression of opinion".

His last string of statements issued from Meerut, Delhi and Calcutta did not, as you know, go unchallenged. The Calcutta Muslim League met and passed resolutions that were far from palatable to Mr. Fazlul Huq. He thought that he could, once again, ride rough-shod. So he convened a meeting of the Provincial Working Committee to consider what action should be taken against the Calcutta Muslim League Working Committee for humiliating and insulting the President of the Provincial Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, by releasing to the press the resolution as passed by them, condemning his move. He thought that he would browbeat the Working Committee into subjection but found that he was mistaken because not even two members of the Working Committee were with him. We decided to crush him then and there. What is most significant is the fact that throughout the length and breadth of Bengal not more than two Musalmans issued statements in support of Mr. Fazlul Huq's latest move. These two Musalmans are men of straw. They are known to be hirelings of the Congress. Therefore, Mr. Fazlul Huq realised that he had overstepped the mark of indiscretion and that if he did not set matters right quickly there would definitely be a landslide in his popularity and position in Bengal. The result was his somersault and complete contradiction of what he had uttered only a few days ago and a complete subjugation to the will of the Muslim League and an absolute admission of the fact that the Muslim League was the only competent political party that represented the Muslim nation in India. He wangled out of this mess at the eleventh hour when he found himself isolated. If he is now pushed out of the Working Committee, he will plead that whatever his faults may have been he had always been loyal to the League and that he had been victimised. With this pleading he may get away with some sort of support in the country, and this at the present moment is not what we would all like. Knowing Fazlul Huq as we do, it is best to give



him a long rope. He is bound to hang himself sooner or later. He cannot keep a consistent and true course for long. He is bound to slip and slip badly and it will then be time to deal him a death blow.

[Raja of] Mahmudabad thought that if the people in Bengal were not prepared to throw out Fazlul Huq just yet, we should not force the issue but wait for another opportunity.

Maulana Akrum Khan is ill and is away in Madhupur. He is leading a semi-retired life but as he is a big noise in Muslim Bengal, it would not be advisable to keep him out. As for Nazimuddin, I have already expressed my opinion to you. If, however, you can afford Bengal a fourth seat on the Working Committee, Siddiqi should not be a bad choice but that, of course, is entirely a matter for you to decide.

I am in the thick of a fight with my erstwhile colleague, now a foe, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. Much of my time, energy and strength are being taken up by retrieving our position in the Corporation due to the sudden and unilateral termination of our pact of last year, which was renewed again [*sic*] by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose of his own free will this year.

I hope the change in Bangalore, Mysore and Ooty has done you good. You were far from well in Madras and it is very necessary that you should look after yourself because at this time when the whole world is passing through a crisis and conditions are changing almost hourly, we, the Musalmans of India, need you to guide us more than ever before. May God give you good health, long life and strength to pilot our ship safely to port through this world storm.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,

HASSAN

PS. Abdur Rahman feels that Fazlul Huq has done everything against the League and, therefore, must be removed from the Working Committee but his removal is likely to place the League into hands which are no better. It is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Has the time come when the League should keep itself independent of the Cabinets, for the Ministers should be the executors of the policy laid down by the League? In case of a deviation, they should be brought to the bar of the League to explain their position. Today they join in initiating the policy

and then they torpedo it without the least compunction. This is not as it should be.

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah wired that he had been awaiting Ispahani-Amir joint report. See F. 306/69, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Nawab Khwaja Habibullah of Dacca, Minister for Public Health and Local Self-Government, Bengal.

## 447

*Reginald H. Parker to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 502/11-2*

AMAR BUILDING,  
SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD,  
BOMBAY,  
13 June 1941

Dear Jinnah,

I am sending you a copy of the *Black Record* being broadcast by Sir Robert Vansittart relating to Germany.<sup>1</sup> I particularly ask you to read it if you have not done so already because I think it is essential that the intelligentsia of the world should realise the great importance of the facts related in it.

Whatever sort of a peace is made must ensure that the Germans have not got it in their power either to maltreat their own people as they have done or to maltreat the people of other nations.

In writing to me on this subject, Sir Robert Vansittart says:

Very briefly, my view is that if people underestimate the magnitude of the spiritual regeneration that must take place in Germany, they are not likely to get something that can only come by repentance and change of heart. Nor, in fact, will they be fair on the minority in Germany who won't get a chance against the hostile majority unless there really is a change of heart.

To that, I would like to add that it is by no means only in Germany or among the Nazis in Germany that such a regeneration is necessary. Anybody with knowledge of Germany knows that the Jews of Germany, many of them, were not much better than the Nazis.

I say that in every country—Germany included—what is wanted is education, based on the view that the duty of the human being is to do all he can to help his fellow human beings, and not, as is all too often the mental attitude now, to grab for himself all that he can get



and give as little as possible.

Any arguments that the Germans should be given another chance to reform themselves, as they were after the 1914-18 war, have no more validity than arguments in favour of releasing a homicidal maniac from control. In a proper anxiety to do our best for them after this war, we must not risk the interests of the other peoples of the world upon whom they have brought so much suffering.

Yours sincerely,  
R.H. PARKER  
*Member, Council of State*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

448

*M. I. Hasan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 276/8-10*

CONFIDENTIAL

BUDAUN,  
13 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have, so far, been inducing myself to refrain from writing to you and worrying you about the Budaun affairs, specially the terrible catastrophe of Ujhani in April last when eight Musalmans were shot dead and four others wounded by police firing. But since the matter, thank God, has now almost reached the stage of success for us by our persistent efforts and agitation, I thought I might venture to approach you for giving it a finishing touch in order to ensure complete success. We are also grateful to our Provincial League, which helped us this time.

The authorities had allowed an innovation of the Hindu *Sanatan Dharam Nager Keertan* procession. The permission was kept a closely-guarded secret in order to get the Musalmans into trouble more easily. When it sprang as a surprise, the Musalmans naturally objected to it and asked for the order of the District Magistrate because they were told that the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Tipson, had allowed the innovation by issuing a licence under Section 30 of the Police Act and not the District Magistrate, Mr. Nicholson. The Musalmans' *Mehndis* were not allowed to be taken out both in 1940 and 1941 on the objection of the Hindus that they

were innovation. When the Musalmans did not disperse they were fired at most mercilessly and were shot like dogs. All the officers present on the spot were Hindus. The authorities, however, took no precautionary measures like arrests, proceedings under Sections 144, 107, Cr. P.C., etc. They did not take any action beforehand in spite of the clear warning given by the Police Sub-Inspector in writing to the effect that the Musalmans were objecting to the innovation, and that notice under Section 144 Cr. P.C. should be issued. This inaction also shows that the plan was to get the Musalmans into a trap. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, though they had the notice of the commencement of the trouble early in the afternoon, did not take the trouble of going to Ujhani, a distance of 8 miles on a first-class metalled tarred road. They, however, reached the spot at about 12 midnight a few minutes after the firing was over.

Apart from the criminal inaction, the stern fact remains that if the innovation had not been allowed nothing would have happened. The permission of innovation was against all administrative practice and recent Government orders on the subject. The District Magistrate, glad to inform you that the Government have disagreed with his action and interpretation [*sic*]. The curious fact was that the District Magistrate rejected the Hindus' application for the procession on the ground that it was an innovation and this he did in spite of the recommendation of the Hindu Sub-Divisional Magistrate, but for some reason he sent the application to the Superintendent of Police with the direction that if he liked he might allow it by issuing a licence under Section 30 of the Police Act. This was a most funny procedure since a thing considered wrong by one officer cannot be put right by clothing it in a different technical form at the hands of another officer. Besides, Section 30 of the Police Act is not meant for such innovations but rather for processions like marriage or funeral processions. In any case, if the Musalmans had committed an error by not dispersing and by not obeying an order they have been sufficiently punished by being shot dead and there could be no greater punishment. Those who have survived are being punished by prosecution for an unlawful assembly etc. But even so, the question remains what punishment is to be meted out to those who allowed the innovation, which was the root-cause of all this trouble.

The above was the manner in which we had put our case. I am glad to tell you that the Government have agreed with us on the main point of innovation. Their view appears to be that innovation was allowed against the order of the Government and that Section 30



of the Police Act is not meant for allowing any innovation. The matter is about to be decided soon and if they come to know that you also have any interest in the matter our complete success shall [sic for will] be ensured. You will remember that during the Congress regime, when we were in distress on account of the heavy punitive tax of Rs. 25,000 on the poor Musalmans, you very kindly came to our rescue; and by your kind efforts the tax was reduced to only six or seven thousand rupees. We are sure that you will kindly again help your community at this juncture. If the Muslim League succeeds in this matter, as it looks very likely, its prestige shall [sic] enhance tenfold.

In the end I apologise for writing this long letter and troubling you again about Budaun. I did not consider it proper to send you our long memorial containing the facts and details as I thought you would have no time to read it. I have, therefore, reproduced its gist in this letter. Thank you again.

May we, Sir, now expect a short visit from you in the next cold weather? After the tragedy at Ujhani, there appeared to be a complete political and national death of the community but, thank God, we did not lose heart and had persistent faith in God. Your visit to Budaun will, therefore, produce a new wave of life amongst the Musalmans.

Yours sincerely,  
M. I. HASAN

449

*M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

*F. 696/37*

*14 June 1941*

Your Exalted Highness,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th May<sup>1</sup> and for your kind enquiries about my health. I am glad to inform you that I am alright now and have returned to Bombay.

There are many points in Your Exalted Highness' letter which require further discussion and I can only say that I am likely to come to Hyderabad on a professional engagement, and I will inform Your Exalted Highness of the date when, I hope, it will be possible for us to deal with and discuss the matter further. In the meantime, I trust that neither your Government nor Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung will

do anything which will add to the difficult situation that has been created, although I feel that after a personal talk with Your Exalted Highness the matter can be satisfactorily settled, for I believe strongly that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung has no intention of causing or doing anything detrimental, in the first instance, to Your Exalted Highness or to the British Government; and if I am right in that view then the solution is not difficult.

However, we will discuss the matter further when we meet.

With my kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 426.

## 450

*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa*

*F. 302/85*

*14 June 1941*

My dear Isa,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of May.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry I could not reply to it earlier as I was moving about. I read your letter with very great interest indeed. It was very instructive and informative.

So far, the things are going on alright and I find that the Muslim League is growing rapidly everywhere. I have just returned to Bombay and I am glad to inform you that I am alright now.

I am considering the personnel of the Working Committee and hope to announce the names very soon. What is your programme and how is Baluchistan getting on. Please keep me in touch.<sup>2</sup>

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 410.

<sup>2</sup>No. 466.



451

*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin**F. 392/49**14 June 1941*

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you very much for it. I have carefully read all that you have said and you need not have any apprehension. On the contrary, let me again assure you that I have always been ready and willing to be advised and guided by my colleagues and your valuable opinion is always welcome, and I realise the force of the powerful arguments that you have advanced with regard to the question of Mr. Fazlul Huq's being included in the new Working Committee [of the Muslim League]. I am inclined to agree with you and it seems to me that your line of argument is sound. Therefore, you need not bother any further about the matter but with regard to the number, it is very difficult for me to allow four representatives from Bengal. I am really glad that [Huseyn Shaheed] Suhrawardy is 100 per cent with us and I would be only too glad to have him as our colleague. But on very careful consideration I feel that I should not disturb the present Bengal, viz. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Moulana Mohammad Akrum Khan and yourself.

Let me thank you for your full and detailed information that you have given to me regarding Bengal and I hope that you will keep in close touch with me and not hesitate to write to me freely and frankly as you have done. As regards your kind enquiries about my health, I am glad to inform you that I am quite alright now. Thanking you for your good wishes; with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 444.

452

*M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam**F. 296/20**14 June 1941*

Dear Mr. Hossain Imam,

I have already replied to your letter of the 7th of June<sup>1</sup> by wire, as

desired by you, which runs as follows:

Received your letter. Matter receiving my careful consideration. Will inform you my decision as soon as possible.

I further beg to inform you that I have not received any communication yet from the Leader of the Assembly or anybody else in connection with the matter referred to in your letter.

In these circumstances, I think it is better for me to wait until I have received the communication before we decide to send any reply.

I agree with you that these are only attempts to side-track the main issue by attracting us to these Committees which, we all know, can serve no useful purpose.

Yes, Bihar Sharif has been a painful tragedy. Please send me the notes. If necessary you can come over to Bombay<sup>2</sup> for further discussions.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 441.

<sup>2</sup>See No. 460.

## 453

*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/88-9*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
14 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to our correspondence on the subject of the Bihar communal outbreak, I have to draw your attention to your telegram from Nandi Hills in Mysore State, dated 10th May 1941,<sup>1</sup> to my reply by wire, dated 12 May 1941,<sup>2</sup> to my detailed express letter together with a brief report, despatched on the 12th May 1941, to your Nandi Hills address, also to my telegram, dated 20th May 1941,<sup>3</sup> to your Bangalore address, to my second express letter, dated 21st May 1941,<sup>4</sup> to your Bangalore address.

As I have received no acknowledgment, I am, therefore, anxious and desire to know if all these letters and telegrams have been



received by you. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League office has already sent you yesterday, under registered cover, true copy of a Memorandum which the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League has authorised the members of the deputation to place before His Excellency the Governor and his Government for consideration and orders.

The matters contained in the Memorandum have already been fully discussed with His Excellency, his Advisor and myself. They are, therefore, fully aware with [*sic*] our grievances and acquainted with our legitimate demands, and I have every reason to hope that the justness of our cause will convince them to officially meet our demands. But unless an official reply is given to the deputation, I must remain in hopes.

By the grace of God, the condition is now normal but after long long sufferings. As previously reported in my report, dated 12th May 1941, the first serious rioting culminated on the 4th of May after full one-week continued rioting. From the 5th of May till the 21st of May there had been no attack, but unfortunately there had occurred three fresh attacks on the unprovoked Muslims by the Hindu mobs on the 22nd May midnight at village Jhala, P.S. Silao, District Patna. This attack took place after 17 days' interval; there had been also two other attacks, one on the 30th May and the [second] on the 2nd June, in village Karjara, P.S. Silao, and in Karayria, P.S. Chandi, Zilla Patna.

I have been keeping you and the All India Muslim League office informed of all the happenings although in my own humble way I am doing all I can and shall continue to do what I can.

I am glad to learn and thank God that you have returned to Bombay fully restored to perfect sound health. May God always keep you safe and sound and grant you longest [*sic*] life.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable. However see No. 381.

<sup>3</sup>Ismail had wired Jinnah to say that he had been supervising the relief and welfare work himself and that conditions had become normal. See F. 304/83, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup>No. 413.

454

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah**F. 302/68*

PISHIN,  
BALUCHISTAN,  
15 June 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have reached Bombay safely. Your recent pronouncements from Ooty<sup>1</sup> and Bangalore<sup>2</sup> had a wonderful effect on the public. We want to go [on] hammering on the main issue till we remove all the bends in our line of action. We had a very successful meeting here on the 31st May. I am herewith sending you a brief copy of the proceedings and I hope you would approve of it.

Please do let me know when you would be able to come here. End of August or first week of September would be very suitable.

My wife and the baby (Anwar Kamal) have arrived from Bhopal and both of them are perfectly well. She sends you and Miss Jinnah her *aadab*. My *aadab* to Miss Jinnah.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISA

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 257-61.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 264-7.

*Enclosure to No. 454*

*Proceedings of Baluchistan Muslim League Meeting*

*F. 302/69-79*

QUETTA,  
31 May 1941

The meeting was held on 31 May 1941 at MacMohan Park. It commenced with recitation from the holy *Qur'an* and the *tarana-i-milli*. The day, being the anniversary of the disastrous Quetta earthquake of 1935, prayers were held for those who were killed in the quake.

After this, Mr. Qazi Mohammad Isa, Bar-at-Law, President, Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League and member of the Working



Committee of the All India Muslim League, rose and addressed the meeting for two and a quarter hours on Pakistan—how the Resolution of 1940, passed at Lahore, became an important part of the League creed at the 1941 annual session of the League, giving a definite full stop to the various malicious propaganda, circulated by the enemies, of the possibility of the scheme being set aside for the time being or that it is used as a bargaining factor [*sic* for counter].

Now every member of the League has either to accept Pakistan as the creed or get out of the League. The speaker then explained that Pakistan not only solves the Muslims' problem but it affords to solve quicker the all-India tangle as well. For this reason, the speaker urged even those who don't see eye to eye with the scheme, to study it again and again coolly and calmly. The scheme being the united demand and voice of the ninety millions of Musalmans, living in the sub-continent of India, cannot be brushed aside lightly. Both the English and the Hindus would be well-advised to study the scheme carefully. I see the scheme has pained some Englishmen and they are shedding crocodile tears over this. To them Pakistan means splitting up of India, which was so eagerly and closely brought together by the British bayonets for the betterment of the Indians! I assure these well-wishers of India that they cannot befool us any longer. You, who have split up the tiny island of Ireland into two, giving a homeland to the handful of Protestants in the North;<sup>1</sup> you who agreed to split up Palestine and thus agreed to give a national home to the Jews of the world there;<sup>2</sup> and then, when Hitler invaded Austria<sup>3</sup> to unite people of one religion, one culture, one language, one race and one outlook, you opposed him tooth and nail and disapproved of his uniting the greater Germany. How can you ever say that you want to see the whole of this sub-continent of ours united and cast disapproving glances on the Muslim nation who want to establish their own national homeland in this continent when you yourself have recognised the claims of the people of Ulster and the Jews in Palestine!

The Hindus have attacked the Pakistan scheme as against the principles of democracy. Never have I heard a greater hypocritical statement than this; those upper class Hindus, who have become the champions of democracy, forget that, thanks to them, the curse of untouchability has enslaved and religiously, socially and politically condemned to death seventy million human beings. Now these very Hindus have the cheek to stand up and fight for democracy and democratic principles. Democracy and Hinduism are poles apart. We



sincerely tell these Hindus to stop this nonsense and gather up courage to face the realities.

The Musalmans would never fight for such independence which [*sic* for *as*] would only mean a change of masters for them and, instead of being slaves to the conquerors, would make them slaves of the slaves. The Musalmans would only fight for such independence which [*as*] would assure them of complete independent existence. The Musalmans would neither strive to prolong the *Tom raj* [rule] nor would they permit a Hindu *raj* to be established in the whole length and breadth of India.

Speaking on the present critical times, the speaker explained the attitude of the Hindus, whether they be Congressites, Mahasabhaistes or so-called Liberals, and compared it with the attitude of the solid Muslim nation, represented by the All India Muslim League and led by the one voice of Quaid-i-Azam, which has ninety million echoes.

The Congress wants the British Govt. to declare, here and now, complete independence for India before they consider the question of help in the war. Several methods of coercion have been adopted by the Congress to force the hands of the British Govt. at this critical juncture to accede to their demands and thus become their active partner in establishing a Hindu *raj* in India. Once this demand of theirs is acceded to, then the Hindus would gladly accept to retain the British bayonets in India, as they shall need them for keeping down the Musalmans.

The Mahasabha wants only the majority rule to be established here which my friends, you very well know, shall only mean Hindu *raj*.

The Liberals, I do not know whom do they represent; I think themselves alone, who I doubt very much want the British Govt. to declare dominion status for India straightaway.

Having now briefly explained the Hindu attitude, let me now briefly outline the stand taken up by the All India Muslim League. Immediately after the declaration of War, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League met at Delhi on the 17th and 18th of September 1939, and resolved:

The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that "might is right" and upholds the principle of freedom of humanity and that the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. The Committee express their deep sympathy for Poland, England and France. The Committee, however, feel that real and solid Muslim co-operation and support to Great Britain in this hour of her trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty's Govt. and the Viceroy are



unable to secure to the Musalmans justice and fair play in the Congress-governed provinces where today their liberty, person, property and honour are in danger and even their elementary rights are most callously trampled upon. If full effective and honourable co-operation of the Musalmans is desired by the British Govt. in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League, which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India.

Then again at the Working Committee meeting held on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of June 1940, it was declared:

Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Govt. in the prosecution of the War. The Committee further declared: Nevertheless without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were willing as far back as November 1939 to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Govt. to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February 1940, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word. The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country, and the Working Committee calls upon the Govt. of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality....the Committee authorises its President to enter into communication with H.E. the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis, and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

Then about the 27th of June 1940, Mr. Jinnah met H.E. the Viceroy and told him that no pronouncement or statement should be made



by His Majesty's Govt. which would in any way militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution (Pakistan) as this ideal has now become the universal faith of Muslim India.

Mr. Jinnah also told H.E. the Viceroy that in view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger facing India, it was fully realised that everything possible should be done to intensify the war efforts and mobilize all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security and peace and warding off external aggression. For this, Mr. Jinnah suggested the enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution and existing law; the additional number to be settled by further discussions, but the public representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional numbers as it is obvious that the main burden of the responsibility shall be borne by the Muslims in that case.

As regards the provinces where section 93 [of Govt of India Act, 1935] is operating, non-official advisers are to be appointed. There should also be a War Council consisting of not less than fifteen members, including the President, to be presided over by H.E. the Viceroy. Beside this, the President of the All India Muslim League gave assurances to H.E. the Viceroy that he would be prepared to meet him in every reasonable way possible.

All these were followed by H.E. the Viceroy's statement, which appeared in the press on the 8th August 1940,<sup>4</sup> (which is since then known as the offer of the 8th August). This statement incorporated the suggestions made by Mr. Jinnah with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the creation of a War Advisory Council; but it made no reference to the appointment of non-official advisers in the provinces.

The differences within the provincial field regarding which the Viceroy had asked the Congress to reach a settlement with the Muslim League, leading to co-operation at the Centre, had remained unbridged because of the intransigence of the Congress and their refusal to discuss the question with the League or with anyone. The British Govt. then felt that these differences need not hold up the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the establishment of a body which would more closely associate Indian opinion with the conduct of the war. The Viceroy was, therefore, authorised to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join his Executive Council and



further to establish a War Advisory Council consisting of representatives of Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the proposals, which were on the very lines suggested by the League itself, and appreciated the offer in principle and sought clarification on the following important points:

- i. The probable strength of the expanded Executive Council and the number of additional members.
- ii. The proportion of Muslim representation in the expanded Council.
- iii. The portfolios to be allocated to additional members.
- iv. The position of the Muslim League representatives in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of the war and the Govt. agreeing to associate them with the Executive Council, which would involve substantial modification of the Council.
- v. The composition and functions of the War Advisory Council and the proportion of Muslim representation therein.

But to these points H.E. the Viceroy could not give any clarification as to the total strength of the expanded Council or the allocation of portfolios or the proportion of Muslim representatives in the Council or the strength and composition of War Council beyond saying that the question of setting it up would be considered after the expansion of the Executive Council had been completed. As regards the position of the Muslim League representatives vis-a-vis the representatives of any other party deciding at a later stage to join the Council, H.E. the Viceroy appreciated and recognised in the course of conversation with Mr. Jinnah the vital importance of the point so far as the Muslim League was concerned; but the Viceroy's reply was that though he had given the latter most careful consideration yet he had found it impracticable to devise any form of words which would meet the purpose the League had in view.

The whole correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy was considered by the League Working Committee at its meeting on September 28, 1940, and the Committee came to the conclusion that the Viceroy's offer in the circumstances was unacceptable as the whole offer of the Viceroy to the Muslims boiled down to two seats in the Council of unknown strength; the suggestion regarding the appointment of non-official advisors in the provinces was not even considered and the composition and functions of the War Council



remained undefined.

Now gentlemen! these were the conditions under which the League refused to co-operate; if the League wanted to provide two of its men with comfortable jobs, it was, of course, a good chance. But the undertaking, which the League was going to accept, was of such tremendous magnitude and of such far-reaching consequences that in the absence of satisfactory clarification of the points raised, it could not, with the best will in the world to help and all the anxiety to co-operate, accept the offer. Our Quaid-i-Azam kept his demands at the lowest pitch and was, and has been, prepared to negotiate. But he had perforce to declare that there seemed to be no desire on the part of the British Govt. to part with power and to associate Indian representatives with the conduct of the war with power and authority in the Govt.

Now gentlemen! having briefly acquainted you with these facts, may I ask you, if there exists any political deadlock in the country, who is to be blamed for this? (the Hindus and the British Govt). For this reason, we resent the attitude of the Govt. in holding us equally responsible for the so-called deadlock; this is nothing but ingratitude on the part of the Govt.

The Musalmans offered their services as equal partners in this struggle and are prepared to fight along with you in the trenches like soldiers, but you have grieved our sentiments by refusing to have us as soldiers and only tried to assign to us the place of the menial camp-followers, which we have refused to accept. If this is just as much my war as it is yours, then I demand the same opportunities and privileges which you enjoy.

Now the war has spread to the Middle East, and the Muslim countries in that zone hold the balance; for this reason, more than ever, we sincerely advise the Govt. not to ignore the Muslim demands in this sub-continent, who can play a very great part in the present struggle.

The speaker advised the audience to beware of the mischief-makers' activities, who having themselves mortgaged Islam in the hands of the enemies of Islam, do not hesitate in appealing to us in the name of Islam to stand up against the power that has declared war (as they put it) on the Muslim State of Iraq. We ought to know these people very well and we should totally ignore them.

I assure you, gentlemen, our Quaid-i-Azam is not unaware of what is going on around us, and even at this critical time we declare to the whole world that only our beloved leader, the Quaid-i-Azam, can deliver [the] goods on behalf of the ninety millions of Musalmans in India.

We are not the only Musalmans living in this world. Iraq is



surrounded by the Muslim States on all sides. They are not only Muslims but they are independent also; they are not only linked up with Iraq by the bonds of Islamic brotherhood but they have independent treaties too. In spite of all this, none of those States have moved and are watching the developments carefully; so why should we not work with the same patience and wait and see what the independent Muslim world decides for itself and which decision shall surely have its effect on us.

Lastly, the speaker condemned the behaviour of the Provincial Govt. for totally ignoring the voice and opinion of the public and paying no heed to their just and legitimate demands. The speaker warned the Govt. that nothing can be expected from disgruntled people, and the sooner the demands of the public are acceded to, the better for the Govt.

Lastly, the speaker moved the following resolution, which was unanimously carried through.

We most sincerely and in a friendly manner advise the Govt. of India that at this critical juncture if it wants to enlist the sympathy, support and the goodwill of the Musalmans of India, the only course left to it is to accept those demands which have been submitted from time to time by the All India Muslim League, the only accredited Muslim body in India, which can speak on behalf of the whole of India through its esteemed leader, Quaid-i-Azam, M. A. Jinnah.

Further, we approach the Baluchistan Administration that they may kindly convey these united feelings of ours to the Govt. of India. We further impress upon our local Govt. that in matters of local administration they should take the people of the Province into their confidence and make every possible endeavour to accept their demands, particularly in respect of educational, economic, industrial and agricultural development, leading it to a position of an autonomous Province.

GHULAM NABI  
*Propaganda Secretary,*  
*Baluchistan Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>Ireland, island of the British Isles to the west of Britain, was divided in 1921 into Northern Ireland, one-fifths of the island which remains in the United Kingdom, and an independent Irish state (four-fifths of the island), which is now called the Republic of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup>The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 led to the founding, in that year, of the modern Jewish state of Israel. After the wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973, which followed, the Arabs are still struggling for an independent Palestinian state.

<sup>3</sup>Austria was invaded and annexed by Nazi Germany in 1938 (the event is known as *anschluss* in German).

<sup>4</sup>See Enclosure to No. 506, Vol. XV, 687-9.

## 455

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/226*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
16 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of 6th June.<sup>1</sup> It was a great pleasure to learn that you take such a keen interest in Sind affairs. On the 6th July, Mr. G. M. Sayed has arranged the Nawabshah District Muslim League Conference at Sakrand. Although the Hindus and the Sind Government are trying their best to hinder our progress, we are carrying on dauntlessly with great faith in the Almighty as our cause is just and noble.

I read in the papers the names of the new members of the Working Committee; it was [a] mild surprise as I expected a change in the personnel and had expected, because of rumours, the two Premiers to be left out. But I know that whatever you have done must be the result of great concentration and must be for the best, and express my complete approval of the same. When calling the new Working Committee, I would request you to bear in mind that 6th July has already been fixed for the Nawabshah District League Conference and if your date clashes with it, then Mr. G. M. Sayed and myself will be unable to attend.

You must have received a letter from S. M. Ahmed, as in a letter to me he has informed me that he has written to you. I shall later forward you a copy of my letter to him.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah had expressed pleasure at the success of the Sukkur District Muslim League Conference and agreed that they had to keep an eye on various movements and manoeuvres with regard to the Sapru Conference. See F. 274/224, QAP. Not printed.



456

*M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam**F. 296/22**17 June 1941*

My dear Mr. Hossain Imam,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th of June.<sup>1</sup> Thank you for sending me the list of the members of our Party in the Council of State. I have already written to you and you must have got my letter by now. I have received no communication yet from the Leader of the Assembly or anybody else on behalf of the Government and you may write to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai<sup>2</sup> in reply to his reminder that the matter is referred to me and that you are awaiting my decision.

I have not nominated any member to the Department of Supply.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 296/21, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Agent to the Governor-General of India in USA.

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*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah**F. 274/227*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
*17 June 1941*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Khaksar problem has been worrying me for a long time, and with the Government ban, I feel that a well-organised spirited Muslim body is being killed, and, therefore, it is essential that the Muslim League takes up this question.

In my opinion, this question must be brought up at the next meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and we should pass a resolution sympathizing with the Khaksars and urging them to keep alive their spirit of welfare of humanity and Islam by joining in great numbers the Muslim National Guards and

carrying on their activities in this body under the guidance of All India Muslim League.

Hoping you are in the best of health,

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. HAROON

458

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 29/28*

CONFIDENTIAL/PRIVATE

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
18 June 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I was glad to receive your letter of 14th June<sup>1</sup> in answer to mine of 29th May.<sup>2</sup>

For the very purpose mentioned in your letter, Sir Akbar Hydari and Syed Abdul Aziz are coming to see you in Bombay soon, who, I am sure, will not only discuss the whole situation with you (created by the recent activities of Bahadur Yar Jung) but will also put you in position [*sic* for possession] of the facts and figures of the case before you are in a position to form your own judgment as to how far Bahadur Yar Jung has acted according to your advice given in his own interest at Nandi Hills recently and also how far I or my Government will be justified to deal further with the question in case we are driven to that point by Bahadur Yar Jung. For you must understand that we cannot tolerate the present situation any longer as it has become very serious from our point of view. On the other hand, the Hindus are watching the situation carefully before they decide to do anything (I mean as far as they are concerned). Should we allow the challenge thrown by Bahadur Yar Jung to go by default?

I trust you will understand thoroughly what I mean or have written regarding this delicate subject.

Yours sincerely,  
MOAK

<sup>1</sup>No. 449.

<sup>2</sup>No. 426.



459

*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/29-31

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

18 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter was handed over to me and I hope you may be in receipt of the Rules and Regulations, sent to you under registered post while my messenger was at Mysore. It is gratifying to note that the annual session of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was successfully held, though the Government spared no means to make it a failure. Those who attended the Madras session of the Muslim League are of the opinion that the gathering on the occasion was not less than that witnessed at the League session. It is confidentially known that the Executive Council [of the State] had no objection against the proceedings of our sessions but having taken my presidentship to be a defiance of the *Firman* related to the *Maashdaran* (estate-holders), the Council submitted an *Arzdasht* to H.E.H. requesting confiscation of my estate and title. H.E.H. passed orders to shelve the matter until your arrival at Hyderabad.

In this connection, it may be of interest to you that Sir Akbar [Hydari], in the course of a discussion in the Council, addressing Mr. Abdul Aziz remarked that he was representing the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. As a result of this, it is reliably known that Mr. Abdul Aziz, being too sensitive to the remark, is not on good terms with Sir Akbar. An equally reliable information, though not yet approved [*sic*], discloses that Sir Akbar has tendered his resignation.

Rumours in connection with your arrival at Hyderabad are in circulation. A few days ago necessary arrangements were made at the Government guest house. The Muslims, however, welcome the news. I am confident that I shall be intimated of your arrival before-hand. The arrival, too, I think, will be private. This I particularly mention because people are continuously inquiring of me about your public reception and speeches. On the other hand, I am mindful of H.E.H.'s temperament and still more anxious to get my things settled peacefully.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad might have seen you. He wanted to interfere with the present situation here but as the case was already

referred to you, neither H.E.H. nor I allowed him to play any part in this connection. In spite of this, the Hindu press, taking advantage of the time, maintained that postponement of action against me was due to his arrival. H.E.H. has himself refuted the Hindu press [report] through an informal *firman* published in a local daily, *Subh-i-Deccan*, dated June 18, 1941.

The front organised by the 'Ulama exists no more; they have died of [sic] their own death. Now they do not command any respect from the public even as the Congress 'Ulama do in the British India.

In pursuance of your instructions, we have centered our attention [on] working out a constructive programme. The educational and economic programme that was already before us will be more [sic for further] consolidated on comprehensive basis.

I learnt from the papers that you have nominated Bakht Jamal Khan to the Working Committee of the League. I know that he is of no use to the Committee but the honour done to him will accelerate and consolidate the organisation work in Frontier.

I beg, hereby, to take [sic] my apology for writing such a long letter. I trust this will find you in the best of your health. Please convey my best compliments to Miss Jinnah.

With best of my regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

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*Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 296/23

HASNAIN MANZIL,  
GAYA,  
19 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was greatly surprised to learn from your letter of the 14th instant<sup>1</sup> that Zafrulla Khan has not invited you to nominate members from the Assembly. Before the receipt of your letter, I had written to Mr. Ogilvie, the Army [Defence] Secretary, that the delay in replying was due to the fact that I was awaiting instruction from you.

Regarding the Bihar Sharif riots, I enclose two papers: firstly, the memo<sup>2</sup> to the Governor, prepared by our Patna people, giving



details; secondly, a short summary<sup>3</sup> of the recommendations which our enquiry committee wishes to make. I am anxious to have your opinion and advice on this.

With best wishes and respects,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
HOSSAIN IMAM

<sup>1</sup>No. 452.

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

## 461

*Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 344/28-38*

[*Extracts*]

CORSTORPHAN'S HOTEL,  
SIMLA,

19 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you one telegram and one letter when you were in Madras. The telegram was an enquiry about your health, and in the letter I had mentioned a few important matters and asked your kind advice. I have, so far, remained deprived of an answer. I do hope you are now feeling quite well after your sojourn in south India. I hope you will allow me to inform you that since my election as President, Lahore City Muslim League, last November, I have done the utmost to serve the interest of the League in Lahore. One more important thing, which I must bring to your kind notice, is that you may probably have seen in the press that we are holding an annual session of City Muslim League in October or November next. This was decided at a meeting of leading Muslim members of the Lahore City League held at my house in Lahore on the 4th June 1941. I moved the resolution which was unanimously adopted. I am going to make it a grand affair and am inviting the Premier of Bengal, the Raja of Mahmudabad, and other leading Muslim leaders to be present on this occasion. I am asking Mr. Fazlul Huq to preside. I was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee, which has started work. Although funds are being collected for this conference

from all those who profess to be great friends of the League, but I must mention here that I will have to defray most of the expenses from my own pocket and I have already given Rs. 250 as a donation. So, whatever is humanly possible I am doing for the League in Lahore even at personal sacrifice. I am herewith sending you a cutting from the *Times of India*,<sup>1</sup> giving the report of the decision we took in Lahore.

I have also to request you, on behalf of the members of the Muslim League in Lahore, leading workers, various Muslim organizations and leading Muslim citizens, to honour us with your presence on this occasion. I shall only fix the date in the end of October or beginning of November when it will be convenient for your goodself to be present.

Trusting you are quite well and hoping to be favoured with a reply.<sup>2</sup>

I am,

Yours ever sincerely,

RASHID ALI KHAN NAWABZADA

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Jinnah expressed satisfaction over his activities but did not commit himself to participating in the Lahore City Muslim League annual session. See F. 344/39, QAP. Not printed.

## 462

*M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhuri Mohammad Zafrulla Khan*

*F. 358/3*

*20 June 1941*

Dear Sir Zafrulla Khan,

With reference to your letter of the 1st of April 1941,<sup>1</sup> the receipt of which was acknowledged by my Secretary on the 4th of April 1941,<sup>2</sup> regarding the Standing Committee attached to the Supply Department, I have given my careful consideration to the matter and beg to inform you that I am unable to take the responsibility of nominating one member of the All India Muslim League Party in the Assembly for the reasons which were already communicated by me to Mr. Ogilvie, Army [Defence] Secretary, by my letter of the 27th of March 1941<sup>3</sup> in reply to his letter of the 24th of March 1941,<sup>4</sup> a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. The reasons given there, in my



opinion, equally apply to this case also on the part of the Government.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 328.

<sup>2</sup>See F. 358/2, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>3</sup>No. 325.

<sup>4</sup>See F. 1025/64, QAP. Not printed.

## 463

*M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhuri Mohammad Zafrulla Khan*

*F. 358/7*

*20 June 1941*

Dear Sir Zafrulla Khan,

I have received your letter of 3rd of June 1941,<sup>1</sup> on my arrival here yesterday, as it has been evidently following me, and beg to inform you that with regard to the proposed Defence Consultative Committee, I am unable to take the responsibility of nominating one member of the All India Muslim League Party in the Assembly for the reasons already given by me in my letter, dated the 27th of March 1941,<sup>2</sup> to Mr. Ogilvie, Army [Defence] Secretary, in reply to his letter of the 24th of March 1941,<sup>3</sup> a copy of which I enclose herewith.

It seems to me that the main issue is being side-tracked though the Government of India and His Excellency the Viceroy are in full possession of the views of the All India Muslim League. It is not feasible for the Muslim League organisation merely to tender advice in matters of vital importance to India as long as they have no responsibility and voice in the authority of the Government.

This being the situation, I regret, therefore, to have to say that I cannot take the responsibility of nominating one member on behalf of the All India Muslim League Party in the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 433.

<sup>2</sup>No. 325.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 1025/64, QAP. Not printed.

## 464

*M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner**F. 494/29**21 June 1941*

Dear Major Gardiner,

Many thanks for your letter of the 2nd of June.<sup>1</sup> Of course, I shall be very pleased to see you when you are in Bombay. Please do let me know when you are coming here. I may inform you that I have received a letter from Mr. Amery, dated the 18th of March,<sup>2</sup> forwarded to me, as it came in the Viceroy's bag, by his Private Secretary by his letter of the 15th of June 1941.<sup>3</sup> I am enclosing herewith a copy of Mr. Amery's letter. More when we meet.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 430.

<sup>2</sup>No. 307.

<sup>3</sup>See F. 494/27, QAP. Not printed.

## 465

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Zauqi**F. 471/83**21 June 1941*

Dear Mr. Zauqi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd of June 1941,<sup>1</sup> together with a copy of the letter addressed by you to Dr. Latif. I am glad you are taking very keen interest now in the organisation of the All India Muslim League at Ajmer. Yes, we must have patience to go on steadily. As to my coming to Ajmer in the near future, it is not possible. Of course, I do not approve of different Muslim organisations. It is a sign of weakness and I entirely agree with you that Seerat [Committee] and the Khaksars should work as members of the Muslim League under one flag and one platform. Unity among the Musalmans and a constructive programme are the urgent need of the moment. But I feel confident that we shall succeed. Patience, firmness and determination are all that are required and most of the



difficulties will soon disappear.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 432.

466

*Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 302/86-9*

*21 June 1941*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks ever so much for your very kind letter of the 14th.<sup>1</sup> I am very glad to learn that you [are] keeping fit now. I thank you very much for making me a member of the Muslim League Working Committee again. I have started my tour again. We had a very successful meeting at Quetta on the 31st May. I am sure you must have received account of it. On the 17th, we had another public meeting here at Pishin, a brief account of which will be sent to you. Next month, I [will] go to Fort-Sandeman [now Zhob] side and Nushki (Irani border). Thanks to your wonderful lead, the path before us is smooth now. I do hope you do not keep a Working Committee meeting before the end of next month. People are anxiously awaiting your arrival here this year. Could you please give me a rough idea as to when you would be able to reach here. The dates should be before the middle of September and not after that as it becomes cold here and we cannot have night meetings. We are gaining ground here tremendously. Baluchistan Govt. has sanctioned a vast sum of rupees one lakh and twenty-five thousand for the construction of a primary school in Quetta. No one needs a primary school there. On one side of the road is the Islamia School and on the other side the new school is to be opened. I ask the advisability of having another school in such close proximity. Thus our money is spent so wrongly. We have issued an ultimatum to the Govt. on the question of education, and if they refuse to accept our demands, the people are prepared to withdraw their boys from the Govt. schools in Baluchistan, even all the denominational schools in Quetta. Hindus and Sikhs as well have agreed with me that the present policy of the Govt. as regards the advancement of education in the province is ruinous. If the Govt. do not declare a change in the policy, all the communities would be

compelled to close their schools in Quetta. For your information, Sir, there are more than 3000 students in these denominational schools at Quetta and there is not a single Govt. school at Quetta and it would be impossible for the Govt. to make arrangements for so many students.

Once again, I draw your attention to the scheme of mine as regards the building of a college here. The Govt. had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 200,000 for the construction of denominational schools. The sum was spread over three years, 1940-41 Rs. 40,000, 1941-42 Rs. 60,000 and 1942-43 Rs. 100,000, the conditions being that the communities should bear half the cost of the buildings. We did not receive any share for 1940-41. But out of Rs. 60,000 for 1941-42, we have claimed only Rs. 10,000 and we hope to have another Rs. 10,000 and thus start work with Rs. 20,000 in our hands. Our school would cost us approximately Rs. 120,000. If I had Rs. 60,000 in my hands, I could have claimed the balance of Rs. 60,000 from the Govt. After next year, I may not be able to claim any money and the other communities, who are in a better monetary position may claim the whole sum. The number of boys in our Islamia High School now is about 900 and it was this school which I wanted to raise to the standard of an arts college, which we can do so cheaply now. Please help me in this. The reason why I wish this scheme to materialize is that I want to see Jinnah High School and College in Quetta. Please assure me at least Rs. 60,000 and I shall go ahead with the whole thing. Let the sum be passed on to us on behalf of the All India Muslim League. It will be an everlasting memorial in this Province. You must give me your share too. Let us take a good opportunity of the Govt. bearing half the cost now. Otherwise, next year it would cost us twice as much. We want you to lay the foundation stone of the building when you come here.

My wife sends you and Miss Jinnah her best regards. My regards to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
Q. M. ISA



467

*Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 364/25-27*LUCKNOW,  
24 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

While I was at Mussoorie, I received a telephonic message from Calcutta from Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad asking me to come over there and take up the case on behalf of the Muslim League, Dacca, before the Dacca Riot Enquiry Committee. In spite of my weak health, I spent about a fortnight there and submitted the Muslim case before the Enquiry Committee, got the procedure settled and the evidence started. As I could not be of much value during the period that the evidence is going on, I have returned with a promise that I shall come over again to argue the case if and when they require me.

During my stay in Calcutta, I had the occasion to meet different groups and discuss with them the Bengal situation. Sir Nazimuddin and his younger brother, Shahabuddin, who appeared to me to be a very level-headed and clever young man, were of opinion that we should not go out of our way to give a fight to Mr. Fazlul Huq but should wait for the time when he himself chooses to go out of the League and give a fight to it. I was assured that [Huseyn] Shaheed Suhrawardy was also of the same view. During his stay, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad was also informed of these views. The reason given to me was that the Pakistan ideal is getting a hold on the minds of Muslim masses and it will not be possible for Mr. Huq to be able to stand the growing enthusiasm for Pakistan. When I went to Dacca, which in a way is the centre of Eastern Bengal life, I found that the view taken by Sir Nazimuddin was not far wrong. I met University students at Dacca and addressed them on Pakistan. I also addressed a meeting of the workers. I came to the conclusion that the Muslims [of] Bengal are slowly but perceptibly realizing the implications of Pakistan. I was, therefore, very glad to find that you have included both Sir Sikander and Fazlul Huq in the Working Committee. It is a master-stroke of policy which necessarily puts them in a dilemma. With Pakistan as the creed of the League, they cannot with any decency agree to serve on the Working Committee and yet pick holes with [*sic* for in] the creed.

The entry of Russia into the war arena is a great event. Its value

for the British is tremendous, though it naturally places Turkey in a very precarious position. If Hitler is to be believed, the Russians desired him to be a party [to the] partitioning of Turkey. The non-aggression pact signed between Turkey and Germany clearly indicates that the Turks had become very much dissatisfied with the Russian attitude about them. Further strenuous times will face the Turkish politicians in the near future. Let us hope they will be able to maintain their neutrality under all stress.

I hope you are keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,  
KHALIQ

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*W. H. P. Gardiner to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 494/30*

242 STAFF LINES,  
KARACHI,  
26 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You have not mentioned [about] your health so I trust that I am correct in presuming that your normal state has returned. Please take the warning to heart and also a little of the advice I gave you about diet. (I can now talk since I have just been medically examined and informed that I had the blood pressure and constitution of a man of 25).

I am afraid that Mr. [L.S.] Amery is rather obtuse. Is it on purpose? Both of us would have gone to the Viceroy long ago if we had thought it would get us anywhere. It's only because negotiation through him failed that we have been pursuing other methods. There is no mention of my letter having reached him and I do think that it was essential as background.

It would help perhaps if you were to write to John Parker, Secretary of the Fabian Society, Dartmouth St, London, and tell him that you were as anxious as ever for a settlement, that I had a fairly good idea of your position and demands, and that you hoped the Labour Party would at least listen to the presentation of the situation out in India as I see it.

I hope to hear any day now that my relief is arriving and I am most anxious to get home as so much valuable time has already been lost.



Hoping, therefore, to see you very soon,<sup>1</sup> and with my very best wishes,

W. H. GARDINER

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he would consider and decide on the suggestion made by him.  
See F. 494/32, QAP. Not printed.

## 469

*M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad*

*F. 395/4*

*27 June 1941*

Your Exalted Highness,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th June 1941,<sup>1</sup> and now that I have had the opportunity of discussing the matter fully with Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, I am replying to your letter. I may mention that as requested by Your Exalted Highness, Mr. Taqiuddin was also present at the meeting. I had also asked Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to come down to Bombay in order to hear and understand what he had to say in the matter, and had a very long discussion with him.

As a result of his free and frank talk with all of them, I am hopeful of finding a satisfactory solution; but before I can tender my respectful advice to Your Exalted Highness, I am of opinion that I should have the opportunity of discussing the matter with Your Exalted Highness and I am confident that we shall be able to find a solution, in fact we must, which will meet [with] your approval.

I fully appreciate and understand all that Your Exalted Highness has written to me and also what is meant by it.

In the meantime, I hope that nothing will be done by Your Exalted Highness or your Government as I am coming to Hyderabad very soon in a professional engagement and I hope to have the honour of meeting Your Exalted Highness. I will wire the exact date of my arrival as I understand the case is fixed on [sic for for] the 8th of July and I shall be there a day or two earlier.

With very kind regards and with best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 458.

470

*Qazi Mohammed Isa to M. A. Jinnah**F. 302/92-94*

PISHIN,  
BALUCHISTAN,  
27 June 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I shall soon be submitting plans for the proposed Jinnah Islamia High School or College to you, which we intend building at Quetta. The cost of an earthquake-proof building of 32 class rooms, one hall, one science laboratory and one drawing theatre would be Rs. 120,000. The Government, according to their promise, would bear half the cost provided we manage to collect the remaining half. We shall lose our share if we do not claim the money from the Government this year. For this reason, I have started sending appeals to those few Musalmans whom I know personally. I have not yet made a general public appeal because I think we can collect the sum of Rs. 60,000 from a few well-to-do Musalmans. So far, I have sent appeals to nine people [*names deleted*].

Gradually, I shall be approaching other Musalmans also but without your help I cannot do anything. A word or two from you to some well-to-do Musalmans would speed up the whole scheme. Even if the sum of Rs. 60,000 is collected in two instalments—half this year and half next year—the work would still be started. Thus, what cost us Rs. 60,000 this year would cost us twice as much next year—as we will lose the Government share, and I am sure you will agree with me it is worthwhile receiving the Government's aid. The building, when erected, would be a lasting memory [*sic* for memorial] to the League.

Each class now would cost about Rs. 3,000, science laboratory and drawing theatre Rs. 60,000 each and the hall Rs. 12,000. The union hall, the laboratory and the theatre would be named after the donors, who would bear the cost of such rooms etc. You will have to give me your share too! Please also tell me who else I can approach in this connection. If enough money is collected, we would also open college classes and, thus, call it a college and not a school.



In order to close our ranks on the Congress propaganda from all sides—since I cannot open branches in the states—I am trying to establish, by helping others to start, Baluchistan State Muslim League in Kalat, Las Bela and Kharan to oust the Congress elements from all those states which have penetrated there in various forms. I hope you approve of it.

Everything is going on smoothly here.

With our best wishes and regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
ISA

471

*M. A. Jinnah to Amar Singh*

*F. 188/63*

*27 June 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without date.<sup>1</sup>

One or two questions that you have put to me, I am afraid will be difficult for me to deal with by means of correspondence as they are based on wrong foundation to start with. I think I have explained the important points more than once in my speeches, and I am sending you herewith, under a separate cover, a pamphlet which will give you some idea of the fundamental principles underlying the Pakistan demand.

I am very glad indeed to note the last paragraph of your letter that you were good enough to assure me that Sikhs are no mere sentimentalists and let me assure you that in the Pakistan demand alone Sikhs will find an honourable place and I am hopeful of persuading you and others who have an open mind to bring about a change in their opinion regarding our scheme.

If you are likely to come to Bombay I shall be very glad to see you; or else when I am nearer Punjab, say in Delhi, if you care to come to me, I shall welcome you and then we can discuss the matter.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Annex.

*Annex to No. 471*  
*Amar Singh to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 188/61-62*

THE AJEET,  
AMRITSAR,  
[Undated]

Respected Mr. Jinnah,

Your continuous insistence on the demand of Pakistan has aroused [sic for prompted] me to ask you a simple question. I hope you would try to satisfy one who is opposed to this demand but still keeps an open mind and wants to form and re-form opinions after thoroughly understanding the pros and cons of a matter.

You say, maybe with a certain amount of truth, that the Muslims cannot hope to enjoy full religious, cultural and political freedom under a predominant Hindu majority. I suppose you would not deny that the same holds good in the case of Sikhs who form an important minority in the North-Western India and who also feel the dread of Muslim majority. The experience of the Muslim Unionist regime in the Punjab has been too bitter for them and has further confirmed them in their attitude. I think you know that even the use of meat prepared according to Sikh rites is not allowed in the Governmental institutions of this Province such as Police Lines, jails, boarding houses of Government schools and colleges. If this fundamental religious right is not conceded, how can the Sikhs expect justice from the Muslims when Pakistan comes into being? Then, there is another important fact. The Muslims have other Islamic countries outside India which they look to as their home while the Punjab is everything to the Sikhs. The Punjab was the birth-place of almost all the Sikh Gurus. It was here that the Sikh martyrs' blood was shed and, moreover, it was here that the Sikhs ruled for half a century.

There is one thing more which I can't understand. If the Muslim League wants that the Muslims should have those areas constituting Pakistan where they are in a majority, they cannot demand the whole of the Punjab because in one-half of the Punjab the non-Muslims are in majority. Will you, therefore, please make it clear that you want only one-half of the Punjab?

Again, on the one hand, the Muslim League says that it wants one-third part of India for the Muslims and one-third for other



minorities, and on the other hand it promises two-thirds to the Hindus keeping one-third for the Muslims. One very much likes to know where exactly the Muslim League stands.

In the end, I may assure you that the Sikhs are no mere sentimentalists; if they find an honourable place on the map you draw, they can be persuaded to change their opinion regarding your scheme.

Expecting an early reply,

Yours truly,  
AMAR SINGH  
Editor, the *Ajeet*

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*Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 392/51-3*

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,  
CALCUTTA,  
28 June 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter<sup>1</sup> and particularly for accepting our advice and request. I am glad to hear that your health has improved and you are feeling quite well.

We are passing through very difficult times in Bengal. Communal situation has grown worse. The Mahasabha is gaining strength in the Hindu circle; and there is intensified intrigue in our own camp; we could have coped with all our difficulties but for the last item. Attempt is now being made to capture the Muslim League, and after the tussle over the Calcutta District Muslim League Resolution, it has been felt that without the League he is powerless.

I wish I could meet you and discuss the Bengal situation with you. The Mahasabha and the Congress Working Committees often meet in Calcutta; I wonder if you would consider having the next meeting of [League's] Working Committee in Bengal. I realise that there will be objection from some of the members of the Working Committee, but in view of the fact that the Mahasabha is for the time being concentrating in Bengal and gaining strength, whether from

the League's point of view is it not advisable to meet in Bengal, once at least?

I hope you have read the statements submitted before the Inquiry Committee by the Mahasabha, the Congress and the Muslim League. I think you ought to read them. The papers have not given the Muslim League version proper publicity, and it is possible that it may not have been published in the Bombay papers. The *Star of India* has published them on the 25th and 26th instant; I will try and send you a copy of each. I think ours is the best statement. We have done fairly well in cross-examination with local lawyers against leaders of the Calcutta High Court [Bar]. I hope the local Muslim League will be able to substantiate their case by good evidence.

I will be obliged if you could kindly let me know when we are likely to have the next meeting of the Working Committee.

I hope you are keeping well.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
K. NAZIMUDDIN

PS. To-day Mr. Fazlul Huq and I lunched with Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Kripalani were also present. The object was to find some solution to prevent communal troubles and riots. Nothing definite was suggested.

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*S. M. Padshah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 572/40-41*

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY MUSLIM LEAGUE,  
33 ERRABALU CHETTY STREET,  
MADRAS,

28 June 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You would have read from the papers how great a havoc has been wrought by the recent cyclone and floods on the west coast of this Province, i.e. in Malabar and South Kanara Districts, particularly in areas thickly populated by Moplah Muslims. Many thousands of



houses have been swept away. Extensive paddy cultivation and countless coconut, areca nut and other fruit-bearing trees, which were the sole means of livelihood of those unhappy people, have been destroyed. In this way, thousands are rendered homeless and utterly destitute. In addition to all this, hunger, privation and exposure, which these unfortunate brethren and sisters of ours are subjected to, are threatening to make the situation still more appalling.

It is computed that 80,000 to 100,000 houses have been destroyed; it means that about 500,000 to 700,000 are rendered homeless. This will give an indication of the enormity of the position.

The Government are rendering considerable help but it is quite inadequate having regard to the vast requirements, and we are requesting the Government to do more. The Provincial [Muslim] League is doing its best in organising collection of funds and is issuing appeals in various directions for assistance. It has set up a committee, called The West Coast Relief Committee, which is collecting funds for the purpose.

But I feel that more succour will be needed to give proper and adequate relief to the suffering people. Such funds, as we may hope to realise from this province, will not reach anywhere near the requirements. I, therefore, request that you will kindly issue an appeal to all the provinces to come to the help of these unhappy people. I am sure that an appeal from you will have an immense and country-wide response and bring substantial relief to these countless suffering brethren and sisters of ours.

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum* and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. M. PADSHAH  
*President*  
*and Chairman, West Coast Relief Committee*

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*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/34

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
30 June 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was glad to receive your letter of 27th June<sup>1</sup> in answer to mine of

18th June 1941.<sup>2</sup>

Please remember that the matter under discussion is not a personal or private [one] of mine, but it is an official one that has gone to the Government of India and is of a serious nature in which the honour of the Ruler and his Government is involved. So, I am afraid, I shall not be bound to accept your or anybody's advice but the unanimous opinion of the Council, approved by the Government of India also; I mean the case will be decided on its own merits irrespective of the views or suggestions of a third party.

However, I shall be glad to have a talk of a private nature with you, as the President or Law Member of my Government had with you in Bombay; but what decision I will arrive at in the end, I cannot say at present until and unless the whole question is examined in all its bearings, and this to be done without any further delay as the case is held in abeyance for some time now, so it must be settled soon.

Yours sincerely,  
MIR O[SMAN] A[LI] K[HAN]

<sup>1</sup>No. 469.

<sup>2</sup>No. 458.

## 475

*Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 561/56-8*

CENTRAL OFFICE,  
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,  
DARYAGUNJ,  
DELHI,  
30 June 1941

Dear Sir,

It had been my desire, during your sojourn in southern India, not to burden you with an account of the working of the central office or other matters concerning [the Muslim] League, when you needed rest and freedom from anxiety after the great exertion of the annual session and ill health; hence this delay. I think, now, we



must make it a rule with us never to hold our sessions in hot months.

I have closely followed the controversy between you and Sir Tej [Bahadur Sapru]. The way you dealt with him filled the Muslim India with pride and admiration.

I am sure you are fully informed of the state of things in the provinces as your sources of information are much wider. The activities of the League are, at present, at the lowest ebb. The Central Provinces is in suspense. The people there are only waiting for the decision of the sub-committee, appointed to settle the internal differences of the C. P. Muslim League by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which has done nothing yet in that direction. In U. P., the state of affairs has been going from bad to worse. The Provincial League is seething with internal dissensions. The districts are entirely neglected. In most of them there is no League at all except on paper. In Bihar, recently, there had been a terrible communal riot in which the Musalmans have suffered very heavily. As for the majority provinces, there is no appreciable change in their attitude except in case of Sind. The central office, which is responsible for keep[ing] the subordinate Leagues active, is equally indifferent. It is very ominous that the Secretary does not know what is going on around him and even under his very nose. After Patna we had another scandal about the sale of tickets at Madras.

On the other hand, the Hindus are very actively organizing themselves in these parts with some very sinister motive. Mass conversion to Sikhism is being made amongst the depressed classes with the connivance of the upper class Hindus. Swords and *kirpans* are being freely distributed among them on the pretence of religious sanction, and thus armed, they are being roused against the Musalmans.

The Musalmans now once more require galvanizing. A meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the various Provincial Leagues on some suitable date under your presidentship might give a fillip to the movement. Similar conferences should also be convened by the Presidents of the Provincial Leagues, the Presidents and Secretaries of the District and City Leagues.

As for the reorganization of our central office, I have written down the details of my scheme, as you desired, and will submit [the same] before you when you are here.

You might have been waiting for the coming out of the English weekly for which you had given your final consent on the eve of your departure from Delhi.<sup>1</sup> I think you know Mr. Hasan Ahmad of the Orient Press. I settled matters with him; he has agreed to take charge of the editorship of the paper. Arrangements for other staff have also been made. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had wanted me to write out the system under which the paper would be run. Accordingly, I have sent it to him. But there is no reply. As I cannot move without his bidding, the matter is hanging.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HASAN REYAZ

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah replied that he had drawn the attention of Liaquat Ali Khan to the matter of publication of the English weekly, while the suggestion of holding a meeting of the Presidents/Secretaries of the Provincial Muslim League was receiving his attention. See F. 874/149, QAP. Not printed.

## 476

*Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/34-35*

CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS,  
102 MACLEOD ROAD, LAHORE,  
30 June 1941

Dear father,

I place before you the second report of your young generals. It was received only yesterday. The first report was sent to you four days back and I hope you must [*sic* for will] have got it.

I am also sending copies of these reports to the members of All India [Muslim League] Working Committee. In this information you will also find resolutions and if you [*so*] desire, I shall send a copy of the first resolution to the Viceroy. The District Muslim League of



Sheikhupura is thinking of hold[ing] a conference at the end of the tour.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

*Enclosure to No. 476*

102 MACLEOD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
30 June 1941

After visiting some of the villages around Sangla Hill, a deputation of Muslim students, consisting of Muhammad Sadiq, Muhammad Ilyas and Zahurul Hassan Dar, left for Shah Kot on the morning of June 25th. In the evening, the deputation addressed a gathering of about 2,000 Muslim and non-Muslims in the local *Jamia* mosque under the auspices of the local Muslim League. After recitation from the holy *Qur'an* and [of] the *Tarana-i-Milli* of the late Allama Muhammad Iqbal by Muhammad Ilyas, Ch. Muhammad Sadiq rose to address the gathering amid shouts of *Allaho Akbar*, *Pakistan* and *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Zindabad*. In his one-hour speech, the speaker thoroughly dealt with the rise and fall of Muslim power in the world, particularly in India, and the wonderful awakening among the Indian Muslims in recent years under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He further exposed against [sic] the hollowness of some of the objections raised against the Pakistan Scheme of the All India Muslim League and exhorted the audience to get ready to make all sacrifices for the achievement of their cherished goal. Zahurul Hassan Dar and Bashir Nizami asked the Muslims to take up trade and start an anti-illiteracy campaign among the masses if they wanted to achieve the independence of Pakistan in the shortest possible time. Zahur also stressed the need of a brotherly spirit among the Muslims and called upon the audience to strengthen the hands of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah by enrolling themselves as two-anna members of the Muslim League in large numbers.

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*Karim ur Raza Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/25*

SHAHJAHANPUR,

1 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Muslim League has given full liberty to the Muslims of India to participate in the war efforts, in their individual capacity. Since then the Muslims, as a nation, are helping the British Government. Now Syria and Palestine have been included in the war zone and both the parties are bombing the cities and the religious buildings situated therein every day. Musalmans are impatient to make some strong protest. They are waiting for the lead of the All India Muslim League.<sup>1</sup>

Is it not necessary to warn the parties against the desecration of sacred buildings and the indiscriminate bombing of the Muslim population, and to ask for some unequivocal statement guaranteeing complete independence of the Muslim States?

Yours sincerely,

KARIM UR RAZA KHAN

[MLA, United Provinces

&amp; Member UP, ML Working Committee]

<sup>1</sup>AIML urged the Allied Powers to restore the sovereignty of Muslim States, vide Working Committee Resolution No. 6 of August 1941. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 508.

478

*M. A. Jinnah to Choudhry Nazir Ahmad**F. 201/1*

1 July 1941

Dear Moulvi Choudhry Nazir Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of the 25 June<sup>1</sup> and also for the comments of the *Madeena*, four copies of which were enclosed with your letter. I read them with very great interest. Let us all work steadily and patiently and apply our attention to the constructive programme for the uplift of the Musalmans socially, economically



and educationally, besides political propaganda and political training. The public opinion among the Musalmans has been developed and I feel that the leaders, to use your own language, "who ride two vessels at a time" are bound to fail. Of course it does not mean that we should not be on our guard and be vigilant.

With regard to your suggestion of holding the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the meeting of the Working Committee, it will receive my very careful consideration.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

Moulvi Choudhry Nazir Ahmad,  
6 Shariatullah Lane,  
Calcutta

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

479

*M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Rauf Shah*

*F. 443/33*

*1 July 1941*

Dear Mr. Rauf Shah,

This is just to inform you that a deputation of the Muslim Students' Federation waited on me here in Bombay and were very anxious that I should preside over the Fifth Annual Session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation to be held in Nagpur during Christmas next. They also showed me an appeal signed by very prominent leaders of Muslim India and amongst them I found your name as one.

As you are the President of the Provincial Muslim League, Central Provinces, I thought before finally deciding to accept the invitation I should consult you as to whether I should do so. I am informed that the function is likely to be supported by every Muslim Leaguer and by the public in the Central Provinces, and it may lead to restore complete unity and harmony amongst the leaders in spite of the recent differences which of course are being enquired into by the committee that has been appointed.

Please consult other friends and let me know your view.<sup>1</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Rauf Shah, Esq.,  
Fort, Pandharkawade,  
Amraoti, C. P.

<sup>1</sup>Rauf Shah said in reply that he and his friends recommended that Jinnah accept the invitation to preside at the annual session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation. See F. 1092/84-5, QAP. Not printed. Jinnah consented to preside at the session. See F. 443/34, QAP. Not printed.

## 480

*Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

TELLICHERRY,  
1 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I expect you have received my yesterday's telegram.<sup>2</sup> By yesterday's post I received the copy of Mr. Mahmood Padsha Sahib's letter<sup>3</sup> to you. It is true that Malabar has suffered gravely from cyclone and floods. Totally speaking, Muslims have suffered more than the Hindus, though in certain areas Hindus have suffered more than the Muslims. But the Muslims who have suffered are the poorest of the poor. Though some of the figures mentioned in Mr. Mahmood Padsha's letter are rather exaggerated, there is no doubt that the loss and damage is vast and extensive. You certainly [will] have read reports about these happenings in the newspapers, though Bombay papers may not have contained as many details as our Madras papers.

The need for relief was felt to be urgent, especially among the Muslims of the south-west region of Malabar. The District Muslim League of Malabar at once rushed to the rescue and we opened relief centres in the most affected areas. As the extent of the area affected and the number of people in distress were vast and beyond our limited resources for relief, appeals were issued by myself as the General Secretary of the District League and also by the League leaders in Madras. The Madras Presidency Muslim League has constituted a relief committee for this purpose and collections are being made



in Madras. The greatest consolation in this matter is the repeatedly announced decision of the Government of Madras that they are prepared to shoulder all necessary expenditure in connection with relief operations. This announcement came some time after our appeal for funds. Further, as [is] usual with the red tapism [*sic*] of Government, it will take some time before the Government's relief measures can be put into operation. Meanwhile, our relief activities proved very effective and protected people from starvation. Our relief is distributed to all alike regardless of caste and creed. The Congress is also collecting funds and making some distributions.

We first thought of requesting you to issue an appeal for funds but later, in view of the Government's declaration, it was thought unnecessary. That is the reason for my telegram to you requesting you not to issue an appeal for funds as requested by Mr. Mahmood Padsha. I felt that such an appeal will place you in a false position in view of the announcement of Madras Government's decision. Of course even now there is the fear that the Government's measures may prove inadequate. But we have to wait and see how far the Government is prepared to go.

We have, on behalf of the District Muslim League, written to the Government pointing out various ways in which Government can and should render help. For immediate relief, we said, the Government should make money grants for distribution of rice, cloth and building material to the distressed people. Later, the Government should give liberal loans to rehabilitate the people and their agricultural lands. Further, the Government will have to make liberal tax remissions.

The first meeting of the advisory committee is to be held on the 4th instant when the Collector is expected to unfold his proposals for relief. Madras Government have so far sanctioned one lakh [rupees] for immediate relief in Malabar and Rs. 5,000 for South Kanara.

The Treasurer of the Presidency League Relief Fund has so far sent us Rs. 2,000. A further remittance of Rs. 2,000 is expected from him. A great portion of this amount will be absorbed by the immediate relief measures started by the District Muslim League.

It will be helpful if you can issue a statement, through the A.P.I., expressing your deep sympathy with the sufferings as disclosed in detailed reports from Malabar, South Kanara and Cochin, appreciating of the relief work undertaken by the Malabar District Muslim League and the Madras Presidency Muslim League, thanking the Government of Madras for their sympathetic attitude, and requesting the Government to be liberal in the matter

of money grants, loans and tax remissions in view of the vastness and the grave nature of the sufferings, loss, and damage caused by the cyclone and the floods. Such a statement from you will be much appreciated by the sufferers, the majority of whom are Moplahs.

I hope this finds you well and happy.

Yours sincerely,  
H. A. S. H. SAIT

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 214-6.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup>No. 473.

## 481

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,  
MUSSOORIE,  
1 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for the copies of the correspondence that passed between you and Sir [Mohammad] Zafrulla [Khan] regarding the Defence Advisory Committee which Matlub-ul-Hasan Saiyid<sup>2</sup> sent me a few days ago. The reply that you have given is the only one that could be given under the circumstances. It is consistent with the attitude that has been adopted by the Muslim League throughout. Your new Working Committee,<sup>3</sup> I think, is an improvement on the last one. I do not know if you intend to convene a meeting of the Working Committee in the near future. There does not seem to be anything very important that the Working Committee could consider except our internal consolidation.

I hope you are quite fit again and have got over your last indisposition completely. Please look after yourself. We all are OK.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 213-3.

<sup>2</sup>Private Secretary to Jinnah.

<sup>3</sup>Announced on 15 June 1941. For details, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 269.



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*Naim Uddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/27-9**[Extracts]*

SANKLI STREET,  
BOMBAY 8,  
2 July 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you will forgive me for having addressed to you these few lines. But as a staunch Muslim Leaguer and one of your devoted followers I consider it my right to bring the following facts to your notice.

Unfortunately, the present disturbed communal situation in Bombay and a few other circumstances have led to a great handicap and setback to my paper [*Sarosh*] and it is almost on the verge of ruin. The Hindu businessmen are opposed to its policy and the Musalmans are indifferent. Hence the main source of income, which is mostly from the advertisements etc., is greatly hampered and I am almost obliged to stop the issue of the paper.

I have had experience of the last six years in the line of Urdu journalism and have been indirectly connected with it for many more years, and I still think that if an Urdu daily is started in Bombay in the near future, it can, in spite of all the odds, be made self-sufficient and self-supporting in a very short time. But for want of immediate funds I am not in a position to start it.

Last year a propaganda contract for the Hyderabad State was promised by Sir Akber Hydari to me and I was thinking of giving my intentions a practical shape, but owing to some departmental cliques in the State, that has also proved fruitless.

I have calculated the entire investment required to float a first-class Urdu daily, under the present conditions, [which is] not more than Rs. 5,000, and I am sure that after the first six months, the newspaper will be in a position to fetch a monthly net income of Rs. 200 which may increase subsequently.

I am willing to pool all my resources (which are unfortunately very small) in the game. I own a small property at my place in Agra, which if sold will be about Rs. 5,000 or as much. I have a will to put

my project into operation, and for this purpose I am going back to my house by the middle of this month, and if I am lucky to persuade my old mother to agree with me, I shall come back to Bombay and shall try to start this newspaper with your blessings.

If you think that I should see you in this connection I shall be highly grateful to you if you give me an opportunity to discuss the matter with you at your convenience. But if, on the other hand, you are inclined to think that no useful purpose will be served by my paying respects to you, I assure you that I shall try to work it up myself alone, and remain unflinchingly faithful rather than sell my conscience for pecuniary assistance from the enemies of the Musalmans.

Hoping to hear from you and with most respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
NAIM UDDIN AHMED  
*Editor,*  
*The Sarosh weekly*

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*Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 29/35-8*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
2 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my return to Hyderabad I happened to go through the notes of interviews between you and Sir Akbar in which your promise on my behalf is recorded that Government would be given assurance regarding the future, but details in connection with the nature of the assurance are not set forth, which, I apprehend, may lead H.E.H. to think that we would not take any further step regarding our present demands. I feel sure [that] this is not the significance of your promise. Under these circumstances, is it not advisable, with a view to avoiding this apprehension, to explain this point in your letter which is to be addressed to H.E.H.?

The *Firman* dated June 16, issued after the Annual Conference, is confidentially obtained and the text of the same is given below for



your information:

After consultation with Mr. Jinnah, Bahadur Yar Jung should tender an apology before me to the effect that despite the *Firman* about *Mashdaran* dated *Rabiussani* 4, 1360 H. (before deciding to choose any of the two alternatives, i.e. continuing to hold honours or retiring from politics) and without apprising Government he has recently participated in the meeting of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, so he apologises.

It is just to acquaint you with the spirit of the *Firman*.

The following is the text of the *Arzdasht*, for your information, that the Council submitted to H.E.H. after our Annual Conference:

The Executive Council had the honour of listening to the demi-official letters of Your Exalted Highness' *Peshi* during its session held on *Thir* 28, 1350F. After discussing, from every point of view, the attitude and speeches of Bahadur Yar Jung, the Council unanimously holds the opinion that he, in spite of being aware of the royal orders regarding the *Mashdaran*, presided over a political meeting and delivered political speeches and as such his *maash*, remissions, honour and *Jamedarship* have to be confiscated, so that this may be a lesson for others and none might venture to defy the royal orders. H.E.H. has graciously been pleased to issue order through the d.o. letter referred to above to call an explanation from Bahadur Yar Jung. In this connection, with reference to Section 6 of the Rules and Regulations of *Mashdaran*, the Council respectfully begs to submit that it is generally during the inquiry that an explanation is called for, but the case under question needs no further inquiry because Bahadur Yar Jung has presided over the deliberations of a political meeting in which he delivered speeches and that he has deliberately defied the orders.

The Council respectfully begs to submit also that any consultation with Mr. Jinnah in the matter of confiscation is not required because Bahadur Yar Jung's defiance is quite obvious and no other offence can be more serious than this.

It is reliably known to me that the file of the case, in connection with which you intend to come here, is not yet printed and hence it is not likely that the case may be fixed for hearing on July 8, 1941.

Please convey my and *Begum Bahadur Yar Jung's salaam* to Miss Jinnah.

With best of my regards,

Yours sincerely,  
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

N.B. To day, I am confidentially intimated by well-informed circles of the Government of India that extreme divergence of opinions existed between Mr. Gidney, Resident of Hyderabad and Sir Francis Wiley, Political Advisor to H.E. the Viceroy, in connection with the problems of Hyderabad. This difference of opinion is said to have been communicated to the Secretary of State for India. This is also known that Sir B. Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, who no more belongs to the Political Department, is still supporting Mr. Gidney, but H.E. the Viceroy is unanimous with Sir Francis.

According to rumours that are prevailing here, a change in the Cabinet of Hyderabad is expected, which is not yet approved. It is being related that Mr. Abdul Aziz would be the next President, Mehdi Yar Jung and Aqil Jung will be superseded by Kemal Yar Jung and Ali Yaver Jung. Kemal Yar Jung holds no opinion of his own, but Ali Yaver Jung would be detrimental to our cause and I find no person more harmful than Ali Yaver Jung. But this is to my entire satisfaction that H.E.H. left this matter also at your decision.

I only request you to acknowledge receipt of this letter.

BAHADUR

I am sending this letter with Mr. Rasheed Turabi, a member of my Working Committee and a well-known speaker of Shia community.

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*H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/67*

3 WELLESLEY 1ST LANE,  
CALCUTTA,  
4 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you an appeal, which is being issued by the Bengal



Provincial Muslim League. The appeal speaks for itself. Could you very kindly also broadcast an appeal and direct the attention of the people of India to the disaster, which has overtaken us and ask them to subscribe to the fund.

Yours sincerely,  
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY  
*Finance Minister, Bengal*

*Enclosure to No. 484*  
*Appeal by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League*

*F. 1092/68*

We once more desire to direct the attention of the people of Bengal, indeed of all charitably disposed persons in India, to the widespread havoc which has been caused in at least four districts of Bengal by the cyclone which was followed by a tidal wave. The magnitude of this disaster does not appear to have been fully appreciated by the public at large. Thousands of people have lost their lives; cattle have been swept away in hundreds of thousands; standing crops have been destroyed; huts and houses have collapsed; in one particular island not more than six houses have been left standing; agricultural implements, granaries, household goods, clothes and all belongings have been swept away by the flood; betelnut and cocoanut trees and jute and paddy crops have been utterly destroyed; people are homeless, they are starving and there is no immediate prospect of any other crop. Enormous sums are necessary just to keep them alive and to provide some sort of shelter for them and the barest necessities of life. Government assistance must be implemented [*sic* for supplemented] by those who can afford to pay something in the way of God, and who can still feel for their unfortunate and suffering brethren. The Bengal Provincial Muslim League has opened [*sic*] a Relief Committee, and we appeal for subscriptions to save the distressed in their desperate need. All District, Sub-Divisional and Union Muslim Leagues must collect funds as soon as possible. They must realize the dire necessity of the starving people and strain every nerve to raise money. Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary or Treasurer, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, at 8 Dharramtolla Street. Subscriptions will be acknowledged directly as well as through the press.

## 485

*M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Khalilullah Khan**F. 662/18**4 July 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th of June<sup>1</sup> and the first issue of the *Indian Mail*.

I regret to note that you are not even a primary member of the Muslim League organisation, although I thank you for your kind personal references to me for what little service I have been able to do for our community. Every Musalman has got to get into the kin of the community and also to understand the policy of the All India Muslim League before he can do justice to our nation or even to himself.

However, any kind of help or sympathy is always welcomed in the struggle that we are carrying on. I shall certainly watch your journal with very great interest and I thank you for sending me its issues regularly. I hope that you will wholeheartedly support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

## 486

*Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1092/66*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
GANESHKHIND,  
*4 July 1941*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of May the 14th,<sup>1</sup> written from Nandi hill station, never reached me, and I have not been able to discover any trace of it at this end. I have since received a copy of it, which was sent with your Secretary's letter of June the 24th.

The letter published in *Janambhumi*, and purporting to have been written by Moulvi Obeidullah Sindhi, came to my notice some time



ago, and information which was received from another quarter gave good grounds for believing that it was not genuine. This matter was, therefore, taken up under my orders. The editor of the *Janambhumi* was informed that Government considered that the letter did not emanate from the Moulvi and that its publication was extremely reprehensible on more than one ground. Government further addressed to him a severe formal warning, and he was requested to publish a statement in his paper to the effect that the letter ascribed to the Moulvi was not genuine. This the editor did, in the issue of the *Janambhumi* of June the 23rd.

With regard to the other matters referred to in your letter, that is to say, your alleged letter to Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and the telegrams which you were falsely said to have sent to Mr. Amery, Members of Parliament, and *The Times*: owing to the dislocation in postal services of the last few days I have not yet received all the information which I required concerning their publication in the *Janambhumi*, and I will write to you again about them later on.

Yours sincerely,  
 ROGER LUMLEY  
*Governor of Bombay*

<sup>1</sup>No. 388.

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*Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/70*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
 GANESHKHIND,  
 5 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is in continuation of my letter of yesterday's date.<sup>1</sup> I have now seen translations of the articles in the *Janambhumi* regarding your alleged letter to Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and telegrams to the Secretary of State, Members of Parliament, and *The Times* of London and am advised that no legal action by Government is warranted in respect of them. I notice, however, that Sir Currimbhoy has denied all the allegations. I hope that the warning given by Government in respect of the Moulvi Obeidullah letter incident may effect some improvement in

the *Janambhumi*'s standards of journalism but I am having this newspaper carefully watched.

Yours sincerely,  
ROGER LUMLEY  
*Governor of Bombay*

<sup>1</sup>No. 486.

## 488

*S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1092/69*

FORT, PANDHARKAWADA,  
5 July 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I received just now your kind letter dated the 1st instant.<sup>1</sup> I thank you for asking my view and permitting me to consult other friends in respect of your accepting the invitation to preside over the 5th session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation to be held at Nagpur. I am just now writing letters to some friends who are interested in the Students' Federation. I am expecting replies within a week.<sup>2</sup> As soon as I get replies from a number of friends I shall consider it my bounden duty to submit my views on several aspects of the question.

All along I had been under the impression that the session of the Students' Federation will be held in the month of October. It is only from your letter that I learned that it has been proposed to be held during the next Christmas.

It is a fact that I am one of the signatories on [*sic* for to] the general appeal issued by the organizers of the session of the Federation. I have given them also a detailed encouraging message to be published and circulated in the Province.

Had I not been suffering from a sprain in my right leg I would have personally run up to Nagpur and other places to consult friends there in this connection.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S. A. RAUF SHAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 479.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, note 1.



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*M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin**F. 392/54**5 July 1941*

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of June<sup>1</sup> and it extremely grieves me to learn that there is "intensified intrigue in our own camp." If after five years you people are not able in your own province to control and manage the Muslim League organisation and the Musalmans of Bengal and deal with any such attempt as you mention in your letter, then it is very sad. I am quite sure that if you all stand together and believe honestly and sincerely in the League, all such intrigues are bound to fail, no matter who raises his head against it.

However, with regard to your suggestion about the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League in Bengal the matter will certainly receive my very careful consideration.

I have seen the *Star of India* of the 25th and 26th June giving the case on behalf of the Muslim League regarding the Dacca disturbances, but I would like to have a copy of the Mahasabha, the Congress and the Muslim League case, as you are good enough to promise to send it on to me.

As regards the next meeting of the Working Committee, I am waiting for further information before I can decide, and I would let you know beforehand as soon as the date is fixed. In the meantime please let me know what your commitments are so that the date of the meeting does not clash with the engagements of the members from Bengal.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 472.

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*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1092/71

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
6 July 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith two extracts,<sup>1</sup> one from the *Tribune* and the other from the *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore. A perusal of these will give you an idea of the unfair manner in which Sir Sikander is attacking the Pakistan idea. I enclose also a copy of the statement<sup>2</sup> that I have issued to the press. Trusting that you are well and with all regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
*Advocate*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure.

*Enclosure to No. 490*

F. 1092/72-4

*Statement issued by Malik Barkat Ali, Member AIML Working Committee*

For some time past, I have made it a rule with me not to publicly notice statements made by Sir Sikander Hyat in criticism of the settled and declared policy of the All India Muslim League but the recent criticism of the Pakistan idea indulged in by Sir Sikander in the meeting of the Muslim Students Federation on 5th July at Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] is so unfair and so wrong to the Muslim League that I must perforce break my silence to register my most emphatic protest against it.

Sir Sikander, according to the report in the *Tribune*, is alleged to have said that "the idea of Pakistan originated with an Englishman". I really cannot understand the object and the occasion of this remark, unless it was to create a prejudice against this idea in the minds of those who have no love lost for the Englishman by suggesting that it



was an unholy Englishman who had first thrown this stormy petrel across the path of Indian politics. I do not know whether Sir Sikander expects to achieve some credit for himself at the hands of the Congressites who would no doubt make capital [out] of this imaginary disclosure, but I should like to say straight that if this statement is true, namely that it was really an Englishman who first threw out this idea, then I would call all honour to that Englishman, who true to the natural instinct of his people of finding out most happy solutions of difficult constitutional knots, first threw out the germ of this pregnant idea. Let no one misunderstand me. I am not aware of the truth of this disclosure, namely that it was an Englishman who first conceived the idea of Pakistan as a solution of India's constitutional problem. So far as my knowledge goes, it was really the late Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal who first, in his presidential address in 1930,<sup>1</sup> put forward, with all earnestness, this idea of Pakistan.

Sir Sikander also delivered himself of the following remark (I quote from the *Civil & Military Gazette*).

Criticizing the ultra-communal tone of the speeches, the Premier said that his young friends should forgive him for telling them a few home truths and ponder over his words in the light of the teachings of the holy *Qur'an*. Islam brought to mankind a message of peace, goodwill and tolerance. The idea of tyrannizing or securing domination over others was foreign to Islamic teachings.

It is to the underlined passage that I take the strongest objection. Does Sir Sikander mean or insinuate that the Pakistan idea is that of "tyrannizing or securing domination over others." If so, his meaning or insinuation is utterly devoid of the truth and is most unjust to the All India Muslim League which has adopted Pakistan as a part of its constitutional creed. Let Sir Sikander know that to every follower or supporter of Pakistan the idea of tyrannizing or securing domination over others is as odious as it may be to him. Undoubtedly some non-Muslim opponents of Pakistan, especially Dr. Moonje, Mr. Savarkar and others, have been spreading these kinds of lies about the intentions of the devotees of Pakistan. Sir Sikander should refrain from joining the ranks of these critics. Has he not been proclaiming himself from the housetop[s] that the resolution of the Muslim League, now popularly known as Pakistan, was the result of his own penmanship minus some provisions for a kind of agency centre which the All India Muslim League rejected as constitutionally unsound? The proceedings of the conference make one thing clear, and that is that besides the

section of the Muslim community at Lyallpur, who agreed to be addressed by him, there is a much bigger section who is holding a Pakistan Conference there on the 12th or 13th of July under the presidentship of an out-and-out Pakistani who kept away from this gathering, specially arranged to meet the Premier. After this ocular demonstration, Sir Sikander should have refrained from indulging in this wholly undefendable and anti-Islamic castigation, as it is called, of the Pakistan idea. Let me assure him that it will not bring him any real credit or popularity from non-Islamic parties as a man's deeds reveal him far more than his speeches, which may mean nothing.

<sup>1</sup>AIML session held at Allahabad on 29-30 December, 1930.

## 491

*M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy*

*Telegram, F. 458/26*

BOMBAY,  
7 July 1941

Your letter 4th July.<sup>1</sup> Extremely grieved cyclonic tidal wave havoc caused four districts Bengal. Deeply sympathise unfortunate victims sufferers. I appeal in name of humanity to every Musalman support Bengal Provincial Muslim League in organising relief and subscribe to fund. I also appeal to Government in these exceptional circumstances give every assistance help to those who lost property or are rendered homeless. Please accept my contribution of rupees one hundred.

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 484.



492

*M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed**Telegram, F. 826/89*BOMBAY,  
7 July 1941

Your wire received today. If cholera only made pretext banning conference it involves serious and dishonest interference with fundamental principles of liberty of speech and propaganda elementary rights of citizens and of opposition party. My opinion it must be resisted by all constitutional and peaceful methods. Any such intrigue on part of Government in office intolerable. Draw attention of Governor. I sending wire Governor also intervene.

M. A. JINNAH

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*Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah**F. 565/66-7*SADARGALI, PATNA CITY,  
8 July 1941

Sir,

By a resolution adopted at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, held on the 18th May 1941, a deputation was to wait on H.E. the Governor of Bihar to place before him the grievances of the Musalmans of Bihar in connection with the Bihar Sharif riots. A memorandum was prepared in which, along with the grievances, certain suggestions and demands were also put [forward] for the redressal of these grievances. The main demand stressed upon in the memorandum was about the constitution by the Government of a special tribunal, and the reasons for the same were also embodied in the demand. Just after the passing of the resolution for sending a deputation, the President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, in his discussion with H.E. the Governor and Mr. R.L. Russel, the Advisor, had pressed for the formation of a special tribunal. A letter was also sent to the Secretary to

H.E. the Governor, on the 5th June, for the same purpose. The memorandum was sent in advance to the Government with a covering letter from the President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League requesting the Governor to fix a date to receive the deputation. In that letter, which was dated the 13th June, again the demand was made for the formation of the special tribunal to try the cases arising out of the communal riots at Bihar Sharif. H.E. the Governor granted the request to receive the deputation but we found that he also had appointed at the same time two special magistrates to try communal cases in the ordinary way. This created suspicion in our minds about the attitude of the Government, and the President, in consultation with some of us, wrote again to the Secretary to H.E. the Governor if the question of setting up of a special tribunal was finally decided by H.E. the Governor to the contrary without hearing the deputation. The reply, which was received, proved our misgivings to be true and we found that the question of setting up of a special tribunal was shelved by the Government. As we did not find the attitude of the Government helpful I called an emergent meeting of the Working Committee on the 6th instant and placed the whole matter before it. A resolution was passed accordingly, dropping the question of sending the deputation to H.E. the Governor. The copies of the last correspondence and the resolution are hereto enclosed for your perusal.<sup>1</sup>

Now as the matter is already dropped and we expect nothing from the Government except the ordinary treatment in our special cases of sufferings and our representations to the items of demands, as set forth in the memorandum, are no longer going to be pressed before the Government, I would very respectfully submit that something may be done by you to make our case strong.

Obediently yours,  
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD  
*Secretary, Bihar Provincial Muslim League*

<sup>1</sup>See F. 565/68, QAP. Not printed.



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*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1092/76*

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
9 July 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I wonder whether the enclosures will interest you. With a feeling, however, of serving our cause, I thought, after great diffidence, of bringing the contents of these enclosures to your notice, for what they are worth.

I had sent my article, *Is India a Nation?* in the *Current Thought*, to several persons in England. Three of them, namely Mr. L.S. Amery, Sir Henry Lawrence, and Sir Frank Brown, Secretary of the East India Association, who, I am told, has influence in the press world of England, have sent acknowledgments,<sup>1</sup> within the last week, in terms which will speak for themselves.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>Enclosures 1, 2 & 3.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 494*

*F. 1092/77**9 April 1941*

*Extract from Mr. L. S. Amery's letter*

I have to thank you for your courtesy in sending me your interesting critical article on the subject, *Is India a Nation?*. In dealing with the difficult problem of India's future constitution, it is certainly useful to avoid facile analogies from the national life of a country like England or even the United States. The problem is how, in view of the complexity of India's internal structure, to find a system which will both give free play to the individuality of the separate elements, and at the same time secure the degree of unity essential for defence and full economic development.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 494**F. 1092/78**26 April 1941**Extract from Sir Henry Lawrence's letter*

I have studied closely your article, *Is India a Nation?*, and I agree with much of it. I have no connection with the press and cannot guarantee a review, but I will show it to some of my friends and ask if they can do anything. Sir Alfred Watson, former Editor of the *Statesman*, may perhaps be useful. The chief criticism that is spread in Oxford against the Muslim cause is that the Muslim League is a minute fraction of the Muslim people. It would be very valuable if you could correct this Congress slander in any way possible, but you must have money behind your movement. It would be a good policy for the Nizam to tell Akbar Hydari to supply funds generously, for your cause is linked with that of Islam [*sic*] Princes.

*Enclosure 3 to No. 494**F. 1092/79**8 April 1941**Extract from Sir Frank Brown's letter*

I much appreciate your kindness in sending me to my home address the article you contributed to the *Current Thought on Is India a Nation?*. I admire the cogency of your arguments and the skill with which the facts you cite in support of them have been marshalled. You call attention to Indian conditions which are little understood or appreciated in this country. They must be kept in mind when the time comes for revision of the present constitutional plan. I have always held and argued in public and in private that the doubts and fears of the Muslim community should be taken seriously and kept in view in every advance made towards Dominion status. But I cannot think that the political dismemberment of India would be a solution of the problem in days when, as we see so plainly, political unity provides a bulwark against aggression. Had the Balkans, with all their conflicting nationalities, been made into a real federation in 1919, they could have resisted much more effectively the German penetration, to which some of them have succumbed without fighting, while Yugoslavia has to undergo the martyrdom of armed conflict in defence of her liberties.



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*M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman**F. 364/28**9 July 1941*

My dear Khaliq,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 24th June 1941,<sup>1</sup> giving me all the accounts of doings in Bengal. I am glad you approve of the personnel of the [Muslim League] Working Committee. Now the question [is] when and where I should call the meeting of the Working Committee. At present, I see nothing of great importance and I am carefully watching the developments.

In the meantime, I wish you and all the other leaders will organise our people in your Province, as indicated by my recent speech at the annual sessions of the All India Muslim League at Madras. There is also a resolution of the League for the observance of the Pakistan Week. The work of the League must not slacken.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 467.

496

*Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1092/81-2*

102-B PARK STREET,  
CALCUTTA,  
*11 July 1941*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope that by now you must have received a reply from Mr. Rauf Shah. I am very anxious to know your decision so that I may announce it in the press. It will be a very great encouragement to the Muslim students and chiefly to our workers. I hope to hear from you soon in this connection. I am in Calcutta for the last two weeks in connection with the work of the [Muslim Students] Federation. Fortunately, I got some information about the latest move of the

Viceroy, which I am sending you. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin was here and he had a talk with Sir Abdul Haleem Ghaznavi who has just returned from Simla. Dr. Sahib gave all this information to me.

It is said that the Viceroy has written to the Secretary of State to allow him to expand his [Executive] Council without Muslim League and Congress. He is going to take some liberals who will be the nominees of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Sir Zafrulla Khan is trying to create a split in the League Party. He has asked some members to suggest to you the boycott of the Assembly in the coming session. In fact this has already appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that Mr. Jinnah is going to boycott the coming session on the ground that the Viceroy has expanded his Executive Council and has taken Sir Sultan as the nominee of the Muslim League. If the Govt. succeeds in keeping the Muslim League away, then there will emerge a party which will desert the present party. Prominent [among] those who are expected to revolt are Sir Raza Ali, Sir Yamin, Piracha, Ghiasuddin and two or three members from Bengal.

Sir Zafrulla is busy in his propaganda against the Muslim League. I am leaving for Aligarh tomorrow. I will very anxiously wait for your kind reply.

Yours sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

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*Jamilud Din Ahamd to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

NAZR-E-JINNAH,  
KUCHA CHEELAN,  
DELHI,  
11 July 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I wrote to you one or two letters from Roorkee but did not hear in reply. Your Secretary, Mr. Matlub, wrote me inquiring what help he could render in connection with the compilation of your speeches. I replied to him but since then nothing has been heard from him.

Many things have happened of late about which I have been thinking of writing to you. The sudden outbreak of Hindu-Muslim



riots at various places and the insidious attempts of Gandhi and his henchmen to link them up with the Pakistan issue and throw the onus of responsibility on the Muslims, the unabashed aggression and virulence of Mahasabha leaders, all point to a deep-laid plot to terrorise the Musalmans into abject surrender. It almost appears as if the whole thing was being engineered with the connivance of the authorities. The most provocative and violent speeches and statements of Mahasabha leaders go unnoticed. The Dacca riots have called for an inquiry committee but the sufferings of the Muslims in Bihar Sharif, Ahmadabad and Bombay leave the authorities unmoved. Dr. Moonje talks openly of raising an army of 50,000 and of Hinduising the official army of an equal size so that the Muslims would not dare talk of Pakistan. K. M. Munshi, who is well-known for his anti-Muslim feelings, makes the most malicious insinuations against Muslims, starts the *Akhand Hindustan* front to oppose the Pakistan project and talks openly of organising the Hindus for violence. *Goondalism* and *goondashahi* are phrases coined by Gandhi and his satellites to malign the Musalmans and put up the Hindus as innocent sufferers. I am convinced that this new move has the tacit approval of Gandhi. The question which disturbs my mind and which I beg leave to lay before you, is as to what are we going to do in the circumstances. Are we going to allow things to drift or are we going to take things in our hands and make everybody understand that nothing, least of all violence, can now succeed in intimidating the Musalmans. Having failed in all their nefarious designs and manoeuvres, the Congress now think that they should make a bid to break Muslim solidarity and morale by violent means. Of course, the attempt is bound to fail but isn't it time that the Muslim League also devised some effective measures to put heart in the Musalmans and make them ready for any eventuality whatsoever.

Another disturbing element in the situation is the influx of undesirable and dubious persons in local Muslim Leagues at many places. I can testify from personal knowledge that three years ago, when we were just on the fringe of the organization of our movement, many people would not even accept membership of the League. They would keep at a safe distance and would treat the League workers with amused contempt. When they found that the League had gathered sufficient strength, stability and speed, they suddenly thrust themselves into League committees by crooked and unscrupulous means and by maligning the sincere and silent workers. If we have to save our organisation, which we have so



sedulously built up, from falling into the hands of self-seekers and careerists, we should devise effective methods to check corruption and demoralization. I am formulating some proposals which I shall submit for your consideration.

Another matter to which I would beg leave to invite your attention is the reported resignation of three members from the Executive Council of the Muslim University—Dr. Zakir Husain, K. B. Habibullah and Nawab Ismail Khan. Whatever specious reasons they might state, the real reason for this undignified conduct on their part is their sense of defeat at Dr. Zia Uddin's election and their personal animosity and grudge against him. So far as Dr. Zakir Husain and Habibullah are concerned, the University is well-rid of them. They are mischief-mongers and implacable opponents of the Muslim League. Why Nawab Ismail Khan should make common cause with an arch-Congressite like Zakir Husain against a fellow Muslim Leaguer, passes one's understanding. If our leaders like Nawab Sahib can't subordinate their feelings to a higher cause then what can we expect of the rank and file. I respectfully suggest that Nawab Sahib should be asked to withdraw his resignation; but if he does not, then his place along with the other two places should be filled by staunch Muslim Leaguers. This is a good opportunity to augment the League strength in the Executive of the University. I suggest that you may be pleased to write to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Dr. Zia Uddin to put their heads together and fix upon three suitable persons to fill the vacancies. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is going to Aligarh on the 27th July to attend the meeting of the Executive Council. So far as Dr. Zia Uddin is concerned, I am glad to be able to tell you one thing. On several occasions recently, when he was asked as to what would be the policy of the Muslim University now, he said boldly that the policy of the University would be identical to that of the Muslim League. He has also been heard to say that he is prepared to follow implicitly your directions with regard to the working of the University. He seems to be very keen on having the assurance that he has the goodwill and support of the League behind him and particularly your goodwill. I am sure he will work wholly in the interest of the Muslim League and the League position will improve a great deal in the University if he continues to receive some encouragement from you from time to time.

Apologising for the length of this letter,

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD



498

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi**F. 256/120*

13 July 1941

My dear Dehlavi,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th of July.<sup>1</sup>

Yes, I was very much interested indeed in the views of these gentlemen regarding your article—*Is India a Nation* published in the *Current Thought*. But don't you think that the foundation rests in our hands and that these opinions and others may change. I think it entirely depends upon us.

The average westerner knows and it is a fact that we are at least three to four centuries behind them and he can always talk you round. The thing is that we should organise our people and fully unite them and depend upon our own merit and strength.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 494.

499

*M. A. Jinnah to Hossain Imam**F. 296/24*

13 July 1941

My dear Hossain Imam,

I have received your letter of the 19th of June<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

As regards Bihar Sharif, you say you want to know my opinion regarding the representation which is prepared for the Governor. It is very difficult for me to thoroughly grasp the local situation and I think the judgment of you all, who are on the spot, must be better.

While I was considering the papers, I found a deputation has been cancelled. Here again it is very difficult for me to say anything in the matter and people are the best judges. If you want any point to be discussed between the Governor and the Muslim League, I may be able to express opinion regarding any controversy.

However, I am waiting to hear further from the Secretary.  
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 460.

500

*M. A. Jinnah to Maharaja of Pithapuram*

F. 711/2

13 July 1941

Dear Maharaja,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of June 1941.<sup>1</sup>

It is contrary to my practice to interfere with the affairs of the Bengal Government in which the Muslim League occupies a great dominant position, but if you can let me know something concrete, which I think requires special attention of the Bengal Government, I would forward it to the Premier and to the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League for their examination and consideration. Perhaps you will be able to let me know something definite as you say in your letter after you have attended the Zamindars' Conference, which is likely to take place in August in Calcutta.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

501

*M. A. Jinnah to Syed Badruddin Ahmad*

F. 202/2

13 July 1941

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th instant,<sup>1</sup> enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League passed on the 6th of July. But you do not suggest what I should do in the matter.



You say, "I would very respectfully submit that something may be done by you to make our case strong." The strength of our case depends upon complete unity of our people in Bihar. Organise them and carry on a sound constructive programme for their social, economic and educational uplift. The better organised and more united the people [are], the greater the respect and hearing they will command. I hope that the Governor of your Province will reconsider the position.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 493.

502

*M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ahmed*

*F. 874/146*

*14 July 1941*

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I have received your letter of the 15th of April<sup>1</sup> and the literature that you have been good enough to send me, and thank you for it. I appreciate very much the work that you are doing in putting the Muslim League point of view before the American press and public, so far as you can.

With regard to the gentleman, Mr. Jehangir J. Mahudavala, I have no clear recollection whether I have met him, but I shall be very glad to make his acquaintance when he is in India.

Regarding Mr. H.S. Malik, I have done all I can in the matter.

As regards your suggestion that I should write an article, it is really very difficult for me to find time as I have to attend to many other things. I had received a request from an American magazine, called *Foreign Affairs*, but I was not able to comply with the request. But if you can get in touch, within the time-limit, with some good journals which would like to receive articles, ask them to get in touch with me, I will make an effort, provided sufficient time is given to me.

Finally, I thank you for your kind reference to my work and what little service I have been able to do for the betterment of Muslim India.

Much as I appreciate the value of propaganda, you cannot win by mere propaganda without facts and rational foundation. Fortunately,

the facts are all against the Congress and no amount of misrepresentation and vilification can change the realities; that is the inexorable law of nature. I am confident that the Congress, which is a Hindu body, and the Hindu leadership cannot build on sand. Nevertheless, we must be vigilant and prepared and certainly get the American press and public to understand the real issue.

I will read the literature that you have sent to me with great interest. Please keep in touch with me.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

S.M. Ahmed, Esq.,  
120 Broadway, New York

<sup>1</sup>See SHC, FC I/81. Not printed.

## 503

*M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa*

*F. 302/90-1*

*14 July 1941*

My dear Isa,

I have received your three letters, dated 21st of June,<sup>1</sup> the 27th of June<sup>2</sup> and the 9th of July 1941.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the college, I should like to have a talk with you when we meet next and I would like to know what is the response to the appeal that you made to a few of the prominent men about the funds.

As regards my coming to Baluchistan, I cannot promise definitely yet.

With regard to your last letter of the 9th instant, it is very difficult for me to understand what exactly is the meaning of the threat. Of course, I must frankly say that your recent speeches have created the impression of hostility to the Government although I understand that you were trying to meet really the dishonest accusation of the Congress and the Hindu leadership that the Muslim League was an ally of the British imperialism and against the freedom of the country. I think the Muslim Leaguers, specially, in Baluchistan should really apply their mind to the constructive programme as



laid down in my recent speech at Madras.

As regards the attitude of the Muslim League in the war effort, it is quite clearly laid down that we cannot officially take the responsibility unless we have the real share and voice in the power and the authority of the Government. The Government cannot expect us to undertake the responsibility and maintain and wield authority exclusively; in other word no authority but all responsibility to be undertaken is the position that no decent party can accept.

As regards your joining the War Committee or subscribing to the fund under duress, apart from the fact that you are a member of the Working Committee, I will certainly resent it, and I was somewhat surprised to read in your letter that such threats should be held out whereas the Government of India and the Viceroy have repeatedly declared that war efforts are voluntary and not under coercion or threat. We have not put any difficulty in the way of war efforts of the Government and our position is that of benevolent neutrality.

With very kind regards and *salaam* to Mrs. Isa and love to your son from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 466.

<sup>2</sup>No. 470.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

## 504

*Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1099/45

1 SULAIMAN BUILDINGS,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
14 July 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

In my reply to your kind letter, dated 14th June, 1941,<sup>1</sup> I submitted that I will inform you as to the date of our visit after consulting my colleagues. At that time I was in my village. There my uncle became seriously ill and it was only on the 6th instant that I could return to Lahore.

Meanwhile, our Pakistan Propaganda Committee carried on its programme, as advised by you, peacefully, steadily and in humble spirit. As to the results achieved and further details, I arranged that regular reports should be sent to you. We have received your inspiring acknowledgment to these. Herewith, I am sending you more cuttings from the newspapers.

On my arrival back at Lahore, the first thing to engage our attention was the bombshell from Lyallpur. Power, influence and treachery combined to induce the Chairman of the Reception Committee to invite the evil genius of the Punjab to preside over the District Pakistan Conference. The angel from Simla played his part very well, only to our shame and discomfiture. Presently, we will be sending you a full report of the presidential address so that you may judge it directly and take any action against him, which you may think appropriate.

It was a weakness in our ranks and we could not face you unless we had first reacted and reacted energetically to this under-belt blow. You will see from the cutting of *Civil & Military Gazette* that we have already refused to be browbeaten.

I have explained above why we have been delayed in seeing you. Just now I am going to Lyallpur so that the counter-conference there may be made a success. I expect that in a fortnight or so I will be in a position to inform you by telegram about our arrival. We will be staying with you.

Yours faithfully,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI  
*Secretary,*  
*Rural Propaganda Committee,*  
*Punjab Muslim Students' Federation*

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

505

*Mirza M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

BANGALORE,  
14 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will forgive my troubling you with a request. I enclose



copies of correspondence between Sir [Habib] Ibrahim Rahimtoola and myself on the subject of the political problem of India.<sup>2</sup> In his last letter to me, dated the 7th July, of which also I enclose a copy,<sup>3</sup> he asks me to consult you in regard to his proposal for the summoning of a conference to discuss this question.

I am not sure if the suggestion appeals to you at all, but I shall be glad if you will favour me with your views. I have long held the view, and have repeatedly urged it on the attention of Mahatma Gandhi and other friends, that a constituent committee should be appointed at the earliest possible moment to formulate proposals for the attainment by India of a position of equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations as soon as practicable. That committee would be essentially an Indian committee. The British Government would not come into it at all. They would only be asked to consider its report after the termination of the war.

The first problem the committee would have to solve, if its labours were to be successful, would be the communal one. There you would come in, and I feel that a committee of this kind would afford the best chance of a solution of the problem, a solution which might be regarded as satisfactory by all parties.

Otherwise, what is the alternative? The present bitterness will go on increasing, resulting in unhappiness all round and in the disastrous weakening of the country's position at a time when she should be united and strong. As I told you in person the other day when you were here, I do not understand how anybody can object to recognizing a patent fact, namely the position of the Muslim League as the only all-India organization, which can speak on behalf of the entire Muslim population of India. And you, as the unanimously elected head of that organization, should be regarded as—and you really are—the only accredited spokesman of the Muslim community. Your membership of the proposed committee would not militate against that position. I hope that you will give due consideration to all aspects of the question and favour me with your views.

I am going to Poona for the Sapru Conference and mean to put forward the suggestion of a committee. So far, Sir Tej [Bahadur Sapru] has shown no inclination to accept it and I doubt if anything will come of it. I am, of course, quite prepared for a disappointment, but I shall, nevertheless, persist, convinced as I am that there is no better way of solving the Indian problem.

Yours sincerely,  
MIRZA ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 224-5.

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

506

*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan**F. 335/206**15 July 1941*

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of July.<sup>1</sup>

At present, I do not know what useful purpose can be served by calling the meeting of the [Muslim League] Working Committee, as you say there does not seem anything important.

As regards our internal consolidation, surely that is more the work of the Working Committees of the various provinces, and can't you wake them up and galvanise them, urging upon them to carry out the programme that was laid down at Madras.

There is nothing fresh that I can write to you about, except that you must have noticed that the Hindus have made a dead-set against the Pakistan [scheme] and consider the proposal of the Muslim League a crime, nay high treason; whereas preaching *Akhand Bharat* is national and patriotic although that involves now the strangulation and subjugation of Musalmans. It is curious [that] now the Hindu leaders make no secret of their purpose of establishing Hindu *raj* as they have been so thoroughly exposed that now they have come out in their true colours.

I think you will have to work much more and constantly. If necessary, keep touring round the different provinces and guiding the selfless and sincere workers, who are really doing wonderful work all over India. I wonder what progress you have made in the matter of bringing out the paper about which we discussed last March in Delhi. I wish you can push it on and do something in that direction.

I am much better; thank you very much for your kind enquiries, but I cannot say that I am quite alright yet.

With kindest regards to both of you and love to Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 481.



507

*Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH,  
15 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you a copy of the letter sent to me by Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and Khan Bahadur Mohamed Habibullah Khan. This letter has been published in English and vernacular papers and you may have already read it. Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan have very strong association and commitments with the Congress. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan is the President of the U.P. Muslim League, but in the University area he has constantly been associated intimately with Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and his party.

In 1936, when I was the Vice-Chancellor, I did not take interest in the election of the members of the Court as I thought that Nawab Ismail Khan and his party would naturally support the Muslim Leaguers, but to my surprise I found that he supported the Congress Musalmans and the result was that nearly all the members, who were then elected, belonged to the Congress group.

In the year 1938, Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and I promised to you to assist the late Sir Shah Sulaiman<sup>2</sup> and I made every effort to work with Nawab Ismail Khan. I asked him whether I should nominate him for the membership of the Executive Council of the University, but he refused to become a member. Within two weeks, he stood up on the persuasion of Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan and his party so much so that in supporting him, Chaudhuri Niamatullah was dropped out. I consulted him in all matters, connected with the University, and acted on his advice including the elections of new members.

You are perhaps familiar with [*sic* for that] during the last election of the Vice-Chancellor (April 1941) he, in his capacity as the President of the Muslim League, asked at least two members within my knowledge to oppose my election.

Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan's term of office of the membership of the Court and of the Executive Council was expiring in a few months'

time, and he took this dramatic action to draw the public attention. He made every effort to annihilate the Aligarh University during the Non-Co-operation Movement.

I hesitate to reply to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan. I am for the moment keeping quiet.

The Academic Council of this University has sent me a resolution, asking me to invite Sir Maurice Gwyer<sup>3</sup> to deliver the convocation address, but I am taking no action on it.

The University vacation has been extended up to the 26th July. I am proposing to attend the meeting of the Bangalore Institute of Science on the 21st July and I pass [through] Bombay on the 23rd on my way back. I arrive Bombay about 4 p.m. and leave the same night about 10 p.m. I will come and see you.

Yours sincerely,  
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD  
Vice-Chancellor

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 230-32.

<sup>2</sup>Born in 1886, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman became, at the age of 34, a Judge of the Allahabad High Court, becoming Chief Justice when he was only 46. He was elevated to the Federal Court of India in 1937, when only 51. The versatility of his genius is demonstrated by the fact that, besides Law, he shone also in the realms of Science and Education.

<sup>3</sup>Chief Justice, Federal Court of India, 1937-43.

## 508

*Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

15 July 1941

My dear uncle,

"Normal traffic has been resumed between Bombay and other parts of India," was the news that encouraged me to write these few lines.

The Punjab has invited us in September and I have already sent you a copy of the letter, which I received. So that is settled.

The Planning Committee is a huge affair with lots of responsibility and, to say the least, the Committee is thoroughly unrepresentative. I had written to all the members for co-opting a few experts. The replies that I have received are herewith enclosed.<sup>2</sup> Mr. S.N.A. Jaffrey, who since the last by-election had suddenly developed an affection and love for the Muslim League, has replied in a most queer way. It is not necessary (that is what I think) that all the members of the Committee should be members of the Muslim League. We want



expert advice, and we should get it from wherever and from whomsoever possible. The Congress National Planning Committee did not consist purely of Congressmen. Zakir Hussain and Ghulamus Sayyedain are educationists of unquestioned eminence; why should not they be included? They know more about education than Dr. Zia Uddin [Ahmad] does. He may be a good mathematician but that does not mean that he is an educationist as such. As to the 7th name, I doubt whether he will accept it but as to [the] rest, I don't see any reason why they won't accept.

A copy of my letter and the reply received from Dr. Allama S.N.A. Jaffrey is herewith enclosed.<sup>3</sup>

With best regards,

Yours,  
AMIR

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 234-5.

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

## 509

*M.A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad*

F. 641/1

16 July 1941

Your Exalted Highness,

With reference to your letter of the 8th July,<sup>1</sup> I was waiting to hear from my pleaders, who are instructing me regarding the date of hearing. I have now received a wire<sup>2</sup> from one of them informing me that our arguments will begin on the 2nd of August, and I shall be there a couple of days earlier, i.e. by the end of July as desired.

I hear all sorts of rumours about the reconstruction of your Council and I hope you will allow me to place my view before you. Of course, after that Your Exalted Highness can decide as you think best but I hope you will not commit yourself, as all that I have to say will be in your interest purely, and not affected by any other consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>See F. 29/39, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>Not traceable.

## 510

*Rabb Navaz Khan to M.A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

HAKIM MANZIL,  
FEROZEPUR CANTT.,  
16 July 1941

Sir,

I joined the [Muslim] League in 1937. Prior thereto also I was a Leaguer although not regularly enrolled as such. [*Seven lines omitted*].<sup>2</sup> I have not only organised the League in my District but also have been taking keen and practical interest in the establishment of League in other districts and in the formation of the Punjab Provincial League.

2. But after four years of hard and patient labour, I have arrived at the conclusion that the existence of [Provincial] League in the Punjab is derogatory to the interest of the [All India Muslim] League. The League's aim can be realised only by dissolution of the Punjab League. The present Ministry of the Punjab have no respect for the League cause or its programme. They are Unionists, toadies and self-seekers. Their adoption of the League has served one purpose, viz. the closure [*sic* for cessation] of opposition to the Ministry from the Muslim quarters. Further, they can refuse response to the call of the All India Muslim League and get their conduct supported by the pseudo-League of the Punjab. Sincere Muslim Leaguers of the Punjab are given a step-motherly treatment; they are looked upon with suspicion and their activities are watched by the Government. For a candidate of any job, it is a disqualification to be a relative of a true Muslim Leaguer. When the League workers come to me, I ask them to expect reward from God and not from man. But in the [*sic* for my] heart of hearts, I know that if their aims were simply to qualify for the heaven they could do it by many other forms of worship and good conduct; through political work they should get political advantages also. In matters of public and communal concern too, the cry of the Leaguers meets no redress.

3. S. Dasondha Singh, MLA, came to Ferozepur in September 1940 and filthily abused the Muslim League. Today he is [*sic* for has been] made a Minister in the Punjab without his making any



amends although his abuses were brought to the notice of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and other Muslim Ministers. Just a few days back, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan delivered, in respect of the Pakistan scheme, a public speech half-way in and half-way out. I enclose herewith a cutting of the press report published in a semi-official organ of this Province.<sup>3</sup> If the League continues to exist in the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan will require the Provincial League to form a Parliamentary Board, which will continue setting [*sic* for putting] up for the Punjab Assembly, candidates who will be 'Sikanderites' and not 'Jinnahites'.

4. My view is that in the Punjab, the League should sever itself from, and develop by opposition to or at least independently of, the Ministry, or there should be absolutely no League. Whether there be a League or not, the Punjab Muslims have become League-minded, while to have a regular League organisation is to provide the Ministry with a tool; or you should allow, rather direct, the Punjab Leaguers to follow Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in straightens of the nose and to spurn you whenever called upon by him so to do.

5. From the individual as well as party point of view, a Musalman can gain if he either owes total allegiance to the government or resorts to opposition or at least indifference to the government in the hope of getting relief by some day ousting the present party [from] power. But it is a very hard position to have no faith in and to expect nothing from the government and yet remain tied up in the stable of the government.

6. I feel that as a League worker in the Punjab, I have simply wasted time, money and energy without doing any real service either to the League or to the Muslims. I am, however, very anxious to raise and carry your banner. Kindly advise me how to do so.

Expecting an early reply,

I am,  
Yours obediently,  
RABB NAVAZ KHAN  
*Pleader*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 236-9.

<sup>2</sup>These lines concern the writer's personal life.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.

511

*K. M. Sheriff to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/58-9*

KUMBAKONAM,  
16 July 1941

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit hereunder the pertinent resolutions passed by this [South Indian Anti-Separation] Conference held at Kumbakonam on Sunday, 8th June 1941.

RESOLUTION NO.2

It is the considered view of the Musalmans, assembled at this Conference from all parts of South India, that the two-nation scheme (Pakistan scheme), envisaged in the Resolution of the 1940 Lahore Session of the All India Muslim League, would not only not serve the interests of the Muslim community in India, for which purpose it is avowedly urged, but it would also be definitely detrimental to its growth, expansion and solidarity, and it would further result in the disintegration of the whole country, which has all along been geographically and politically an integral unit and has been treated as such and that it would eventually lead to internal strife, thereby exposing the country to foreign exploitation.

RESOLUTION NO.3

This Conference strongly condemns all attempts, by whomsoever made, to partition India on any ground such as religious, ethnical, etc., and is strongly opposed to all constitutional schemes for the future governance of India that are not based on the fact that India is an indivisible nation.

RESOLUTION NO.4

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the claims of the All India Muslim League to represent the entire Muslim community of India are not justified as the major section of the Muslim community has never subscribed to the policy of the Muslim League.

RESOLUTION NO.11

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that in order to promote unity amongst the Musalmans of the country and to co-ordinate the efforts for their uplift, it is absolutely necessary



that all the Muslim organisations, claiming to serve the interests of Musalmans, do establish an all-India Muslim executive board with power to control and guide the policy and working of different organisations and to negotiate and co-operate with other organisations and the Congress regarding all matters that affect the interests of Musalmans.

Yours faithfully,

K. M. SHERIFF

*President, Council of Action,*

*The South Indian Anti-Separation Conference*

512

*Zafrulla Khan Malik to M.A.Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

RAWALPINDI,

17 July 1941

Respected Sir,

I beg to submit my monthly report:

The Pakistan Committee started work in Sheikhupura on the 20th June 1941. Two parties visited some 40 villages and established 30 Primary [Muslim] Leagues. The touring was fairly successful. The following matters require your consideration:

- a. At Nankana Sahib, which is a Tehsil Headquarters, an armed party of Nehang Sikhs came to the meeting place and prevented the meeting from being held by threat of force. We have not, so far, taken the matter to the press.
- b. We generally found in this District Sikhs armed with spears. The Punjab High Court has declared carrying of spears (Nishan Sahibs) an offence under the Arms Act, but the Punjab Ministry, afraid of the Sikh opposition, has issued instructions that the Nehang Sikhs should not be bothered. No attempt is being made or likely to be made by the Government to recover the very large number of spears and other arms in the possession of these Sikhs. This is a most serious matter. Please advise us on it.
- c. The people of the District are extremely ignorant and terribly afraid of the Government machinery. They quite like the Pakistan idea and have established League but if

tomorrow the Deputy Commissioner were to show his disapproval, half of these Leagues would disappear. And if the Deputy Commissioner were to sufficiently exert himself, most of these Musalmans might become members of the Hindu Mahasabha. To take this fear out of the Muslim landed gentry and Muslim masses, incessant propaganda and a local struggle against the Government are required.

- d. The District League is not bad. The President, Malik Mohammad Anwar, Pleader, and the Secretary, Ch. Mohammad Hussain, Pleader, are both genuine Leaguers and they are sincere. They intend to do a great deal of work and to keep the Primary Leagues, we have established, active, but they do not give sufficient time to this work. If urged, they could do much more.

2. Sir Sikander Hyat made a speech at a Muslim students meeting at Lyallpur in his usual style. We have passed the resolution condemning his behaviour but none of the Muslim papers dared to publish it.

The effect of the Lyallpur incident has not been totally bad. As far [as] the Punjab is concerned it has been rather good. Lyallpur has become even more League-minded. Further, it has again shown that the Punjab Premier does not represent the Muslim students.

3. The President of the Punjab Provincial Congress, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, is on tour holding meetings and conferences for communal unity. He is doing it under the instructions from Wardha and with the authority of the Unity Conference of leaders held in Lahore. He has so far addressed only one open conference; this was held at Sialkot on the 13th of July and had been organized by the Ahrars. The whole move is to revive the Congress prestige in the Punjab which is going rather low. At the Sialkot Conference, the League was not openly condemned but it was indirectly ridiculed and nationalism, non-violence and Communism were preached.

Unless we receive any instructions from you, we intend to pass a resolution saying that this communal unity move is not a genuine and sincere move but a snare, and that we should have nothing to do with these Unity Boards and Unity Conferences.

4. The Committee intends to start work in Rawalpindi from the 25th of July. I have come here to arrange for the programme etc. At present, the membership of the Rawalpindi District Muslim League, which possesses no branches in the District, consists of two, the President who is a Khan Bahadur and the Secretary who is a



Khan Sahib. They sent their resignations last year but have now been persuaded by Sir Sikander Hyat that it is in the best interest of the Musalmans that they should be [in] the Rawalpindi District Muslim League and so have withdrawn their resignations. They formerly [sic] and seriously put it before me that they would be willing to support us if our committee set up Zamindara Leagues in the villages and not Muslim Leagues. As for Pakistan, they hold that it has already been accomplished. "Isn't the Premier of the Punjab" one of them, asked "a Musalman" [of] me.

This District of Rawalpindi is a very important recruiting centre and all the gentry consists of Government military contractors and military pensioners. This District is perhaps the most reactionary and loyal in the reactionary and loyal Punjab.

With your advice and encouragement we shall conquer this citadel of toadies and reactionaries.

With respectful regards,

Yours respectfully,  
ZAFRULLA KHAN MALIK  
*Deputy President,  
The Punjab Muslim Students Federation*

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 241-3.

## 513

*M. A. Jinnah to Mirza M. Ismail*<sup>1</sup>

17 July 1941

Dear Sir Ismail,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th [14th] of July 1941,<sup>2</sup> enclosing correspondence between Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and yourself on the subject of the political problem of India.

To begin with, I notice that you two fundamentally differ as to the basis. Secondly, your letter is very sad reading inasmuch as you are again repeating your proposal and want me to agree to your being an intermediary, to which, apart from the question of the merits and demerits of your proposal to form a committee, I cannot agree. During the course of our conversation at Bangalore in May last, for various reasons which I pointed out to you, such a move on your part will be highly undesirable, [and] you agreed and assured me that you will not do anything in the matter. Since then, from your activities, I gather that you have broken your assurance to me. You

know my views about the Sapru Conference, which were broadcast in the press not very long ago, and I do not want to say anything further which may hurt you. Nevertheless, I suppose, as a "non-party man" you find that platform suitable to you and have decided to attend it; but, of course, I cannot approve of your decision as in my opinion it is calculated to harm the Muslim cause.

I am glad to note that you say, "I do not understand how anybody can object to recognizing a patent fact, the position of the Muslim League as the only all-India organization which can speak on behalf of the entire Muslim population of India." I also thank you for a great compliment that you have been pleased to pay me, when you say, "and you as the unanimously-elected head of that organization should be regarded as—and you really are—the only accredited spokesman of the Muslim community".

In these circumstances, don't you think that you can do much more useful service by joining the Muslim League and making your full contribution for the betterment of that great organization, now that you are free from the shackles of your office, for I wonder what you will achieve by attending the "Sapru Conference".

I am of opinion that it is the duty of every Musalman to join the Muslim League and help and guide the organization from within and not to act as a super-individual leader, which is not only harmful to the cause of the Musalmans but India generally.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 225-6.

<sup>2</sup>No. 505.

## 514

*Liaquat Ali Khan to M.A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,  
MUSSOORIE,  
19 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 15th,<sup>2</sup> which I received yesterday. We are very sorry and much worried to know that you are not quite alright yet. May God restore you to complete



health soon! Please take care of yourself.

I have received reports from certain Provincial Leagues that they are going to observe the Muslim League Week as they were directed by the Working Committee. This should give a fillip to the League work.

As regards the English weekly, I am doing my best to find a suitable editor. If I can get somebody, I can manage to bring out the paper without any delay. I have asked some people to suggest some names. You remember that it was suggested that we should advertise for our editor. I am not sure if this will be a very suitable procedure to follow because if after advertising it we do not bring out the paper immediately it will not be a very good thing and I am very doubtful if we will get a suitable person through advertisement. However, I am doing what can be done. Could you not suggest someone who could edit the paper? I am prepared to pay up to Rs. 250 a month to a suitable person because I have prepared the estimate on the basis of this salary for the editor.

I am going down to Delhi on the 24th of this month and shall stay there for some days. From there, I shall go to Aligarh for the meeting of the Executive Council of the University on the 27th. You must have read in the papers that Nawab Ismail Khan and two others have resigned from the Executive Council of the University as they have no faith in Zia Uddin [Ahmad]. I have received several communications from Raja of Mahmudabad and others in this connection and so did the Nawab of Rampur, who is the Pro-Chancellor and who is up here. It appears that it might develop into a crisis and Aligarh may once again become an arena of party warfare. I have discussed the matters with Nawab Ismail Khan, who came up here and feel that the matters can be smoothed over if Dr. Zia Uddin would play the game. You know what a number of people think about Zia Uddin. It will be a great pity if Aligarh becomes a hot-bed of intrigues and party warfare. If Zia Uddin would listen to reason and work for the good of the University alone, I might succeed in making matters smooth. I hope he would.

You must have seen in the papers that some kind of announcement is to be made regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Council. My information is that War Council with representatives of provinces and people of British India is also to be set up. I do not know if you were apprised as to what were the proposals of the Govt. However,

it might be necessary to have a meeting of the Working Committee after the announcement is made to take stock of the situation. I shall be in Delhi from the 25th of this month for at least a week and if you would want to call a meeting of the Working Committee or the Council, you would kindly communicate your wishes to me at my Delhi address during that time. Delhi, I understand, is terribly hot but I have to go there—rain or no rain.

Our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah, who we hope is keeping very fit, and love from Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN  
[Honorary Secretary,  
All India Muslim League]

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 250-53.

<sup>2</sup>No. 506.

## 515

*Zaka-Ullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/69-70*

MOHALLA KATH-DERWAZA,  
MORADABAD,  
19 July 1941

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

It is to inform you that in the District of Moradabad, at village Ratanpur Kalan, the Muslims were unnecessarily harassed on the occasion of *Baqar-'Id*. Anyhow, they brought a representative suit in the Civil Court for the declaration of their right to slaughter cows in the village etc; and the suit was decreed. The Appellate Court upheld the judgement. The Muslims for the last two years are exercising their right to the great annoyance of the Hindus, who include the zamindars also. Unfortunately, the Magistrate of the Sub-Division and the Sub-Inspector in charge of the Police Station are Hindus and the District Judge, i.e. Appellate Court, is also Hindu. Taking advantage of the situation, the Hindu zamindars are coercing the Muslims to give up their right of cow-sacrifice.

Recently a disturbance of a very minor nature took place in the village. The Muslims say that the disturbance took place between the Thakurs and the Baghbans while the Hindus say that the



disturbance took place between the Muslims and Baghbans. The Thakurs and the Baghbans have got injuries while the Muslims have not got injuries. There are good reasons to believe that the fight took place between the Thakurs and the Baghbans. Even if it may be taken for granted that the fight took place between the Muslims and the Hindus, i.e. Baghbans, it was of a very minor nature and 29 persons could not be involved in the fight. The case was brought against 29 Muslims and all of them have been convicted for one and a half years etc. in spite of the fact that the case was extremely weak and full of material discrepancies. The appeal is a very fine one and on merits must be allowed.

Now the Muslims want to engage you for appeal. Kindly instruct your Solicitor or Secretary, whosoever settles or makes correspondence about your fee, to let me know your fee as well as the days which are free so that date of hearing may be fixed at any date [*sic* for day] from those days. This I assure you that you will have to spend only two hours to prepare the appeal. I request you to charge the minimum fee in view of the fact that it is the duty of every Muslim to help his co-religionists when they are putting up fine resistance to the Hindu onslaughts.

Expecting an early reply,

Sincerely yours,  
ZAKA-ULLAH KHAN  
B.A. LL.B.  
*Vakil*

516

*Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

HASNAIN MANZIL,  
GAYA,  
19 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday on my return from a long tour, I found your letter of the 13th instant.<sup>2</sup> I am going to Patna tomorrow to [attend] a Working Committee meeting of [Muslim] League; I shall ask the Secretary to send all the papers about our deputation to the Governor to you.

The main demand of ours was to have the riot cases tried by a

Special Tribunal in place of ordinary courts. Invariably Muslim deaths in communal clashes in Bihar Province have gone unavenged in ordinary trials. We are afraid that the 28 Muslims, killed in this riot, will cry in vain for retribution from their murderers if ordinary trial is held. I am, therefore, moving a resolution at the meeting on the 20th instant that a day be fixed as Bihar Sharif day to hold meetings and voice our demands regarding this riot.

The Bihar Government is positively hostile as the two Advisors are pro-Congress and the Chief Secretary is a Marhatta. Our own executive believe more in cajoling than even browbeating; so we are in a fix.

With best wishes and respects,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

HOSSAIN IMAM

[Member, AIML Working Committee]

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 248-9.

<sup>2</sup>No. 499.

## 517

*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
20 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am taking the liberty to write so soon again as I have to communicate to you an important piece of information, which I have been able to obtain. Apropos the three vacancies in the Executive Council of the University, Dr. Zia Uddin [Ahmad] has the following names in mind:

1. Nawab Sadar Yar Jung (local)
2. K. B. Mohammad Sulaiman, Superintending Engineer, New Delhi
3. K.B Maqsood Ali Khan, retired Collector, Lucknow

So far as No.1 is concerned, there is not much to choose between Nawab of Chhatari and Nawab Sadar Yar Jung; so there need be no objection to the latter's being elected. For No.2, Dr.Zia Uddin



advances the plea that his inclusion is desirable in view of the expansion of technical and industrial education in the University. But surely, we must have at least one good public man. K.B. Maqsood Ali Khan has no particular claim or qualification. I hope you will insist on Dr. Zia Uddin accepting one of the names mentioned in my last letter or any other [person] you may have in view. Sir Abdoola Haroon, I believe, will be suitable as he is competent to advise on technical and industrial matters besides being a zealous Muslim Leaguer.

I hope you will very kindly let me have your advice on other matters mentioned in my previous letters.

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 254-5.

518

*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/40

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
20 July 1941

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

With reference to your letter of 16th July,<sup>1</sup> I note that you will not be here till the end of July for the case in which you are engaged. But in case anything happens to upset your programme again, then I am afraid no further delay will be allowed regarding the case under discussion to be postponed any longer, but I shall have to decide at once and before doing that, it is possible that I may send Abdul Aziz to see you in Bombay in connection with this; but at the same time I trust that such a situation will not arise in the end to upset my proposal in view.

2. Re[garding] the matter of reconstruction of my Executive Council, suffice it to say that it is entirely between me and the Government of India and that who would be the possible incumbents of different portfolios, when those fall vacant in the near future, has already been decided and kept in secret till the time comes for it to be announced. In other words, there is nothing at present to be decided in this connection and I trust that what I have written, you have understood thoroughly as I cannot write more than this. As

times are critical, so every precaution is necessary for me to take in not allowing things to leak out; what I mean is that it will create complications in case someone knows that I consult outsiders, no matter what status or qualification they may have, in those important affairs of my State with which they are not connected or have no right to interfere. Therefore, you should understand what the position is.

Yours sincerely,  
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 509.

519

*Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 97/35-6*

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
GANESHKHIND,  
20 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

His Excellency the Viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters which follow. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally, as was his desire: but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you the message, I am not entirely fit and I am, therefore, writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by special messenger.

The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the war effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist to his very great regret as the last few months and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April the 22nd, have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for that degree of support from the major parties for the proposals embodied in the August offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership



of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, creating five new portfolios. These new portfolios and the names of the gentlemen by whom they have been accepted are as follows:

Supply	Sir Homi Mody
Information	Sir Akbar Hydari
Civil Defence	Mr. Raghavendra Rao
Indians Overseas	Mr. [M. S.] Aney
Labour	Sir Firoz Khan Noon

The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law when Sir Zafrulla Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmad and Mr. N. R. Sarkar.

In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is possible to delay further the more active association of non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the War. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. This Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States. The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has accordingly invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members of it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to possible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is, of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

It is intended that an announcement about these changes will be made on the morning of Tuesday, July the 22nd, and the Viceroy is anxious that you should have, through me, this advance information of what is proposed. I would have much preferred to have given you this message orally but this letter contains the substance of it.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness.

Yours sincerely,  
ROGER LUMLEY

520

*M. A. Jinnah to Roger Lumley**F. 97/36*

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,  
MALABAR HILL,  
BOMBAY,  
21 July 1941

Dear Sir Roger,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th July 1941,<sup>1</sup> which embodies the message of His Excellency the Viceroy. I deeply regret the decision taken by him with the approval of His Majesty's Government.<sup>2</sup> I appreciate when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions, knowing, as he does, not only my general attitude but that of the All India Muslim League. Further, I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that His Excellency will avoid such a contingency. Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by His Excellency over the head of the President and the Executive of the All India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All India Muslim League has adopted.

It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. Would it be creditable for any individual, prominent or capable Musalman belonging to an organisation, to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation, and would it do any credit to the Government if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of His Excellency. I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the All India Muslim League organisation. Persistence in this course will not improve matters but on the contrary it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League which up to the present moment, fortunately, does not exist, however emphatically we have disapproved



of the policy which has been pursued by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Before I conclude, I am extremely sorry to hear that you are not well and I hope that you will soon recover from your illness.

Thanking you for your kind enquiries, I am now much better.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 519.

<sup>2</sup>No. F. 97/37, QAP. Not printed.

## 521

*M. Abdul Hamid Qadri to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/71*

MOULVI MOHALLAH,  
BUDAUN,  
21 July 1941

*Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim*

*Allaho Akbar*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On return from Madras, I have been so busy with Muslim League work that [I] could not write to you earlier than this. I congratulate you on regaining your health, which was so much [a] cause of anxiety to us all while we were at Madras.

At present there are great dangers to the Islamic countries on account of this war which is [being] fought at their doors.

I think it is high time now that you may issue a statement in connection with all these various isms which are at war with each other so that Musalmans may take a lead from it. The Musalmans are not prepared to accept the domination of any of them in Islamic countries.

I beg to draw your attention to the recent speech delivered by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan while addressing the students at Lyallpur that Islam has never come to rule over others. He has also said in his speech that Pakistan is the result of the English mind.

In every corner of Hindustan, he has earned a bad name for such sort of speeches which he is accustomed to make. The Musalmans

are not prepared to bear such remarks from a member of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League. I am enclosing a copy of the resolution [adopted at] a general public meeting of the Muslamans of Budaun [held on the 18th July] condemning his speech, for your kind perusal and their demand that he should be turned out of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League.

I hope that you will kindly set him right as early as you can otherwise the Musalmans will remain anxious and disturbed.

Sincerely yours,  
M. ABDUL HAMID QADRI  
Member,  
All India Muslim League Council

*Enclosure to No. 521*

*F. 1099/72*

That this meeting of the Musalmans of Budaun strongly protests against the speech delivered by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at Lyallpur, while addressing the students, that Islam has never come to rule over others and that Pakistan is the result of the English mind. This public meeting considers this part of his speech as an open challenge to Islam and to our demand for Pakistan and that this public meeting requests the Quaid-i-Azam that Sir Sikander Hyat should be turned out of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and that his conduct towards the Muslim League has been against the Muslim League since the beginning and this is a constant source of anxiety to the Musalmans.

522

*Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

19 TEMPLE ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
21 July 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just returned from Lyallpur where the Muslim students had convened a Pakistan Conference under my presidentship. You



will be glad to learn that the Conference was a great success. I enclose a copy of the resolutions<sup>2</sup> passed. It was at Lyallpur that I realised the wave of resentment which Sir Sikander's speech of a previous fortnight had spread amongst the Muslims of that great town. I am sorry that Sir Sikander indulged in rank abuse of Pakistan at that place. He called it *Lugwastan*(absurdistan) and went to the length of saying that the idea behind Pakistan was that of tyrannising the Hindus. The boys and the audience met these remarks of his with such shouts as 'Pakistan *zindabad*,' 'Quaid-i-Azam *zindabad*'. Not a single man shouted Sir Sikander *zindabad*. This infuriated him so much that he uttered the following words:

I, Sir Sikander, may be a sinner but I say my prayers regularly. Your Quaid-i-Azam does not say even a single prayer in the day. Your Quaid-i-Azam's policy has led to riots in his own Province. See my policy, there are no riots in the Punjab.

The speech was simply an unspeakable speech. I believe the time has come when you should at least release the Punjab Provincial Muslim League from his grip. Everywhere I go, the people tell me that the League organisation is dead and that it is impossible to accept Sir Sikander's Provincial League. It is my duty to inform you of the feelings of the Musalmans of the Province. I am proud to say that amongst the Muslamans of the Province, your name is magic. The League must take advantage of this wave of feeling in favour of Pakistan. Sikander is only with the League in order to capture the League's seats in the towns. I hope you received the copies of my address<sup>3</sup> at the Conference. You will be surprised to hear from me that the Deputy Commissioner of the place was, under phonic instructions, ordered to see that the Conference did not take place. But the Muslim students of the Federation overcame all these impediments. I was glad to see the impression that my address, which was rendered in Urdu, created on the audience. In the sitting at night, which followed my address, the gathering was a mammoth one.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. BARKAT ALI  
MLA

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 256-7.

<sup>2&3</sup>Not traceable.

523

*Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/86*

CHOWK AUSTRALIA BUILDING,  
102 MCLEOD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
22 July 1941

Dear father Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your two letters<sup>1</sup>. Here I present a brief summary of the tour for your consideration.

The tour in the District of Sheikhupura is over and now we have made arrangements in the District of Rawalpindi. The whole party is leaving within a week. At present the members of the deputation have gone to their homes for a little rest.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,  
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

<sup>1</sup>Not traceable.

*Enclosure to No. 523*

*F. 1099/84-5*

102 MCLEOD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
22 July 1941

A deputation of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, consisting of Ch. Muhammad Sadiq, Mr. Z. K. Malik, Ch. Nasrulla Khan, Mr. Zahural Hassan Dar and Mr. Muhammad Ilyas has just returned from Sheikhupura after touring the rural areas of the District in two separate batches. The main object of the tour was to popularise the Pakistan ideal among the Muslim masses and preach to the members of all communities to develop a spirit of give-and-take for each other.

During the course of its twenty days' tour, the deputation covered a distance of about 500 miles (at least 50 miles on foot), visited 50 villages, delivered 113 speeches, addressed nearly 22,000 villagers and opened nearly 51 Muslim League primary branches.

The main theme of the speeches was the present political



condition of the country and the circumstances which ultimately led to the final adoption of the Pakistan ideal by the All India Muslim League under the great leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. The deputation has come back with a strong conviction that the Muslim masses are impatient to rally round the banner of the All India Muslim League to make a united demand for the establishment of the law of *Shariat* at least in the north-west and eastern zones of the Indian sub-continent.

At some places indeed the enthusiasm was so much that the illiterate villagers tried to memorise the names of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Pakistan and Muslim League.

In a far-flung village of the District, the tourists were surprised to hear shouts of *Allaho-Akbar*, *Pakistan zindabad*, and *Quaid-i-Azam zindabad*, before they had come down from the *tonga*. For sometime nobody was to be seen anywhere. Then who were they? Shortly a band of small children appeared with green flags in their hands. With smiling faces, we marched on to the meeting place and remember our little friends were never tired of raising those inspiring slogans which made our blood run quick in our veins.

The nation is at last on the march. 'March on' itself has become a slogan with the Muslim youth from the time Quaid-i-Azam gave us this command on the opening day of the Lahore Pakistan Conference. Let our Quaid-i-Azam remember that we have chosen our path and we shall never be traitors. We will march on!

PS. This report was made by Mr. Muhammad Sadiq, the Secretary of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation.

524

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

CONFIDENTIAL/PERSONAL

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
22 July 1941

My dear Jinnah,

The *Times of India* of the 22nd, to hand this morning, gives the

list with photographs of the additional members appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the names of the members appointed to the National Defence Council. Some Muslim names on both these lists shocked me, as far as I am concerned, as guilty of the highest indiscipline, for instance the name of Sir Sultan Ahmad, whom I have always understood to be a Leaguer. Sikander Hyat and Fazlul Huq and even Chhatari and Saadulla Khan are there, the former two, once again and for the thousandth time, to defy the authority of the League and set at naught the dictates of the Quaid-i-Azam. This is not the first time I have drawn your attention to it, for, if you remember, once in the Working Committee, I openly impeached the conduct of Sir Sikander, and understood you to connive at it as a matter of expediency and far-sighted policy. Of late, however, both these gentlemen have, to my mind, gone beyond toleration. I am writing this to inquire, if I may as a staunch follower of the League and one who has credited himself for having almost a blind faith in the leader, as to how a man like me, who may kindly not be taken as [one among the] ragtag and bobtail in the League nor as one who talks through his philosophic and poetic hat, should adjust himself in the League fold. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander, in particular, have not lost any opportunity, if I have followed their activities correctly, to lower the prestige of the League and even to imply and indicate that you, as Quaid-i-Azam, do not count for much.

Kindly do not [take the] trouble to reply if your mature consideration moves you to think that I am not making a legitimate inquiry, or if, like (I honestly believe) Gandhi, who, in the case of his old Congressmen such as Sarkar, Aney and Rao, has connived at the action of his old colleagues—they may have dissented from him for sometime past, but I have always taken them to be his fifth column—you too, once again, take it to be good policy to keep *chup* [quiet] over the action of our friends.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 258-9.



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*Mohammad Abdul Jabbar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/76-83**[Extracts]*

PAHARI IMLI, GHORFA,  
DELHI,  
22 July 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am extremely sorry that my letter to you, dated 1 January 1941,<sup>1</sup> together with a statement concerning my brother, Prof. Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M.A., at present detained under Section 26 (1) (b) of the Defence of India Rules in the Dehra Dun jail, which was personally handed over to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and who himself assured us that the said letter and the statement was [*sic* for had been] duly delivered to you personally by himself—is [*sic* for has] even not yet [been] acknowledged by you in spite of the several reminders sent to you. Nothing is heard from you till now!

I think, however, you still remember my unfortunate brother. He was the most sincere and energetic member of your Foreign Committee. It was he who first of all developed, under my humble guidance, and propagated and published the Two-Nation Theory, which is in reality a fact. It was he who together with me first formulated the Islamic State ideal which was in a way first adopted in the Foreign Committee of the League and later finally passed in the form of the now so-called Pakistan Resolution at the Lahore epoch-making meeting of the League. It is also he for whom you promised me, in the *kothi* of Nawabzada Sahib in Delhi, that you will do your best for his release.

I thank you heartily for the resolution passed in the meeting and the correspondence with the Governor. Later, I was confidentially informed by Nawabzada Sahib that the Govt. thinks of my brother as if he was an enemy agent because he was in touch with German propaganda agents before the war and had contacts also with anti-British agents of other powers. This charge is not only absolutely false but it is also absurd on the face of it. There existed no enemy before the war and the so-called eternal pact<sup>2</sup> made with Hitler by Mr. [Neville] Chamberlain, the [British] Premier,<sup>3</sup> had removed any doubt and possibility of any future war and enmity with him.

Recently, I received an answer No. III/40-Political (E), dated 2nd July 1941, of my representation from the Govt. of India Home Office, giving a wholly new version of the charge against my brother. It is as follows:

..... that his restriction is justified and desirable in the interest of security in view of the many clear expressions of his sympathy with a State at war with His Majesty.

This charge is also wholly false and at the same time absurd. Long before the war, my brother had even stopped his paper. Before the war, Mr. Chamberlain and many others were staunch sympathizers and there seems to be many even now in England. Mr. Gandhi and legions of his followers are everyday not only hindering the war efforts but are positively preaching not to resist Hitler and Mussolini.<sup>4</sup> The *Statesman* in its daily issues used to repeat the advice of Mr. Gandhi under its cracks corner. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi was not even touched.

Nay more, even the 1st class terrorists and those who have undergone penal servitude are being released and let loose. For instance just recently a notorious Rajendra Datt Nigam was unconditionally released.

Whereas my poor unfortunate brother, who is wholly and solely innocent, is simply a victim of the deep intrigues. He is noble and a man of very high character. He is a very good Muslim belonging to a great pious family of old Delhi. He can never be an agent of the infidels (*Kafirs*) and he can never sympathize with them. He has already several times solemnly declared upon his honour about his innocence and pledged never to commit undesirable things of that sort. And yet, he is still suffering in jail, now for more than one year!

In spite of Section 15 of the Defence of India Act which says

“Any authority or person acting in pursuance of the Act shall interfere with the ordinary avocations of life and the enjoyment of property as little as may be consonant with the purpose of ensuring the public safety and interest and the defence of British India” my poor unfortunate brother is:

- i. Wholly deprived of his avocation as a teacher in the Muslim University, Aligarh.
- ii. His salary has wholly gone leaving nothing for him and his family even for the ordinary necessities of life.
- iii. His Provident Fund has gone, ruining his and family's future also.



- iv. The payment of building loan instalment has been stopped, endangering the future possession of his own house for living altogether and depriving him of his own legitimate property (house and garden).
- v. The plan of his education and instruction of his children has been frustrated.
- vi. His eldest daughter's education, who passed her F.A. Examination in the 1st Division, is stopped; she was taught and coached by her own father.
- vii. His youngest daughter's education is also stopped, she being with her mother in the parole camp, Naini Tal, and surrounded by alien influences.
- viii. His only son, who was placed in the 1st Division and stood 2nd in the whole University in his Matriculation Exam., has already lost now more than one year and, likely, his further education is also going to be frustrated.
- ix. His only son's character and conduct has been influenced very much adversely. In search of employment, as boy of 17 years, he had gone to join the Navy in Bombay.
- x. Even his wife's affections have been alienated. In spite of she being a Muslim convert and legitimately an Indian, in opposition to all Islamic laws, she was placed among the non-intimates (*ghair mahram*) and aliens, mostly the Godless Jews and surrounded by anti-Islamic influences in the parole camp, Naini Tal, as a war prisoner.
- xi. The mutual relations of his whole family are worsening from day to day.
- xii. He is also fully deprived of enjoyment of his property. His house and garden are not [being] carefully looked after.
- xiii. Even he is deprived [of the] use of his own typewriter for typing enormous material, which he had to write and then to copy. This has also told much upon his health. His eyes and posture, as a whole, are affected. When I saw him recently in the jail, I was shocked. He has become very weak and thin and has already lost about 28 pounds of his weight. He is very nervous and has got insomnia etc. On my return, I sent him his typewriter. It seems, however, that he is not allowed to use it. That could have saved him extra trouble in copying.

- xiv. Even he is deprived of the food, and its quality to which he is accustomed. It is not possible to afford good and nutritious food for the allowance is very low.
- xv. He is not allowed to write more than two letters in a week. But his family being forcibly dispersed, a part of which is in the parole camp, Naini Tal, another part is at present in the Aligarh University and still another part has to live away near the Dadpura (Aligarh) while other lives in Delhi.
- xvi. There are many other deprivations which it would be too lengthy to write them all. The sum total of all seems to be the impending ruin of himself and all [that is] dear to him.

Many of these could have been minimized if my brother be allowed to live together with his wife and children even in his detention as soon as possible or by applying Section 26 (5) of the Defence of India Rules to Section 26 (1) (b) (under which he is now detained), thereby changing it (modifying it) into the same Section 26(1) (d) (i.e. instead of (b) ) or (e) or (f). I am sure that the Govt. could have no objections whatsoever if they are properly approached. My brother is yearning for his only son who is a minor; that he be allowed at once to live with his father in jail under jail discipline so that my brother could teach his son as well as save his character, but all to no avail.

Shall we lose all hopes? No, never it is forbidden in Islam. Yes, I have hope. I still stick to you. I am sure of your ability and will-power to have my poor innocent brother released at once.

Therefore, I ask you ardently to go in the matter with indomitable determination and energy and have my brother and his wife released at once. We need him so badly for our common Islamic purpose.

Now, you our beloved Quaid-i-Azam! Do you believe me? Do you believe in the unfortunate prisoner of injustice? I am sure you do believe in us, so please for the sake of *Allah* the Almighty, do your best in releasing my innocent brother and making our so-called Muslim Committee a truly powerful Islamic organisation for the good and well-being of this benighted world by creating true Muslims and by purging the renegades. It is only the true Islamic world order that can save this world.

Anxiously waiting to hear a favourable reply from you and



the acknowledgment of my letter as soon as possible. With my best *Salaams*,

Yours very sincerely,  
MOHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR KHEIRI  
*Professor*  
M. A. Ph. D.

<sup>1</sup>No 149.

<sup>2</sup>The Munich Pact, allowing Nazi Germany to annex part of Czechoslovakia, was signed in 1938 between Britain, France, Germany and Italy. Regarded as an act of appeasement, the Pact failed to restrain Hitler's Third Reich (1933-45) from committing further acts of aggression.

<sup>3</sup>Neville Chamberlain was British Prime Minister, 1937-40.

<sup>4</sup>Benito Mussolini was Italy's fascist leader from 1922 until his assassination just before World War II ended in Europe in May 1945. He had led Italy into the war on the side of Germany.

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*Mirza M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

BANGALORE,  
23 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your kind letter of the 17th.<sup>2</sup> You say that I am trying to act as an intermediary. I have no such intention, let me assure you, specially where you are concerned. I wrote to you, as you would have seen from Sir [Habib] Rahimtoola's letter to me, simply at his special request. I would not have thought of troubling you otherwise. A request, coming from a man of the high position of Sir Ibrahim, had to be complied with, and I am not sorry I did, as I feel I have pleased him thereby though I knew full well that I would be displeasing you.

You invite me to join the Muslim League. I wish I was in a position to do so but you will no doubt realize my lifelong association with a Hindu Maharaja and my long service in a Hindu State, where I have received the most loyal co-operation from my Hindu fellow-citizens throughout my official career, prevent me from identifying myself with a political organisation which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects. My own endeavour will be to work—in so far as it lies in my power—for communal concord, while

safeguarding the legitimate interests of my own community to the fullest extent. Your aim too is, unless I am much mistaken, not very different though the policy you advocate and the methods you adopt in carrying it out may not be the same.

As regards the Poona Conference,<sup>3</sup> I am going there simply out of regard and affection of [sic for for] Sir Tej [Bahadur Sapru,] and you may rest assured that I am not likely to say or do anything in the least to do any harm to the Muslim cause.

Yours sincerely,  
MIRZA ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 226-7.

<sup>2</sup>No. 513.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided at the Non-Party Leaders Conference held at Poona on 26 July 1941. Welcoming the appointment of eight Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council, he criticized the Government none the less for failing to assign the portfolios of Defence, Home and Finance to the Indians. He also reiterated the demand of the Bombay Conference of Non-Party Leaders of April 1941 for dominion status for India at the end of the war. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 273.

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*Mohammad Abdussattar Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1099/89-92

1 SULEIMAN BUILDINGS,  
DIL MOHAMMAD ROAD,  
LAHORE,  
23 July 1941

Quaid-i-Azam,  
*Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

My previous letter<sup>1</sup> was written to you when I was leaving for Lyallpur. I propose to give you more details about what happened there because what happened at Lyallpur is more or less symbolic of the weakness and strength of our national structure.

The Lyallpur District Branch of the Muslim Students' Federation had arranged a Pakistan Conference. They had not as yet [sic] selected the President of the Conference nor had they finally fixed a date. We, of the provincial body, were all out for rural propaganda. When the cat is away, the mice will play; the traitor<sup>2</sup> exploited this golden opportunity to approach the President of the Reception Committee of the Lyallpur District Pakistan Conference through the local authorities and managed to get himself invited as the



President of the Conference. We were stunned when we read the proceedings of the Conference in the newspapers (I am sending you cuttings of these in a separate cover).

The only remedy left for us was to arrange another Pakistan Conference at Lyallpur without delay and expose the ruse. We did this. Malik Barkat Ali was declared the President of this Conference. But the traitor's party [the Unionist Party] was not inactive. Only one day before the date when the Conference was to be held, the Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur summoned the fathers of our local workers and by using every possible threat made them withdraw the co-operation of their sons. We were left in this position; the Conference was to be held in the evening and we were told in the morning that all arrangements had been upset.

But the difficulties only strengthened our resolve. We at once started from Lahore with our own batch of workers, speakers, etc. The moment we arrived at Lyallpur, the C.I.D. exercised their full ingenuity to forestall us. Sometimes my villagers were brought to keep me away. Sometimes the local celebrities gave us sermons on the merits of moderation. However, the Conference was held. The attendance in the first sitting was modest but the second sitting was a grand success. I am, herewith, sending you copies of the resolutions and cuttings from the newspapers.<sup>3</sup>

As local co-operation was withdrawn, the whole expenses of the Conference have been borne by us. This further delays the realization of our keen desire to see you as soon as possible and have a heart-to-heart talk.

Alas! I see in today's papers that our worst fears have come true. The expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the inauguration of the Defence Committee are matters that cannot be taken lightly. The traitors have sold us and sold us at a very cheap price. This puts a stop to all hopes of constitutional settlement with the British, at least for the duration of the War. Now you are in the same position vis-a-vis the British in which you had thrown Mr. Gandhi for the last two years. He has survived the test (however smothered he might be) because he could take shelter in the garb of a mystic. His campaign of shouting slogans served to keep his organisation alive. What have we to do now? Non-cooperation would be meaningless when all our majority provinces are hostile or indifferent. Civil disobedience is even more difficult for similar and even weightier reasons. What weapon is left to us? How are we to combat the storm that is gathering above our heads?

So far, the only sanction behind you has been your forceful

statements, success in the elections of our minority provinces, and a sincere but unorganized public opinion. Now it is war. War here and war on the horizon. None of the earlier weapons is going to stand the strain. You must invent some new weapon, a new orientation of policy, or go down. Your accomplishments are a miracle when looked at from the depths where we were slumbering three years back, but they are nothing when looked at from the heights which you have glittered [*sic*] before our eyes.

The one weakness that I find common in the treachery at Lyallpur and the treachery in joining Viceroy's Council is that the members of our organization are not whole-time members. They are only part-time followers. The membership of the League at present is just like the membership of a Golf Club. When you are in the club, you may follow its rules, but when you have played your part there, you might not bother.

But this is not going to pay. The demand for Pakistan is a demand for a state, and modern states can only be maintained by a totalitarian policy. Even England is realizing that.

How can we absorb the whole lives [*sic*] of our followers? We shall succeed in this when our party is not only the centre of our political loyalties but the centre of our economic and religious loyalties as well.

This cannot be accomplished at a stroke. But we can make a good beginning by freeing our key workers from financial dependence on the forces that are hostile to our party and by bringing our political leaders nearer to religious conformities.

I have intentionally talked in abstract generalizations because concrete proposals can only be discussed face to face. Moreover, concrete proposals always bring in the personal factor whereas abstractions can be discussed more disinterestedly. First settlement in principle, then work for actual realization.

These are the humble submissions of a private, who will anyhow obey the General. He will give full vent to his misgivings while alone with you. But before a third person, he will follow you without a murmur.

Yours faithfully,

MOHAMMAD ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZI

*Secretary,*

*The Rural Propaganda Committee,*

*The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation*

<sup>1</sup>No. 504.

<sup>2</sup>Presumably, Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab.

<sup>3</sup>Not traceable.



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*Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup>*

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

6 BOAT CLUB ROAD,  
POONA,  
24 July 1941

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am [an] M. A. from the capital of Pakistan (Lahore) [*sic*] and wish to place before you some important points.

Unfortunately, I was not present at the interview which you granted to the students on the 4th of March at Nedou's Hotel. Before that I was present on all the occasions and was a member of the Working Committee [of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation?] also. At this interview a problem was under discussion, that is how we should strengthen the Muslim League in the Punjab, and you said that the League should be organized from within and after having organized ourselves, we should throw out the selfish and treacherous leaders; and in this connection you cited the example of Madras League and explained how they organized themselves in the initial stages, how they threw the selfish leaders out of the League, and how they established a League which is unrivalled in any of the other provinces.

Quaid-i-Azam! Although it is like showing a lamp to the sun that I should give you any suggestion but as I believe you are not very well aware of the conditions in the Punjab, I venture to lay before you some of the vital truths.

It is right that the conditions in the Punjab and Madras are almost the same as regards the selfish leaders are concerned, but there is a very important difference, and that is that in the Punjab the Musalmans are in majority while in Madras they are in minority. By this fact it is evident that in the Punjab, power is in the hands of the Musalmans, which the Musalmans of Madras are denied. In the Punjab, if anybody wishes to raise a cry against these leaders, either he is sent to jail or he is silenced by money. In the Punjab, the leaders have silenced the papers which the leaders of the Madras Presidency cannot do.

By this I mean to say that in the Punjab the revolution will be caused from the top to the bottom and not from the bottom to the top. And there [*sic* for that] is the only way to achieve it. Fortunately,



the opportunity has now afforded itself. I mean the elections. At the time of elections, we should help only those who sign the pledge of the Muslim League. In this way we can get rid of the traitors. Either they will be openly with the League or they will be in the opposite camp and thus the Unionist epidemic will also be ended.

In this connection, I want to say a little more. Those persons who wish to take the ticket of the Muslim League should send their applications to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League at the Centre and not to the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, because otherwise it forecasts the same difficulty which presented itself at the time of the election in the Multan Division. Malik Zaman Mehdi and Sheikh Mohammad Amin both applied for the Muslim [League] ticket but when the occasion for granting the ticket came, then Sir Sikander as President of the League said that there was only one application and that was of Mohammad Amin. My humble opinion is that there should be only one party, and that should be the Muslim League instead of the present position by virtue of which there is no existence of the Muslim League. Sir Sikander is defaming the Muslim League. Where he thinks he cannot do without the Muslim League, he remains with the League and where he can do without it he does not care for it. At the time of the election between Sheikh Sadiq Hasan and Sheikh Mohammad Amin the name of the Muslim League was exploited but at the time of election for the seats which fell vacant due to the death of [Ahmad Yar Khan] Doultana and Afzal Husaini, both the candidates were of the Unionist Party and not of the Muslim League, although after the Lucknow Pact it was decided that all the Muslim candidates will stand on the Muslim [League] ticket.

Now the question that remains is how to enlist the sympathies of the Muslim press, although (except for the *Inqilab*) there will be no paper who [*sic* for which] will oppose the Muslim League openly. But the point is that every paper should support the Muslim League openly. There are two ways for this. Moulana Zafar Ali Khan should be encouraged. For example, he should be taken in the Working Committee or a deputation should be sent under his leadership for propaganda for Pakistan in some provinces, [such] as Frontier or Sind. In this way the *Zamindar* will be with us. On the other hand, if the Muslim League is ready to help, there can be a paper belonging to the Muslim League, which should at all times oppose Sir Sikander and support the Pakistan Scheme.

Quaid-i-Azam! If at the time of election there is given a courageous lead, there is no reason why at least 30 members should not be



successful in spite of the opposition of Sir Sikander. The Punjab [now] is not what it was in 1936. When there will be a Muslim League Party in the Assembly, Sir Sikander will need the help of the Muslim League Party instead of his help being required by the League.

The Muslim League has not tried to gain favour of the independent members who are against Sir Sikander. They are more than 20 in number and now when Sir Sikander has joined the Defence Council and openly opposes Pakistan, and when your statement has also been published that action will be taken, I think some time-limit should be given; that if within the prescribed time he does not resign from the Defence Council he will be thrown out [of the League]. Firstly, I think he will prefer to be within the Muslim League because he thinks that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party will be chosen *en bloc* at the time of elections, and that he will be able to exploit the name of the Muslim League as he is doing now. But if he prefers to be out of the League then I think you should go personally to the Punjab and form the League party or you should call some of the prominent men like Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Nurullah, Raja Ghazanfar Ali [Khan], and Nawab Shah Nawaz [Mamdot] from the Punjab to Bombay. In addition to these members, those members who have been elected on the Muslim League ticket, [namely] Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh Mohammad Amin, Baji Rashida; the member who has been elected in place of [K. L.] Gauba, Mian Abdus Samad, Pir Lal Badshah and Sufi Abdul Hameed will also come.

You must remain firm in the bold stand that you have taken, and Sir Sikander will not dare to do anything and if he does, then you should establish a Muslim League Party in the Assembly.

In conclusion, what is our—Muslim Leaguers'—position in the Punjab, whether we should obey Sir Sikander or not? Although he is a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, he has neither signed the pledge of the Muslim League nor has he acted according to the policy and programme of the League. This question will be decided at the time of elections but according to the present conditions, either Sir Sikander should resign his membership of the Defence Council or he should be thrown out of the League.

IQBAL

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 260-62.

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*Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 29/41-4

PRIVATE

24 July 1941

My dear Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Since my relations are friendly with you, so I don't hesitate to let you know confidentially that Nawab [Ahmad Said Khan] of Chhatari has been appointed on probation for a period of 3 years as President of my Executive Council and succeeds Sir Akbar Hydari when he retires in the near future to join H.E. the Viceroy's proposed expanded Executive Council. This appointment was decided some months ago but kept secret till the time comes to be announced.

Taking everything into consideration, his appointment is not a bad one and is looked up[on] with favour by sensible persons here, specially under the political situation in India and also the Indian states.

Yours sincerely,  
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

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*Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 770/20-21

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,  
ALIGARH,  
24 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read the announcements regarding the expanded Executive Council and the so-called Defence Council and your comment thereon. Let me assure you that the right-thinking and independent Musalmans welcome your timely warning and will stand by you in whatever action you may take against those members who have let us down at such a critical moment. It is possible [that] some of them may recant and come back to us. If they don't, I venture to suggest that action against them should be ruthless. The Muslim League is



now an imperishable institution, greater than any individual, however overpowering he might appear to be.

May I make a suggestion in this connection? A call should go forth from you to the Musalmans of India to hold meetings throughout the country repudiating the whole scheme launched by the Government and condemning the action of those Muslims who have associated themselves with it. A uniform resolution laid down by the [Muslim League] Working Committee may be endorsed at public meetings on an appointed day. Another suggestion is that the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature should, after a strong demonstration on the floor of the House, boycott the Legislature and carry on a whirlwind campaign in the country exposing the unrepresentative character of the new arrangements. I hope you will kindly consider the suggestions.

Yours sincerely,  
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

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*M. A. Jinnah to Zafrulla Khan*

*F. 388/1*

*24 July 1941*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant<sup>1</sup> and thank you for your very interesting report of the activities of the Pakistan Committee and also I have noted the obstacles and difficulties that you feel in your way. My advice to you is that you must carry on your propaganda and establish District Leagues all over the Punjab in a peaceful manner. You must do your work steadily, patiently and with determination and all humility. Difficulties are there and will be created. We have naturally to struggle against many odds. Of course, it is quite obvious that the so-called communal unity move is not at all genuine and sincere and I should have thought that any intelligent Musalman should have no difficulty in understanding the significance of it.

Stand by our flag and by the policy and programme of the Muslim League and carry on our struggle in the spirit I have

described above till we achieve our goal. I feel confident that we shall succeed.

Yours faithfully,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 512.

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*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan*

*F. 335/207-9*

*24 July 1941*

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th of July 1941<sup>1</sup> and thank you for it.

With regard to the activities of the [Muslim] League, I am glad to note that some of the provinces are going to observe the Muslim League Week, but please try and wake them all up.

As regards the English weekly, at present I cannot think of any name, but there is a gentleman, who is working in the Orient Press Ltd. named Mr. Hasan Ahmad, who had approached me before. Please get in touch with him and if you are satisfied, well and good. Is it not sad that we cannot get a man qualified even to run a Muslim weekly.

I am glad you are going to attend the meeting of the Executive Council of the Aligarh University. I am very sorry to hear of the trouble there. I think our people must learn one principle, that once a matter is decided it must be accepted for the time being, however much one may dislike it, and when we have to make a change it must be by peaceful negotiations and settlement amongst ourselves. I quite agree with you that it is a pity [that] Aligarh should become the hotbed of intrigues and party warfare. Dr. Zia Uddin [Ahmad] saw me last night on his way from Bangalore to Aligarh and I found him, at any rate, in a very reasonable mood. You say, "If Zia Uddin would listen to reason and work for the good of the University alone, I might succeed in making matters smooth." Well, it is a proposition to which Dr. Zia Uddin will subscribe whole-heartedly. At any rate, that is the impression he created on my mind. He further promised that he will get in touch with you, and he expressed a real desire to work in a friendly way with Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan. But the other two, viz. Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan, whom you know well and so



do I, he is right in saying that he is unreliable and has already done a great deal of harm to the Musalmans. I do not know much about Habibullah Khan but he holds a very strong opinion against him also. Of course, you, being on the spot, will be able to find out everything. I wish every success in your efforts to create harmony and peace in the University.

With regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, we now know the decision and you must have read my statement<sup>2</sup> by now. We have two alternatives—whether the disciplinary action should be taken by me by virtue of the power conferred upon me by the full sessions of the All India Muslim League at Madras or we should wait until the meeting of the Working Committee is called, which means a considerable delay. Please let me know when and where you propose to call the meeting of the Working Committee and also let me know which course you think would be better, viz. that I should proceed to take the disciplinary action or that I should wait until the meeting of the Working Committee is called.

I am now quite alright. Thank you very much for your kind enquiries.

With kindest regards to Begum Sahib and yourself and our love to Ashraf and Akbar,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 514.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2.

533

*M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi*

*F. 256/122*

*24 July 1941*

My dear Dehlavi,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd of July 1941<sup>1</sup>.

By now you must have read my statement<sup>2</sup> with regard to the expansion of the Executive Council, etc. I entirely agree with you and all that you say, except [that] I feel grieved when you say that a man like you should not be taken as a [one among] ragtag and bobtail in the League. You know that I have the highest regard for you, and if you have felt on account of your name not being included in the Working Committee this time, believe me it was more due to

the consideration that owing to the indifferent state of your health you were not able to attend the meetings and take part in the activities of the organization. Your counsel and advice is always welcome and the question, what action should be taken against these men, is receiving my very careful consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 524.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-72.

## 534

*M. A. Momin to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/96-7*

15 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,  
CALCUTTA,  
24 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to you in the interest of the solidarity of the Muslim League in Bengal.

Sometime back my wife, Begum Hamida Momin, MLC, was expelled from the League Council on the ground that she was a member of War Committee. She sent a protest to the Secretary drawing his attention to the fact that whatever war work she did was at the instance of the Premier and other important office-bearers of the League, who themselves had taken active interest in War Committee. But the protest went unheeded.

Now Mr. Fazlul Huq and many other prominent leaders have accepted the membership of the Defence Council against the wishes of the leaders of the League. There is a good deal of perturbation amongst the Muslim leaders in Bengal and the prestige and position of the League is at stake. There cannot be one rule for the Premier and office-bearers of the League and another for ordinary members.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's attitude [towards] and interest in the League is well-known and yet he was appointed by you this year as a member of the Working Committee. I have been always of opinion that those who hold office under the Government should not be office-bearers of the League. But the resolution, which I moved to this effect at the



last Council meeting, was defeated. The League is to guide the Muslim League members in the Government and not to be their handmaiden to be utilized for their interest.

I did not write to you when you did not care to reply to the letter which I wrote to you sometime ago and was really disgusted with the activities of the Muslim League in Bengal. As I think that a crisis has now arisen, I consider it my duty to inform you and to request you to take prompt action.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. MOMIN  
*Khan Bahadur*

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*Begum Aizaz Rasul to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/22-3*

SIMLA,  
25 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had been hoping that you may be coming up to Simla on some business and I would have an opportunity of seeing you but I was fated to be disappointed. However, I do hope that there will soon be an opportunity of meeting you.

I have read your comment on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of the National Defence Council and agree with you that it is most unfortunate that members of the Muslim League should have been appointed without consulting the leader and the executive. But can one really blame the Government for this? After all this is only another proof of their policy of *Divide and Rule* in India and they are quite justified in following it, but the real disappointment lies in the fact that our members still retain the old policy of hankering after jobs and are lacking in the spirit of sacrifice which is so necessary to make an organization great and strong. I have been feeling very sad but perhaps I possess a very strong sense of loyalty.

I hope that you will think fit to call a meeting of the Council of

the All India Muslim League to consider these developments.

I hope that you are keeping quite fit and well.

Yours sincerely,  
BEGUM AIZAZ RASUL

536

*Nazir Ahmad Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1099/100-101

4/1 HYAT KHAN LANE,  
CALCUTTA,  
26 July 1941

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

*Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*

Many thanks for your kind reply. I understand Mr. Raghieb Ahsan has sent to you my statement together with the resolution of the Calcutta Muslim League,<sup>1</sup> supporting your timely statement on the Defence Advisory Committee and Viceroy's expanded [Executive] Council. I am trying and hope that the Calcutta resolution will be reiterated by other districts. So far as the Bengal Provincial League is concerned, it is in the hands of Mr. Fazlul Huq. Of course, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Secretary, is a man of yours and the only man who understands and follows the central League. So much so that he had a bitter quarrel with Mr. Fazlul Huq, the *Dararom* [*sic* for Darius<sup>2</sup>] of Bengal, as you have got an Alexander<sup>3</sup> in the Punjab, when he (Fazlul Huq) suspended the Pakistan Day.

Now let me intimate to you the exact situation in Bengal. The Muslim press, including the daily *Azad* which is a blind follower of Mr. Fazlul Huq, since the inauguration of the provincial reforms has condemned the royal tiger. I think even in the Coalition party of the Legislative Assembly, Fazlul Huq will get the support of a small number of members. Tomorrow, there is a meeting of the Working Committee of Bengal Muslim League and the session of the Legislature begins day after tomorrow.

One most important information is that the annual conference of the Bengal League is fixed for the 13th and 14th [of] September. I want your advice [about] what is to be done. We may make an attempt to oust Mr. Fazlul Huq or even all the Ministers from the executive, if you so desire.



Awaiting your kind reply in haste,

Yours affectionately,  
NAZIR AHMAD CHOUDHURY

<sup>1</sup>See No. 431.

<sup>2-3</sup>Darius III, king of Persia (336-330 BC), was assassinated and his successor defeated by Alexander the Great, king of Macedon (336-323 BC), in 330 BC. Dara and Sikandar are the Persian names of Darius and Alexander, respectively.

## 537

*A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah*<sup>1</sup>

STRICTLY PERSONAL

SADAR HOUSE,  
SURAT,  
26 July 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Your reply dated the 24th instant<sup>2</sup> reached me this morning . Very many thanks for it. This letter, written so quickly on receipt of yours, is intended only to correct, sooner rather than later, a great misapprehension on your part. You evidently thought that some words in my last letter to you indicated that I felt the omission of my name from the Working Committee this time as a grievance. Not a bit of it, and please do always take my words as truth, genuinely meant. The omission did not disturb me in the least. Not a crease came to my forehead on my finding that I did not appear on the list. I think a leader of your very great and grave responsibilities has the right to pick and choose men of his own careful selection to sit in the Council with him. If I were the leader, I would do the same and not hesitate a moment to throw out a man, who did not prove to me yeomanly serviceable. In fact, I have often done so, when I had the top hand, on various occasions. Besides, membership of an important committee like that, and particularly at a critical juncture like this, is not a permanent *estate-in-fee-simple* that one should claim as a matter of right or resent the loss of it. Please, therefore, do not worry on that account at all. My best wishes and blessings are always with you, wherever I [may] be. In the meanwhile, I feel greatly indebted to you—I state that with an honest belief—for your thoughtful consideration on account of my health. But I

am at a loss to find out as to who told you that I was keeping bad health. I am hale and hearty, alive and kicking. Now that you have given me an opportunity, I will, however, tell you and make a clean breast of it—I would not have volunteered it otherwise—as to why I have shrunk back from the part I took to the best of my ability as a member of the Working Committee. Once in Bombay, in the Working Committee, when I was giving my views regarding the statements of the Viceroy<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Amery,<sup>4</sup> I ended my remarks by quoting a very pertinent couple of lines from a Persian poet, which, broadly paraphrased, meant “a miss is as good as a mile.” You held me [up] to ridicule over that before the members present, not one of whom, I thought, were qualified to sit in judgment over me. You may take this as conceit. And further, some of them, I noticed—one or two of whom, to my mind, even arch-devils—received your remarks with a glee, which bespoke of their mind and attitude towards me. All that came as a rude shock to me. My philosophy and poetry, the two great supports which have made me what I feel I am, however, helped me to undermine [*sic*] that and bear it with strength. But again, a second time at the Committee meeting at Delhi, you repeated the same sentiments about me and referred to me as a poet and a philosopher, known to you from our student days, over which, if you remember, there was a great laughter amongst the members, which, to my mind, interpreted as if I was talking through my hat. When the meeting was over, if you remember that also, I actually spoke to you, when we dispersed, that I felt your remarks; not so much as coming from you—because many things are said between pals, which do not signify much—but when that definitely lowered me generally in the estimation of the members of the Committee, I felt it was time for me to shrink back. For, evidently, I felt I was not wanted there. I have now said everything! I had kept silent over it all these months, with the honest intention of not detracting your mind from the question of the personal feelings of a “philosophic fool,” from your many other onerous avocations, and let this letter also not disturb you the least. Please forgive my outspokenness. Self-respect and what you might like to call over-sensitiveness,



combined, have perhaps brought on this self-denying mood in me.

With best wishes,

I am, believe me, dearest Jinnah,

Always yours,  
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

<sup>1</sup>Rizwan Ahmed, *Letters*, 272-4.

<sup>2</sup>No. 533.

<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 724-6.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 727-39.

## 538

*Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 770/31

MADRAS,  
26 July 1941

My dear leader,

I am not sure if my last letter has reached you. In that letter I had sought your advice as to whether a member of the Muslim League can take up Army contracts in his own name. I can understand how busy you are, especially under the present conditions.

The Government of India has certainly not taken a progressive step in the direction of satisfying Muslim India. On the other hand, what they have done is more retrograde. What pains us most is that some of our own men should have succumbed to the temptation of becoming members of the National Defence Council without taking your permission. H.E. the Viceroy would have done well to have consulted you in regard to this matter and acted with your consent.

I need hardly assure you that Muslim India is entirely behind you in spite of the handful of defections. The Government of India would realise the gravity of the action they have taken only if they hold the elections and then know that the entire Muslim India is with the Muslim League. Even the Premiers of major provinces will know that they cannot trifle with the Muslim League.

I am afraid there seems to be a general lull throughout in Muslim League work after the last annual sessions. A programme of activity all over the country may be devised so that we could carry on membership campaign and hold meetings for popularising the Pakistan creed. The successful session of the All India Muslim

League held in Madras had its reaction in holding of a miserable Anti-Separation Conference at Kumbakonam which was attended by not more than 15 or 20 Muslims, and then later on by the inrush of Hindu Mahasabha leaders who have been visiting our Province one after another and have been holding anti-Pakistan rallies.

Always ready to carry out your commands,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,  
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

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*S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 304/96*

ISMAIL MANZIL,  
PATNA CITY,  
27 July 1941

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am to enclose herewith for your information my views<sup>1</sup> published in the *Indian Nation*, with editorial comments.<sup>2</sup>

May I inform you that the Government of Bihar is very unsympathetic towards Bihar Provincial Muslim League, since after the resolution of Working Committee dated 6th July, giving reasons for not going in deputation, and more so after the resolution passed by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee dated 20th July, deciding to observe Bihar Sharif Day and the decision to publish the enquiry report. It is reported that they are contemplating tak[ing] action under Rules, 41 and 56 of the Defence of India Rules. The two Rules if read carefully, appear to give them unfettered powers. Instructions are solicited [as to] what are we to do in the circumstances [as] they are not going to allow the day, namely 15th August 1941, as fixed [sic]. Also they are not going to allow publication of enquiry report, under Rule 41. I do not like to do anything on my responsibility; hence [this] reference



to you. The situation here is critical.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
ISMAIL

<sup>1</sup>Enclosure 1.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosure 2.

*Enclosure 1 to No. 539*

*F. 304/99*

*Views of S. M. Ismail<sup>1</sup>*

My attention has been drawn to the speculation in the newspapers that it is proposed or suggested to increase the number of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council within the framework of the Government of India Act of 1919, which ordinarily limits the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council to ten including the Commander-in-Chief. There are, at present, *sic* members on the Executive Council. Consequent on the appointment of Sir Zafrulla Khan as a judge of the Indian Federal Court, a vacancy has occurred. It goes without saying that an eminent Indian of legal reputation should be substituted for the vacancy. As such, the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmad, by reason of his eminence in the domain of law, is undoubtedly the best selection. He is by far the most popular choice by reason of his personal attainments and also by reason of his being a Musalman. As a Muslim he will undoubtedly be an acquisition. Indeed the Viceroy has made the best selection.

The Department of Supply is a new creation and the portfolio was given, in addition to his duties, to Sir Zafrulla. Any attempt at expansion in the number of the Viceroy's Council, according to me, will be an insolence and an affront to the major political organisation in India, namely the Muslim League, if that be done behind their back and without their consent. The Viceroy will be making a mistake if he allows himself to be entrapped by the devices of the Sapru Conference. Such appointments will satisfy nobody and are not expected to receive any support from either the Congress or the Muslim League. I cannot understand why, in spite of so many public promises, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy are going back upon their word.

<sup>1</sup>The *Indian Nation*, 17 July 1941.

*Enclosure 2 to No. 539**F. 304/100-1**Comments of the Editor, the Indian Nation<sup>1</sup>*

While welcoming the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmad as Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in the course of the press statement, Khan Bahadur Syed Mohamed Ismail, President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League, has held out a threat that 'any attempt at expansion in the number of the Viceroy's Executive Council, according to me, will be an insolence and an affront to the major political organisation in India, namely the Muslim League, if that be done behind their back and without their consent.' The Khan Bahadur is welcome to blow hot and cold in the same breath and to hold out threats to the Government or anyone else. But we do not think he is correct when he asserts that the Muslim League is the major political organisation of India. At best it can only be a major political organisation of the Muslims. But that apart, how does the Khan Bahadur expect the Government to consult only the Muslim League, particularly when the League is not in a mood to come to terms with anyone in the country. On every question the League declines to have to do anything with the Government or with others, and still the Khan Bahadur wants that body to be consulted. We are no apologists of the Government. But we are constrained to say that if it is insolence on their part to ignore the Muslim League which, however, they have not done so far with regard to any important step, a political organisation will have to be considered only more so if it remains irreconcilable all the while and still demands the courtesy of being consulted. When the Khan Bahadur talks of satisfaction, is he satisfied with the suspension of the constitution in seven provinces? If he is not, what has he done towards resolving the deadlock besides intensifying the Pakistan agitation? If the Khan Bahadur or the League sincerely desire that the Government of India should not do anything against the wishes of the political parties, he should make earnest efforts to persuade his colleagues to come to a reasonable frame of mind so that it may not have to be said that the Muslim League stood as an obstacle in the way of a solution of the impasse.

<sup>1</sup>The *Indian Nation*, 18 July 1941.



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*Prabhashanker G. Upadhyaya to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/102-3*

KACHARIA POLE, RICHEY ROAD,  
AHMEDABAD,  
27 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Looking to your nationalistic character and the excellent brain with which you [are] blessed, I am induced to write to you this letter, and if I make any mistake, I have faith you will excuse me.

First of all, I will tell you that I am a member of no political or communal body existing in India or abroad and the object of this letter is merely an endeavour for the unity of India.

Indian National Congress, of which you were once a member and against which you have been standing since [*sic* for for] many years, has upto now failed to make any substantial progress in Indian politics. Today, even this body is governed by Mr. Gandhi. However, the leadership of Mr. Gandhi has not become successful and many important personages who are members of the Indian National Congress are holding opinions that are not consistent with Mr. Gandhi['s] and this fact can be well realised from the resolution of INC Working Committee at Poona and the recent happenings.

You have the best experience of the Government policy so far as Indian politics is concerned, and I need not say any more. But you can well realise that it is quite disappointing and unless and until India stands united, India will gain nothing.

You have played a principal role in introducing Pakistan Scheme and your name is ever joined [*sic*] with the same. However, you are a clever barrister and also a politician and hence you can well realise the good that it can do to India. Also, you know well what good unity can do to India and I am sure you are in favour of unity as you once spoke in your lecture in the Legislative Assembly.

When you know the price of unity, I am sure you can well extend your co-operation for the same. There are minority questions [*sic*] for India as they exist in each and every country of the world. In Britain, even there are Puritans, Protestants and Roman

Catholics and it [*sic* for there] was once a time when questions for these three branches were at the topics [*sic*]. However, these were settled when freedom of religion was declared and the right of civil liberty was assured to everybody, irrespective of one being a member of any of the three branches, and Government services were open to all [those] who possessed the necessary qualifications. Why the same steps cannot be taken in India for the sake of unity at a time when India is passing through critical moments? If once the unity is obtained, it will be an easy question to solve the freedom of India. Such a united body can well design the schemes for getting real power from Government. I am sure you cannot allow the future historians to write that it was one Mr. Jinnah and his Pakistan Scheme that stood in the way of freedom of India and this was mainly due to his differences with Mr. Gandhi who used to work as a topic [*sic*] in Indian National Congress.

May I hope for your enthusiastic reply?

With best wishes,

Yours truly,  
P. G. UPADHYA

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*M. A. Jagirdar to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 1099/104-5*

KOKANIPURA,  
NASIK,  
28 July 1941

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Congress, when in power, attempted to force Hindi as the national language of India. Sometimes it used the term Hindustani to conceal the real intention of propagating Hindi. But now the Congress is no longer in power; the British Govt. have no intention of establishing *Ram raj*. It is surprising to note that the All India Radio, under the control of Central Govt., [is] following the Congress policy of making Hindi the language of the country. The All India Radio in its Hindustani news bulletin at p.m. reviews the news of the day and occasionally one is surprised to hear the review in Sanskritized Hindi which is



very difficult to understand. Again one came across an advertisement of Navy Department in the newspapers in which knowledge of Hindustani is [considered] essential for the candidates intending to serve in the Navy. Formerly, i.e. a few months back, knowledge of Urdu and not Hindustani was essential. But since the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi made a criticism of the knowledge of Urdu in an editorial note, the Navy Department is supporting Hindustani, i.e. Hindi. If you want, I will give you the date of the editorial note of the *Hindustan Times*. I would like to know your opinion in the matter.

Besides this there are many questions of purely political nature but I don't want to enumerate them here. I will take the opportunity when next month I go to Bombay.

Hoping to be favoured,

Yours truly,  
M. A. JAGIRDAR

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*Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1092/89-94

8B HARDINGE AVENUE,  
NEW DELHI,  
28 July 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 24th,<sup>1</sup> which I received just as I was leaving for Aligarh on the 26th. I came back from Aligarh last night after attending the meeting of the Executive Council. I had a talk with Dr. Zia Uddin regarding the resignations of Nawab Ismail Khan and others from the Executive Council of the University and we came to the conclusion that the matter be postponed till the next meeting of the Council at the end of August. I have already got in touch with Mr. Hasan Ahmad who was working in the Orient Press of India. I do not know him personally but Syed Hasan Reyaz, Editor of the *Manshoor*, knows him and is of the opinion that he would do well as the editor of the weekly which we intend to bring out. If I find Hasan Ahmad suitable for the job, I might give him a chance. In that case I hope we might be able to start the paper from September next. However, I shall keep you informed

about the progress that we make in this direction.

Yes—I saw your statement<sup>2</sup> on the expansion of the Viceroy's Council just before I left Mussoorie. It is perfectly right what you have stated and I think you have given expression to the feelings of a vast majority of Musalmans on the subject. Now the question is whether the disciplinary action against those members of the Muslim League who have joined the Executive Council and the National Defence Council should be taken by you or by the Working Committee and the Council. I am definitely of the opinion that the Working Committee should deal with the matter; not only that but at the same time as a meeting of the Working Committee is called, a meeting of the Council should also be convened. Let us put up an imposing show and I think the people will appreciate [it] if the Council is given an opportunity of expressing its views on the conduct of those who have let down the League and also its condemnation of the action of the Viceroy. It will be in the fitness of things if we have a meeting of the Council also. Let it not be said that the decision is of only one individual or a few persons. Let the whole Council, which is the most representative body of the League, give its verdict and I have no doubt as to what the verdict will be. If you agree with this proposal then my suggestion is that a meeting of the Working Committee should be held on Saturday, the 23rd of August, and that of the Council on Sunday, the 24th of August, and the meeting should take place in Delhi. I have received communications from some members of the Council that a meeting of that body should be convened to consider the situation created by the Viceroy's statement<sup>3</sup> and the action of those Muslim Leaguers who have joined the Executive Council and the National Defence Council.

Our holding the meetings in Delhi will certainly cause you some inconvenience. But for a meeting of the Council, Delhi is most central. But if you think that we should call a meeting of only the Working Committee then we could have it either in Delhi or in Bombay whichever suits you better.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly send a reply to this letter by telegram as I shall be staying down in Delhi till I hear from you.

I read in some papers that you were going to Hyderabad in connection with some law case. I do not know how long you will be there. If the suggested dates for the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council do not suit you they may be changed.



I am happy to hear that you, are quite alright now.

My wife and the children are up in Mussoorie and are doing well.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,  
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

<sup>1</sup>No. 532.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2.

<sup>3</sup>See *ibid.*, note 2.

## 543

*Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 770/41-3*

PESHAWAR,  
28 July 1941

Dear Sir,

I share your great regrets over the announcement of the expanded Council and the N[ational] D[efence] Council.

Need I assure you that NWFP Muslim League will stand by you and will be ready to make any sacrifice, if called upon to do so.

Messrs Fazlul Huq and Saadulla are innocent dupes. I may add that Mr. Huq's statement is honest though not correct. My interview to A.P.I. brings out the following:

- a. Muslim Premiers were allowed to join War Committees as a special concession till called upon by the League to resign in view of their written resignations. So it was a concession and not a 'right'.
- b. In Delhi meeting of the Working Committee as well as that of the AIML Council, where Punjab, Bengal and Assam were duly represented and Sir Sikander along with his full team was present, it was unanimously decided that the two items, viz. expanded Council and WAC or NDC, were to be rejected. This constituted a ruling. Bengal Cabinet represented by Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. Suhrawardy, Assam by Mr. A. M. Chowdhry, and Punjab by Sir Sikander and his Muslim Ministers were parties to that decision and any negotiations with the Viceroy *qua* [sic] those two items or any acceptance of

these two items were clear instances of indiscipline and violation of League's accepted position.

- c. Sir Sikander threatened to resign if a Punjabi is not taken. Did he do so on account of League's position?
- d. Sir Sikander (according to joint manifesto of Sir Chhotu Ram, Sir Manohar Lal and Sir Dasunda Singh), at every step of negotiations with the Viceroy, took his Cabinet into confidence and kept them duly informed. Did he do so in respect of the President of the League or the Working Committee or the League's Council?
- e. H.E. the Viceroy canvassed them over the head of the leader—which canon of political organisation allowed him to do so?

My humble suggestion is that Mr. Huq and Sir Saadulla should be made to resign [from] the NDC, as Sir Maharaj Singh of UP did—being a member of the Standing Committee of the Sapru Conference, and Sir Sikander deserves expulsion.

Malik Barkat Ali came to Peshawar and told me how Sir Sikander stabbed you in the back before the Viceroy, which shock kept you in sick-bed for some weeks.

Punjab is a different place. Ahrars are nearing the Pakistan ideal and the virile Students' Federation of the Punjab is making matters too hot for Sir Sikander.

Next meeting of the Working Committee and the Council should be called simultaneously at Delhi so that many people may attend.

May God Almighty grant you strength and spirits to carry on the onerous duties that fall on your shoulders.

With fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah and respectful regards to you,<sup>1</sup>

Yours obediently,  
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. Mamdot's statement is most refreshing.

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah in reply appreciated his analysis of the situation arising from the expansion of Viceroy's Council and the constitution of a National Defence Council from the League standpoint. See F. 329/134, QAP. Not printed.



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*Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah**Telegram, F. 1130/100-1*LONDON,  
29 July 1941

United Muslim front most essential for augmenting war effort which League supports through your far-sighted statesmanship. German menace Muslim countries and Japanese to Indo-Burma too serious to allow weakening India's share. Muslim constitutional issues not affected hence this personal request<sup>1</sup> suggesting you well-advised overlook slight technical lapses party discipline.

[HASSAN] SUHRAWARDY<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>See No. 3, Vol. XVII, 2.<sup>2</sup>Adviser to Secretary of State for India.

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*Sardul Singh Caveeshar to M. A. Jinnah**F. 1099/109-10*1 CHAMBERLAIN RAOD,  
LAHORE,  
29 July 1941

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

It is usual with a ruling nation to exploit the differences amongst the ruled. But the brazen-faced effrontery with which Amery and Linlithgow have made use of your and Gandhiji differences, or to speak in general terms, of Muslim League and Congress differences, beats all previous efforts in this direction. The recent nominations to the Viceroy's Executive [Council] and the Defence Council clearly show how premium has been put on the cooperation of those who could play false either to the Muslim League or the Congress. Don't you think that the time is [*sic* for has] come when you and Gandhiji, even if you cannot compose your differences on some of the major points, should evolve a common formula to meet the present situation?

So far there has been the initial difficulty of your both coming together because you insist that Gandhiji, or any other leader of the

Congress, could meet you only as representative of the Hindus, and the Congress leaders have refused to be relegated to that position. Should not some such formula as the following satisfy you and Gandhiji in this connection?

You may state that whatever position Congress leaders may assume or claim you are meeting them mainly because if any settlement is arrived at between you and them, there is every hope it will be carried out by a major portion of the Hindu community. Similarly Congress leaders may declare that such a settlement as is arrived at by them with you is bound to greatly help in the solution of political differences that lie between Hindus and Muslims.

I dare not claim to be either a Hindu or a Muslim. I am writing this letter simply because I do not wish Indians, whether Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, to be insulted as they have been during these critical days when their salvation lay so near their hand as never before during the last one hundred years or so. If the Muslim League and the Congress leaders stick to their own view-point, without trying to meet each other half-way, it would be impossible for them to secure what they separately desire; but there is every possibility that they might lose much of what is precious to both of them.

As expressed in his letter Trace to Sir Sapru, Gandhiji feels very nervous to see you because he thinks you are manoeuvring for position. You also have the right to speak similarly about the Congress leaders, but this manoeuvring for position, or suspicion thereof, becomes automatically useless when the third party has out-manoeuvred both of you.

In case you think circumstances have really changed and that both of you should meet each other half-way, if necessary I should be glad to come to you and offer my services for preliminary negotiations between you both.

I have written this letter not only as I feel strongly on the subject, but members of the Forward Bloc Working Committee who met recently at Delhi, have also asked me to do so.

Yours very sincerely,  
SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

PS. I have sent copy of this letter to Gandhiji because with necessary changes it applies as much to him as to yourself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jinnah thanked him for his suggestion. See F. 673/67, QAP. Not printed.



546

*M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari*

F. 242/38

CAMP GUEST HOUSE,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
30 July 1941

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I received your letter dated July the 20th<sup>1</sup> from Chhatari in the afternoon of the 24th of July 1941. On examining the envelope I find that it was posted and registered at Delhi on the 22nd of July, and I beg to inform you that it was decided before the receipt of your letter to take disciplinary action against you as indicated by my statement issued on the 21st<sup>2</sup> as you were a member of the Muslim League for having joined the so-called National Defence Council. I regret, therefore, that apart from the technicality that your letter should have been addressed to the Secretary, I am unable to accept your resignation pending the result of the disciplinary action that has to be taken against you. However, I am forwarding your letter to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>F. 242/37, QAP. Not printed.

<sup>2</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2.

547

*Anonym to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 770/49-50

AMRITSAR,  
30 July 1941

I begin with the name of *Allah*

Dear Sir,

Once I did write you a letter advising you that the Muslim League ministries should resign. But no reply was given to me. But this policy in the long run has proved harmful to Muslim League because of the

type of men like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. Now the men of this type say, as Fazlul Huq has said, 'because we are in office therefore we are bound to co-operate with the Government', and this is against the Muslim League policy. But had they resigned, no breach of Muslim League [policy] would have been possible, because they could not pretend.

Breach of League policy by the Leaguers is making League hollow. So the best course now is that all League ministries should resign. Fazlul Huq would resign as it appears from his recent statement and so he would also resign from Viceroy's Council. Sir Sikander would not resign as I think. He has sold himself to English people. He should be expelled from the League disgracefully, so that, in future, nobody (Leaguer) would dare break the League policy. I make [sic] you sure that Muslim public of Punjab is not after Sir Sikander. Everybody hears his name with great hatred and disgust. Even Englishmen laugh and talk to each other about Sir Sikander knowing him a great titular. So his being in League in the present circumstances in no way strengthens League but on the other hand is making League hollow day by day.

The resolution of the League about the War Committees should be amended and no concession should be given [to an individual] for joining War Committees, [be] he an official or a non-official. No help in war should be tolerated by the League directly or indirectly unless the Govt. is willing to accept League demands absolutely fully. After all, the life of Muslims is very precious.

It is discipline that will affect the minds of Muslims and strengthen the League. Otherwise hollowness will demolish the Muslim League programme. Muslim League will lose its prestige if it goes on bending before Sir Sikander and Company.

Yours sincerely,  
A PATRIOT MUSLIM



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*M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan**F. 335/210-11*

CAMP STATE GUEST HOUSE,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
30 July 1941

My dear Liaquat,

I received your telegram today and I have already wired to you as follows:

Awaiting reply<sup>1</sup> my letter 24th<sup>2</sup> your telegram today please wait posting letter.

I wonder whether you have received my letter of the 24th July 1941. The immediate question that we have to consider is that we have to take disciplinary action against those members of the Council who have joined the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council, as announced in the communique of the Government dated the 21st of July 1941.<sup>3</sup> The Working Committee is empowered to take such action under Rule 28, ii (a) and they have a right of appeal to the Council against the decision of the Working Committee, if they are dissatisfied. I, therefore, cannot understand why you wish to call the ordinary meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League for this purpose. It is true that the Council has also got the power to take disciplinary action against its members under Rule 25 (j) but that power is given to the Council provided the Working Committee fails in its duty and it is open to the members of the Council by proper written requisition of 15 members to call upon the Secretary to call a special meeting of the Council for that specific purpose. Normally, therefore, it is intended that the disciplinary action should be taken by the Working Committee and not by a large body of 465 members. Apart from the constitutional aspect, it is not even a practical procedure to adopt, as it will lead to all sorts of strong and heated debates and speeches, which is not at all a desirable atmosphere in which to take a calm and judicial view of the action and conduct of those who are alleged to have violated the decision of the League and its general policy and ignored the leader and the executive of the organisation.

The only question that requires consideration was whether I should

proceed by virtue of the power conferred upon me by the resolution of the Madras sessions or the Working Committee. Personally, I would rather [say] that the Working Committee should proceed in the normal course. The question of where to call the meeting of the Working Committee is also one that required consideration. Delhi will hardly be desirable and the only place that I can think of is Bombay. But with regard to the venue I am quite willing to fall in with the general wish of the members of the Working Committee. Please, therefore, let me know beforehand when and where you propose to call the meeting of the working Committee.

In calling the meeting of the Working Committee you will have to put down in the agenda the item "disciplinary action against Sir Sultan Ahmad, Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Nawab of Chhatari, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who are the members of the Council. They must, however, also be given the fullest opportunity of explaining and of a hearing either in person or in writing. You will, therefore, have to write to them as Secretary, giving them intimation somewhat in the following terms:

It is proposed that in order to maintain and secure discipline in the organisation and correct standard of public life, disciplinary action should be taken against you by the Working Committee, for you have associated yourself with the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the so-called National Defence Council while you were a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League. Your action is contrary to the express decision of the League and its general policy; and further without reference to the leader or the executive of the organisation and thereby you have violated the decision of the League and have acted in contravention of the general policy of the League. If you wish to say anything in your defence either in person or in writing, the fullest opportunity will be afforded to you before any decision is taken against you. Please, therefore, let me have what you have to say in your defence within 10 days after the receipt of this intimation. In default of this the Working Committee will have to proceed against you *ex parte*.

As explained, in my opinion there is no need to call the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League for this purpose.

Please let me know your final opinion before calling the meeting of the Working Committee and also whether you think it necessary to call the meeting of the Council in view of what I have pointed out



before making any announcement.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>For reply, see No. 542.

<sup>2</sup>No. 532.

<sup>3</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2.

## 549

*M. A. Jinnah to Begum Aizaz Rasool*

*F. 428/7*

CAMP STATE GUEST HOUSE,  
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
30 July 1941

Dear Begum Aizaz Rasool,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 25th instant.<sup>1</sup> I am very glad to note that you have taken the correct view of the situation. I appreciate very much indeed your sense of loyalty and the sentiments that you have expressed. Don't despair. We are strong and are getting stronger and stronger everyday. The matter of taking disciplinary action against the deserters is receiving our very careful consideration.

I am quite alright now, thank you for your kind enquiries.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 535.

## 550

*M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan*

*F. 321/51*

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,  
30 July 1941

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Many thanks for your letter<sup>1</sup> giving me information with regard to

the fiasco—the Anti-Separation Conference, Kumbakonam.

You must go on popularising the Pakistan creed and must work for the social, educational and economic uplift of the Musalmans. We are getting stronger and stronger everyday.

With regard to those who have succumbed to the brandishment of the Viceroy, the question will have to be dealt with and I am very glad of your strong support in condemning them.

With regard to your letter of the 15th of July<sup>2</sup> I am sorry owing to my indisposition I was not able to attend to it and also to your previous letter. I see no objection to any Muslim Leaguer taking up a war contract. It is purely a business matter and it does not go against the decision of the League or its executive.

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>No. 538.

<sup>2</sup>See QAD (146a). Not printed.

## 551

*M. Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah*

*Telegram, F. 1130/104-5*

CALCUTTA,  
31 July 1941

Have been in Calcutta studying situation. Seems Fazlul Huq, am of opinion he will resign from Defence Council if given honourable opportunity. A telegram from you as leader of Muslim India calling upon him resign immediately in interest Muslim solidarity and prestige. Am unquestionably with you in every step.

AKRUM KHAN



552

*Agha Ghazanfar Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah**F. 851/1-4*

NORTH OAK,  
SANJAULI, SIMLA,  
[Undated July 1941]

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Doubtless you are the guiding star of the Musalmans of India. You know how to captain the ship of the community in this stormy weather.

With due deference I take the liberty to give expression to my humble views after reading your statement<sup>1</sup> about disciplinary action against the Muslim Leaguers who have accepted the membership of the Executive of the Defence Councils.

Before giving verdict against the gentlemen, the pros and cons of the situation should be considered calmly. No such step should be taken which [*sic* for as] may prove ruinous to the interests of the Muslim League. Under the present circumstances, the League cannot afford to lose the support of the Premiers of the majority provinces' governments. The Hindu press is jubilant over your statement. I have thoroughly gone through the editorial comments of the Hindu papers on your statement. They want a permanent rift in the ranks of the League. The League should not take such a step as may result in a gain to the other communities and a loss to the Muslims.

Analysing the position I find that Sir Sultan Ahmad has been appointed in place of Sir Mohammad Zafrulla. He cannot be considered a member of the expanded [Executive] Council. Sir Firoz Khan and Sir Akbar Hydari are not members of the Muslim League. The Premiers have been included as Premiers, not in their individual capacity. Begum Shah Nawaz has been taken as a representative of the women of India. Nawab Ahmad Said Chhatari is now a servant of the Hyderabad State.

The League Council definitely decided that the Premiers and the Parliamentary Secretaries were allowed to assist [in] the successful prosecution of the War. Later on, the other members were also permitted to join War Boards and War Committees. A large number of the prominent members did join the Boards and the Committees. Most of them contributed liberally towards the war purposes fund. The policy of the League has been declared to be of no embarrassment to

the Govt. Individual cooperation was permitted.

The war clouds are looming large on the horizon of India. The situation is growing serious day by day. In the Punjab, the Muslim majority is in favour of cooperating with the Govt. in the successful prosecution of the war. You can very well judge the fact from the results of the support given by the Muslims of the Province towards various war activities so far. I fear that most of the letters and telegrams received by you, so far, may not be genuine or may be from interested quarters.

I may be wrong in my conclusions and inferences. I have written what I honestly believe according to my information and knowledge.

In view of these impressions I appeal to your goodself to ponder, reconsider the situation, and refrain from taking [any] step which may lead to disaster and ruin. No secession from the Muslim League ranks is wholesome.

Hoping to hear from you,

Yours truly,

AGHA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

*Member, All India Muslim League Council (Ludhiana)*

<sup>1</sup>See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 270-2.

## 553

*M. A. Jinnah to Mirza M. Ismail*<sup>1</sup>

[Undated July 1941]

Dear Sir Ismail,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd of July 1941,<sup>2</sup> and I must most emphatically controvert your statement characterizing the Muslim League as "a political organization which is avowedly anti-Hindu in its aims and objects". That has grieved me coming from a man of your position and understanding and let me emphasise that it is not true. As to the rest of your letter, I have nothing to add to what I have already said in my previous letter of the 17th of July.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

<sup>1</sup>Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, 227.

<sup>2</sup>No. 526.

<sup>3</sup>No. 513.



# APPENDIX I

## FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

### I. 1

*H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah*

*F. 274/141-55*

NAPIER ROAD,  
KARACHI,  
23 December 1940

Sir,

I have the honour to state as follows:

1. That in February this year the Foreign Committee had issued an invitation to the authors of the various schemes of constitutional reform for India to meet together under the auspices of the said Committee in order to examine jointly each scheme and see whether a consolidated scheme can be finally framed. That invitation was promptly accepted by all the authors, who formed themselves into a Committee and assembled at Delhi, first in February last and then again in November last for 22 days. In the first sitting only figure-work was done and in the second meeting the main principles were laid down. In the following pages are given the findings and the result of the investigations conducted by the said Committee of authors.

2. That the following gentlemen constituted the Committee alluded to in the preceding para:

- i. Haji Abdoola Haroon, MLA (Central)
- ii. Maulana Ghulam Rasool Maher, Editor *Inquilab*, Lahore
- iii. Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot
- iv. Mr. Rizwanullah, MLA of U.P.
- v. Dr. Afzal Hussain Kadri, M. A., Ph.D., of Aligarh
- vi. Dr. Sayed Abdul Latif, Ph.D., of Hyderabad, Deccan
- vii. Choudhry Akhtar Hussain, MLC of Lucknow
- viii. Mr. A. Punjabi
- ix. Syed Ali Mahomed H. Rashdi (Secretary)

3. That the arguments in support of the plan, embodied in the following pages, have not been touched for the present. That part of the work has been assigned to Maulana Ghulam Rasool Maher and Mr. Rashdi who are expected to produce a booklet on the subject for

general public consumption. In this report only that material has been given which pertains to the scheme as such. If the All India Muslim League accepts the findings then the arguments can be produced and published.

4. The Committee formed as the basis of its consideration the Resolution adopted by the All India Muslim League at its last Lahore Session. Obviously, this Resolution had been framed by the Working Committee in the light of the outline placed in your hands by me in the shape of a small memorandum in February last. The Resolution, as it finally emerged out of the Session, enunciated a few basic principles which had to underlie every constitutional plan which might be devised for British India. The task before the Committee was not merely to suggest a method whereby the principles so laid down by the Resolution might be implemented, but to see in what manner the League plan could cover the future of the Muslims in non-British India as well, for the Committee felt that no constitutional plan for the nine crore Musalmans of India would be complete without bringing the question of the Muslims in the Indian States within its purview. The plan suggested below is thus fuller than the one revealed in the said Resolution. The Committee hopes that it will be borne in mind that the recommendations made to the extent set forth hereunder all fall within the four corners of the Lahore Resolution and are intended just to give a shape to the provision only broadly indicated therein.

5. That the Lahore Resolution laid down three principles:

- a The British India should resolve itself into regions formed of contiguous parts through such territorial readjustments as may be necessary so that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.
- b That these regional States shall assume finally "all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".
- c That "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities."

6. That the Committee has very carefully examined the distribution of population in India and found that although the Muslims were unmethodically dispersed all over the land, yet there existed areas where Muslim states could conveniently be established in view of



the fact that the Muslims formed the majority of the population therein. The Committee have examined the position of such areas and have recommended that one Muslim State can be formed in the North-West and the other in the North-East. It might be stated that the Muslim percentages that can be secured under this arrangement would be in the vicinity of 63 per cent in the North-West and 54 per cent in the North-East.

7. That with regard to the Muslim State in the North-West, I am to state that the Committee have made the following observation:

#### N[ORTH] W[ESTERN] STATE

Having regard to the principles involved that the state to be formed should be composed of territories contiguous to each other, and at the same time to the sad fact that even in this area the Muslims are not evenly distributed and that it is intersected by small native States which cannot be absorbed except in a federal sense, the Committee has come to the conclusion that the present Provinces of Sind, British Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and the Punjab should be grouped together to constitute a federal sovereign State, with the Delhi Province amalgamated with the Punjab, in view not merely of its racial and cultural affinity with it but because of its long historic connections with Muslim life. The idea has been suggested to extend the eastern boundary of the Punjab to cover a small area of U.P. so as to let the great centre of Muslim culture, namely Aligarh, form part of this main Muslim zone, but how the percentage of the Muslims in the Punjab will be affected by the inclusion of this small strip from U.P. has not been worked out. A note about it may follow at an early date. The figures will work out as follows:

#### NORTHERN MUSLIM ZONE POPULATION FIGURES (1931)

##### MUSLIM POSITION

<i>Province</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslim Population</i>
Punjab	2,35,80,882	1,33,32,460
Sind	38,87,070	28,30,800
N.W.F.P. (Settled)	24,25,076	22,27,303
(Tribal area administered By British)	13,67,231	13,17,231
British Baluchistan	4,63,508	4,05,309
Delhi Province	<u>6,36,246</u>	<u>2,06,960</u>
Total:	3,23,60,013	2,03,20,063

## EXPLANATION

These figures indicate the position of the Muslims within the British territory in the Northern Zone, including Delhi. The Muslim percentage of population within this zone works out to 62.75.

8. With regard to the other State in the North-East, the Committee are of the view that it should include the present Provinces of Assam and Bengal (excluding Bankura and Midnapore Districts) and the District of Purnea from Bihar whose population is racially and culturally akin to that of Bengal.

The figures of this area are as follows:

		percentage
Total Population	5,70,11,946	
Muslims	3,08,76,421	54
Non-Muslims	2,61,34,525	46

Among the non-Muslims, roughly about 85,00,000, i.e. 32 per cent of non-Muslim population, are members of the scheduled classes, about 15,00,000, i.e. 6 per cent are Tribals and about four lakh are Christians.

9. It has been suggested above that although the Lahore Resolution is primarily influenced in its plan by the needs of the Muslims in British India, the Committee deems it a duty to point out that even in their own interests as of the rest of the Muslims, it would be desirable to conserve and perpetuate the Muslim influence wherever it predominates in any form in non-British India. Hence it is [proposed] that all the native States, large or small, ruled by Muslim Princes should be regarded for purposes of the Muslim constitutional plan as sovereign Muslim States. This must be made a basic demand. Of such Muslim States, Hyderabad with its vast territory is not a feudatory or creation of the British Government in the sense every other native State, whether Muslim or Hindu, is. It is an independent State in its own inherent and historic rights, with whom the British Government have entered into treaties for mutual benefit as allies, and is indeed the sovereign of various territories held by the British as *Inam Jagirs* etc., with obligations to discharge certain military duties for the Nizam. When British India is to attain Dominion Status, sooner or later, the Nizam will return to the *status quo* with all his *Muawiza* lands, wrongly styled ceded territories, returned to him. Indeed, a demand to this effect has already been made by the Muslims of the dominions of Hyderabad. It would be appropriate that the [Muslim] League should concentrate its aim on the independence and integrity of the expanded dominions of the Nizam as it will be a source of infinite strength to the Muslims in India outside of the dominions. Who knows that in the fullness of time the Muslims of India might find it



to their advantage to make Hyderabad their rallying point and the centre of their growing strength.

This will, in this way, be the third wide sphere of Muslim influence—the other two being those in the North-West and the North-East—the three forming a triangular stronghold [*sic* for stronghold] of the Muslims of India.

10. The Committee have also examined the possibilities of the native States adjacent to the two Muslim States federating with the latter for some common purposes. Should any such arrangement be ever made, the position would be as follows:

NORTHERN MUSLIM ZONE		
<i>States which may federate</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslim Population</i>
a. Frontier States:		
(Dir, Swat & Chitral)	9,02,075	8,52,000
b. Baluchistan States:		
Kalat	3,42,101	3,21,234
Las Bela	63,008	61,550
c. Sind States:		
(Khairpur Mirs)	2,27,183	1,86,532
d. Punjab States:		
Bahawalpur	3,84,612[?]	7,99,176[?]
Kapurthala	3,16,757	1,79,251
Patiala	16,25,520	3,63,920
Nabha	2,87,574	57,393
Faridkot	1,64,364	49,912
Jind	3,24,676	46,002
Malerkotla	83,072	31,417
Loharu	23,338	3,019
Pataudi	18,873	3,168
Dujana	28,216	5,863
Chamba	1,46,870	10,839
Mandi	2,70,465	6,351
Suket	58,408	733
Kalsia	59,848	21,797
e. Simla Hill States:	3,30,850	10,017
f. Sirmur	1,48,568	7,020
g. Bilaspur	10,994	1,458
h. Kashmir	<u>36,36,245</u>	<u>28,17,636</u>
Total:	1,00,63,540	58,36,288

If these States federate or confederate with the Northern Muslim Zone, the percentage of the Muslims within that entire zonal arrangement

would be 58.

If for certain considerations the Rajputana States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer are also included in this arrangement, the figures would be as follows:

<i>States</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslim Population</i>
Bikaner	9,36,218	1,41,568
Jaisalmer	76,255	22,116
Total (figures given in the above table are included)	1,10,76,013	59,99,972

The percentage of the Muslim population [in Northern Muslim zone] would stand at 55.

Following is the grand total of the whole population within the entire Northern Zone comprising the British Provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Delhi and the native States mentioned above, Bikaner and Jaisalmer included:

Total population	3,34,36,013
Muslim population	2,63,20,035
Muslim percentage	79

If Bikaner and Jaisalmer are excluded, the position will stand as follows:

Total population	4,24,23,540
Muslim population	2,61,56,351
Muslim percentage	61.63

11. In case of the Eastern Muslim State, the following adjoining native States can be persuaded to federate:

#### BENGAL STATES

<i>Name of State</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslim Population</i>
Cooch Behar & Tripura	9,73,336	3,12,476

Muslim percentage would stand at 32.1 and the non-Muslim percentage at 67.9.

#### ASSAM STATES

<i>Name of State</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslim Population</i>
Manipur and Khasi Hill	6,25,606	24,700

These native States included, the position of the Eastern Muslim State would be as follows:

Total Population	5,86,10,918
Muslims	3,12,13,597
Non-Muslims	2,73,97,321

The percentage of the Muslims would stand at 53.5 and of the



non-Muslims at 46.5.

12. In order to ascertain the position of Caste-Hindus within this arrangement, the Committee have prepared the following table which indicates the position of the minorities in the Northern Muslim State:

BRITISH TERRITORY					
<i>Province</i>	<i>Total Minority Population</i>	<i>Scheduled Castes</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>	<i>Christians</i>	<i>Hindu Population* [and] Percentage</i>
Punjab	1,02,48,422	12,79,459	30,64,144	4,14,788	54,90,031-23.2
(Exact figures not available.)					
Sind	10,56,270	40,000	18,505	15,133	9,82,623-(25.2%)
N.W.F.P.	1,97,773	5,468	42,510	12,213	1,37,582-(8.1%)
(Exact figures not available.)					
(Tribal areas administered by the British)	50,000	10,000	-	-	40,000-(2.9%)
Baluchistan	58,000	5,722	8,368	8,044	36,065-(7.77%)
Delhi Pr[ovince]	4,29,286	72,883	6,437	16,989	3,32,977-(52.02%)
Total	1,20,39,950	14,13,532	31,39,964	4,67,167	70,20,387-21.06

(\*This figure includes the population of smaller minorities such as Buddhists, Jews, Jains and Parsees.)

NATIVE STATES					
<i>State</i>	<i>Total Minority Population</i>	<i>Scheduled Castes</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>	<i>Christians</i>	<i>Hindus (These figures include small minorities also). Population [and] Percentage</i>
Dir, Swat and Chitral	50,075	No figures available.			50,075-(5.54%)
Kalat	20,867	-do-			20,867-(5.08%)
Las Bela	1,458	-do-			1,458-(2.02%)
Khairpur	40,651	-do-			40,651-(17.06%)
Kashmir	8,28,609	1,70,928	50,662	2,263	6,04,756-(16.56%)
Punjab States: Patuadi, Dujana					
Kalsia, Simla	3,96,942	94,347	10,854	200	2,91,541-66.5
Punjab States Agency	28,88,727	3,92,999	9,96,626	4,559	14,94,745-33.60
Total:	42,27,329	6,58,274	10,58,142	6,822	25,04,091-24.18

Note: According to the figures, given in the preceding two tables, the total strength of the Caste-Hindus in the British territory in the

Northern zone is 21,06 only and within the aforesaid States their percentage is 24.88 only.

13. The position of the minorities within the Eastern Muslim State is indicated by the following tables:

a. Position of non-Muslim Population in British Bengal

Percentage

Hindus and other small

minorities	1,49,99,056	29.9
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Scheduled classes	68,99,809	13.7
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Tribal population	5,28,037	1.5
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Christians	1,82,166	-
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Sikhs	7,320	-
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b. In Bengal States:

Hindus and others	6,30,038	64.9
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Scheduled classes	30,822	3.0
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c. In British Assam:

Hindus and others	31,23,274	36.6
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Scheduled classes	18,29,009	21.0
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Tribals	7,11,432	8.2
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Christians	2,02,586	2.5
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d. In Assam States:

Tribals	2,80,959	-
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Hindus & others	2,73,288	-
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Christians	46,660	-
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These figures indicate the numerical strength of various minority communities within the various units in the two Muslim States.

14. The Committee worked out the figures of area in respect of Northern and Eastern zones covered by their proposals. The results were as follows:

EASTERN ZONE

British Bengal excluding Bankura

and Midnapur Districts	69,651	sq. miles
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Assam (British)	55,014	-do-
-----------------	--------	------

Purnea District of Bihar	4,972	-do-
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Total:	1,29,637	sq. miles
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Bengal and Assam States	17,754	-do-
-------------------------	--------	------

Grand Total:	1,47,391	sq. miles
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NORTHERN ZONE

*British territory*

Sind	46,378	sq. miles
------	--------	-----------

Baluchistan	54,228	-do-
-------------	--------	------

Frontier Province	13,518	sq. miles
-------------------	--------	-----------



Tribal Area (administred by  
British)  
Punjab  
Delhi

11,455 -do-

99,200 -do-

573 -do-

Total: 2,25,352 sq. miles

States:

Baluchistan States

80,410 sq. miles

Frontier States

11,383 -do-

Punjab States

5,820 -do-

Punjab States Agency

31,241 -do-

Kashmir

84,516 -do-

Total: 2,13,370 sq. miles

Grand total of Northern

Zone State & British

Territory combined

4,38,722 sq. miles

Total Area of both the zones

5,86,113 sq. miles

15. The Committee has prepared an abstract of the population figures covered by their plan, which is as follows:

Total population of

whole India

33,81,09,363

Muslim population

7,93,20,009

Muslim population within

the Western and Eastern

Muslim Zones, States

included

5,75,33,532

Total population within

these zones

10,20,46,931

The percentage of the Muslim population to which the Committee has been able to give protection under the scheme of constituting these two Muslim zones is 78.5. In other words out of the total Muslim population in India the Committee has protected about 72.5 per cent of them by these proposals.

16. The Lahore Resolution of the League does not look forward to the proposed regional states assuming, immediately as they are formed, powers of defence, external affairs, customs etc. This argues that there should be a transitional stage during which these powers should be exercised by some agency common to them all. Such a common co-ordinating agency would be necessary even independent of the above consideration, for, under the third principle of the Resolution, it will be impossible to implement effectively the provision of safeguards for minorities without some organic relationship subsisting between the

States under the Hindu influence. A federation is not to the taste of the Muslims because they fear that the Hindus will, on the strength of their majority, dominate the Muslims. But since some common arrangement is essential to the fulfilment of the provisions of the Resolution, an agreed formula has to be devised whereby the Muslims shall have the control at the Centre on terms of perfect equality with the non-Muslims.

#### INTER-RELATION BETWEEN STATES

17. All the regional States designated "sovereign" and all the States under Princes being restored to their full sovereignty should, in free agreement, enter into a joint pact to have a common agency to look after, in the name of all the component States, certain specified subjects delegated to it being specifically stipulated:

- a that all the residuary powers shall vest in the individual States.
- b that the delegated subjects, except in cases otherwise provided shall be administered by the Governments of the individual States in so far as they pertain to their State areas.
- c And that both on its executive and other bodies, the Muslims shall have half the seats.

The subjects to be assigned to this central machinery shall be (a) External Relations, (b) Defence, (c) Communications, (d) Customs, (e) Safeguards for minorities and voluntary inter-migration, etc., subject to the following provisos in respect of Defence and inter-migration:

#### DEFENCE

- a. Each component State shall maintain an Army at its own expense, the strength of which will be dependent on the importance of its strategic position and specified in the compact. The Centre will share the military expenditure of each State according to the strength of the Army maintained. In normal times, the military force in each State will be controlled by its own Military Department and supervised by the Centre. But in times of war, full control will be assumed by the Central Agency.
- b. The Navy will be entirely under the control of the Centre subject to such concessions as the coastal States might need.

18. One of the functions of the Central machinery shall be to facilitate inter-migration of the Muslims and Hindus, wherever sought and wherever necessary, between States or between parts of the same State so as to promote a sense of security among them. For this, the necessary legislation shall be passed for each State, and a machinery will be set up to organise and regulate such migration



and assign compensation for property in all forms left behind by the migrants.

#### SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES

19. In respect of the question of safeguards for minorities, which was the last item under consideration, the Committee thought that this item might be profitably considered only when the principles indicated above in respect of the formation of regional States and their inter-relation are considered by the Working Committee of the Muslim League.

20. The Committee tried to find out if it was possible to make some arrangement for the Muslims scattered in the minority provinces, whether by providing them with independent homelands already having Muslim majority, within those provinces, or by arranging some migratory zones to which the Musalmans may migrate and thus form a majority in due course of time. A proposal was put forth before the Committee that for U.P. Muslamans a migratory zone be provided by taking up the 5[8] Districts of Rohilkhand Division, namely Bareilly, Bijnor, Budaun, Moradabad and Shahjahanpur, Mozaffarpur, Meerut and Bluandshahr, and from the Agra Division the only District of Aligarh. The Committee examined the position and found that the figure of total population within this combination stood at 1,09,55,397 as against the Muslim population of 27,64,258, which meant that for the sake of 25 per cent Muslims, we would be creating complications for 75 per cent population. This plan for practical reasons was considered hopeless [*sic*].

Then, along the same lines, the Committee went into the question of having a migratory zone somewhere in Bihar. The Committee examined the proposal of converting the Bihar Districts of Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Santhal Pargana, Muzapur, Champaran, Saran and Patna as well as the adjoining Districts of Gorakhpur and Basti in U.P. into a Muslim Zone for purposes of migration in the future. But that proposal also was found unworkable in so far as the figure of total population within that zone stood at 2,25,66,941 whereas the Muslim population was only 29,04,540. The Muslim percentage was obviously as low as only 13.

Lastly, the Committee analysed the third proposal of similar nature in respect of the conversion into a Muslim Zone of the Districts of South Kanara and Malabar in the Madras Presidency,

but that also did not entail any hopeful [*sic*] results. The difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim population in those Districts would be reflected by the following figures:

Muslim population	13,43,663
Total population	49,06,185
The percentage of Muslims	36

The Committee consulted Haji Abdus Sattar [Haji] Essak Sait, MLA (Central), as a representative of the Madras Muslims and Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, MLA (Central), as representing the viewpoint of the C.P. Muslims. Protracted discussion with those gentlemen did not, however, alter the position any way, nor could they offer any suggestion for getting over this difficulty:

21. I do not claim that this report presents a complete picture of the whole thing. The outline needs lot of amplification but that the Committee can conveniently do, should its conclusions find favour with the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. A HAROON

*Chairman,*

*Foreign Committee, All India Muslim League*



# Glossary

<i>Aadaab</i>	Salutation; greeting
<i>Aalim</i>	Scholar
<i>Aameen</i>	So be it
<i>Ahimsa</i>	Non-violence
<i>Akhand</i>	United
<i>Akhand Bharat/Hindustan</i>	United India
<i>Akharas</i>	Wrestling pits
<i>Allaho Akbar</i>	God is the greatest
<i>Anna</i>	1/16th part of a rupee (no more in circulation)
<i>Ansars</i>	Muslims of Madina who played host to and helped out Prophet Muhammad [PBUH] and his followers who migrated from Makkah in 622 AD
<i>Aryavatra</i>	Era of Aryans
<i>Arzdasht</i>	Petition
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum</i>	Peace be upon you
<i>Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu</i>	Peace, mercy and blessings be upon you
<i>Bai'at-i-Islam</i>	Oath of allegiance to Islam
<i>Banias</i>	Hindu shopkeepers; money-lenders
<i>Baqar 'Id</i>	Muslim festival of sacrifice
<i>Begum</i>	Wife; respected lady
<i>Bismilaahir Rahmaanir Rahim</i>	In the name of <i>Allah</i> , the most Beneficent, the most Merciful
<i>Bustee</i>	A small settlement
<i>Chehlum Fateha</i>	Prayers for the deceased offered on the fortieth day
<i>Chelas</i>	Followers; disciples
<i>Dargahs</i>	Shrines
<i>Darul Isha'at</i>	Publishing House
<i>Din</i>	Religion; faith
<i>Durbar</i>	Court
<i>Farman</i>	Proclamation
<i>Fatwa</i>	Edict
<i>Goondaism; Goondashahi</i>	Hooliganism
<i>Guru</i>	Teacher; guide

<i>Hadith</i>	Sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>Hajj</i>	Pilgrimage to Makkah
<i>Hartal</i>	Strike
<i>Hazrat</i>	Gentleman; prefix to name of dignitary or religious personage
<i>Hijrat</i>	Migration of Muslims
<i>Hindustani</i>	Indian; Indian vernacular called Hindi
<i>'Id</i>	Muslim festival at the end of <i>Ramadan</i>
<i>'Idgah</i>	Place for <i>'Id</i> prayers
<i>'Id Mubarak</i>	Wishing a happy <i>'Id</i>
<i>'Ilaqa</i>	Area
<i>Imams</i>	Muslim religious leaders or those leading the prayers
<i>Insha Allah</i>	God willing
<i>Jagir</i>	Fief; land
<i>Jagirdar</i>	Landowner
<i>Jai jai</i>	Long live
<i>Jama'at</i>	A body of people; congregation assembly
<i>Jamedarship</i>	A title in Hyderabad State
<i>Jami'e Masjid</i>	A mosque where prayers are offered collectively, particularly on Fridays
<i>Jee huzurees</i>	Yes-men
<i>Jihad</i>	Struggle for a just cause
<i>Jo-hukm</i>	As you order
<i>Jumu'a/Jum'a</i>	Friday
<i>Jutkewallas</i>	Driver of a horse-driven carriage
<i>Kafirs</i>	Non-believers
<i>Kala Admi</i>	Dark-complexioned (used derogatorily for Indians by British imperialists)
<i>Kalima</i>	Affirmation of the Muslim faith
<i>Khaddar</i>	Home-spun cloth
<i>Khalifa</i>	Caliph of Islam
<i>Khanqah</i>	Abode of holy men
<i>Kirpan</i>	A dagger (long knife) carried by a Sikh on his person



<i>Kothi</i>	A large, usually detached, house
<i>Kotwal</i>	The chief police officer of a town
<i>Maash</i>	Estate
<i>Madarat-un-Nizam</i>	Deputy leader
<i>Madrassah</i>	School; academy; seminary
<i>Maashdaran</i>	Estate-holders
<i>Mauza</i>	Village
<i>Mehndi</i>	Myrtle; A function on occasion of weddings
<i>Milad-i-Nabi</i>	Celebration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad [PBUH]
<i>Millat</i>	Nation
<i>Misaq-i-Rukniat</i>	Membership pledge
<i>Mofussil</i>	Countryside
<i>Mohaddis</i>	Expert in traditions of holy Prophet [PBUH]
<i>Mohajirs</i>	Migrants
<i>Mohalla</i>	Locality
<i>Moharram</i>	First month of Islamic calendar
<i>Moulvi</i>	Muslim theologian
<i>Mujahid</i>	Fighter for a righteous cause
<i>Munsif</i>	Judge
<i>Murids</i>	Disciples
<i>Naib Tehsildar</i>	An official of Revenue Department
<i>Neem</i>	Margosa tree
<i>Pandal</i>	A temporary rostrum for a public meeting
<i>Peer</i>	Religious guide
<i>Peshi</i>	Appearance in a court
<i>Peshwas</i>	Spiritual leaders
<i>Phophi</i>	Aunt
<i>Purdah</i>	Veil
<i>Qaumiat</i>	Nationality
<i>Rabius Sani</i>	Fourth month of Islamic calendar
<i>Raj</i>	Rule
<i>Ramazan</i>	Month of fasting for the Muslims
<i>Ram raj</i>	Rule of Rama, incarnation of Hindu god Vishnu
<i>Sahukar</i>	Money-lender
<i>Salaam</i>	Salutation
<i>Sardar</i>	Chieftain

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<i>Sarkar</i>	Government
<i>Satyagraha</i>	Passive non-violent resistance
<i>Satyagrahi</i>	Participant in a satyagraha
<i>Shari'at</i>	Code of Islamic law
<i>Shudras</i>	Lowest Hindu caste
<i>Soofi</i>	Saint
<i>Surah Rahman</i>	A chapter of holy <i>Qur'an</i>
<i>Tehsildar</i>	An official of Revenue Department
<i>T'aluka</i>	An administrative land unit
<i>Tarana-i-Milli</i>	National anthem
<i>Tasleem</i>	Salutation
<i>Thana</i>	Police station
<i>Tonga</i>	Horse-drawn carriage
<i>Tongawalla</i>	Driver of horse-drawn carriage
<i>'Ulema</i>	Muslim religious scholars
<i>Wassalaam</i>	And peace be upon you
<i>Wataniat</i>	Nationalism
<i>Zakat</i>	Obligatory charity paid by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
<i>Zid</i>	Stubbornness
<i>Zilla</i>	District
<i>Zindabad</i>	Long live



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